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# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING

ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

COLOMBO PLAN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

KENYA BECOMES INDEPENDENT



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# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *NATO Ministerial Meeting*

THE NORTH Atlantic Council met in ministerial session in Paris on December 16 and 17, 1963. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, and the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Paul Hellyer, represented the Canadian Government. The following is the text of the communiqué issued by the Council:

## **Final Communiqué**

The North Atlantic Council met in ministerial session in Paris from December 16 to 17.

Ministers expressed their profound grief at the heavy loss sustained by the alliance and the whole of mankind in the tragic death of President Kennedy. They welcomed a message from President Johnson renewing U.S.A. pledges to support the alliance with all its strength and to maintain its forces in Europe.

Ministers reaffirmed their faith in the North Atlantic alliance and emphasized that the continuing strength of the alliance, the solidarity of its member states and their determination to defend freedom and to resist aggression remain essential prerequisites for the maintenance of world peace.

Ministers stressed the peaceful and defensive purposes of the North Atlantic alliance. In subscribing to the North Atlantic Treaty, the members of NATO, whether members of the UN or not, had affirmed their faith in the principles of the UN Charter and had pledged themselves to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purpose of the UN. In the pursuit of peace, the achievement of general and complete disarmament, under effective international control, remains an essential objective.

In reviewing the international situation, ministers noted that there had been no major crises since the confrontation over Cuba. They emphasized that the unity and military strength of the alliance had largely contributed to this result and to the international atmosphere now prevailing. At the same time, ministers emphasized the importance not only of seeking agreement on limited measures which would help to reduce tension but of achieving a genuine and fundamental improvement in East-West relations. They expressed the hope that Soviet policy would not limit the possibilities of making progress in this direction and reaching solutions for the problems which are the real causes of tension in the world, in particular those of Berlin and Germany. Despite recent incidents, freedom of access to Berlin had been upheld; in this connection, ministers reiterated their determination, as expressed in the declaration of December 16, 1958, to defend and maintain the freedom of West Berlin and its people.



Ministers also reviewed the situation in various areas of the world threatened by internal conflict and external force. They noted developments which continued to be a cause of concern in Southeast Asia, in the Caribbean area and elsewhere.

Ministers reaffirmed their determination to improve and intensify their political consultation on subjects of common concern. They agreed on the necessity of maintaining and strengthening the defensive capability, having regard to the constant advances in science and technology. They also reviewed the implementation of decisions reached at Ottawa regarding fuller information on nuclear questions for national authorities and broader participation by member countries in the Organization and operational planning functions of SACEUR's nuclear forces. Finally, they took note of the progress achieved to give effect to the decisions made at Ottawa to pursue the study of the interrelated questions of strategy, force requirements, and the resources available to meet them. This study is under way.

Ministers reviewed the progress made during the year in improving co-operation in research, development and production of military equipment. They also noted with satisfaction the recent decisions in regard to the establishment of a NATO air-defence ground-environment system.

In the economic field, ministers noted that the economies of the NATO countries have been steadily expanding and, in contrast to what has been happening in the Communist world, the economic systems of the West have shown themselves capable of flexible adaptation to circumstances. This has permitted not only an increase in the standards of living of their own people but has also enabled large-scale assistance to be extended to the developing countries.

The Council, having noted progress made in the implementation of earlier resolutions concerning the defence problems of Greece, reaffirmed its interest in the further effective application of these resolutions.

Ministers agreed to give urgent priority to a study of the military and economic problems of the defence of Greece and Turkey and, if possible, for a report to be made to the spring ministerial meeting of the Council.

Ministers examined a report on civil defence and emergency planning, which are an essential complement to the defence effort.

The next meeting of the North Atlantic Council at ministerial level will be held on the invitation of the Netherlands Government at The Hague from May 12 to 14, 1964.

*Following is the report made in the House of Commons by Mr. Martin on December 21, 1963:*

The ministerial meetings of NATO are *in camera*. It is not possible to give a detailed account of the matters discussed or of the decisions reached. However, to the extent that it is possible to give an indication of our discussions, I may say that this particular meeting took place at the end of a rather unusual year in international affairs.



At the beginning of that year we had what the Soviet Union Foreign Minister has called the Caribbean affair or the situation in Cuba, and the actions taken by the United States with regard to the installation on the island of Cuba of Soviet offensive nuclear weapons in October 1962. Since that time, other matters of interest have taken place. We have the partial nuclear test ban treaty, which was agreed to by the foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom in August. This partial test ban treaty has since been supported by 107 nations or more. Then there was the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union with regard to the banning of weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

These are matters of great significance in relation to the general problems that face us at the present time. Perhaps in themselves they do not represent the full achievement which is desirable but certainly, as demonstrations of the *détente* that exists, they must not be discounted.

Advantage was taken at this meeting, and against this background, to discuss the general state of East-West relations. It was well that this should be done, because at this meeting there were a number of new representatives of governments. Since the previous ministerial meeting there had come into office some new heads of government, including a new Prime Minister in the United Kingdom, a new Chancellor of West Germany, a new President in the United States and a new Prime Minister in Italy. In addition to these heads of government, there were at the NATO table a number of new foreign ministers, including of course the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, Mr. Butler. . . .

We agreed at the ministerial meeting to take advantage of every opportunity to extend the area of agreement with the Soviet Union. We were not all agreed as to the nature of the period of tranquillity which exists and as to whether it is in fact a *détente*. I am impressed by the suggestion that there is a difference between a *détente* and a state of actual peace; and, bearing in mind that refinement, it must be obvious that there is today a *détente* between East and West. We must take advantage of this to further reduce the risks of conflict between the Soviet Union and the Western nations. . . .

There are a number of reasons for the existence of this *détente*. . . . We believe there are a number of contributing factors in this developing situation. I took occasion then to express the view that commercial, cultural and scientific contacts could be important in bringing about a further harmonization between East and West.

While the situation of *détente* exists, it is true that, at the same time, the major political problems that divide East and West remain unresolved. There is still a divided Germany. There is still a divided Berlin. There are the problems centered in Indochina, particularly in Vietnam and in Laos, and the situation developing in Cambodia. There continue to be problems in the Middle East, and there are, of course, problems in the Commonwealth country of Malaysia and the attitude toward that country adopted by Indonesia, notably by the President



of Indonesia. So, while, on the one hand, there is this *détente*, the problems that divide East and West have yet to be resolved. There is, therefore, no justification for overstatement; nor is there any justification for failure to appreciate the extent to which progress is being made in relations between East and West.

The Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee will be holding its session in Geneva on January 20. We at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization meeting gave consideration to some aspects of the problems that will arise at Geneva. There is a strong disposition to take advantage of the Geneva meeting to see if further agreement, even on a limited scale, might not be achieved on disarmament. I think it is wise to be realistic and to recognize the realities that may not make possible a wide area of agreement on disarmament at this time. I indicated that Canada would pursue its objectives, in concert with its NATO allies, trying to reach as wide a measure of agreement as possible on disarmament, taking advantage of the agreement that was reached in Moscow on the partial nuclear test ban treaty.

We will stress at the Geneva meeting, as I indicated at the Paris meeting, the importance we attach to the proposal for the establishment of control posts on each side of the Iron Curtain as a means of reducing the risks of surprise attack. This matter was given attention by ministers attending the NATO meeting, and between now and the disarmament meeting to be held in January, there will be further consideration of some practical aspects of the proposal for the establishment of control posts and inspection teams on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

I wish to say that there is no justification for the view, so widely stated in the newspapers, about the state of disunity in NATO. Each member of the Organization took occasion at this last meeting to affirm his country's belief and confidence in the integrity and the purposes of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There were no exceptions to this reaffirmation of confidence in the purposes of the alliance.

There are differences, of course, as to method, but this is inevitable in any alliance that is predicated upon the membership of nation states that are free. But there can be no doubt that NATO represents a group of nations dedicated to the fundamental basis of the Organization, which they recognize as an essential instrument for the preservation of peace, and for their defence in the light of the situation that prevails in the world at the present time.

I think I properly characterize this meeting by saying that the relative tranquillity that has existed in the world for the last 12 months gave the foreign ministers in attendance an opportunity to carefully evaluate their relations with the East, with the Soviet Union. This involved a consideration of commercial policies. It involved a consideration of the use and the terms of credit that should be extended to Communist countries in trade in non-strategic goods. It also involved an appreciation of the results of some of the activities of the United Nations that are of concern to NATO.

I should like to tell the Committee that there should not be any reserve in the minds of Honourable Members about this country's support for NATO or about the wide measure of support for the alliance by all the member states which constitute that Organization.



*Dirk U. Stikker, Secretary-General of NATO.*

# *Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development*

MINISTERIAL MEETING, 1963

THE THIRD annual meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development was held on November 19 and 20 in Paris. The Secretary of State for External Affairs represented the Canadian Government. (At the end of the meeting, a communiqué, reproduced on Page 8, was issued.)

One of the most important subjects considered at this meeting was development assistance. Particular attention was paid to the efforts of the Development Assistance Committee to improve the co-ordination of members' aid and to the importance of achieving qualitative as well as quantitative improvements in their assistance to less-developed nations. The ministerial meeting welcomed the expanded programme of development assistance which the Canadian Government had announced a few days earlier.

Ministers also discussed commercial relations with the less-developed countries and agreed on the need for a positive approach by members to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964. They decided to establish a special working group to continue consultations on this subject. This group has since held several meetings.

## **Annual Review**

The ministerial meeting normally establishes the lines for activities in the year ahead, but it is also a time for reviewing those of the preceding year. The ministers reviewed the economic results in member countries, noting that there had been an increase in the rate of activity in many and that in the OECD as a whole prospects for future growth were considerably better than at the time of the last ministerial meeting.

There were several other major developments in the OECD in 1963. On July 14, Japan was invited to become the twenty-first member. When Japanese ratification procedures are completed, the Organization's membership will have been expanded beyond the North American and European area to which it has been confined thus far.

## **Science Meetings**

A ministerial meeting on science was held by the OECD in Paris on October 3 and 4. Canada was represented by the Honourable C. M. Drury. Three principal topics were discussed: national science policy, international science co-operation





*The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin (right), in conversation with the Foreign Minister of France, M. Couve de Murville, during the OECD Conference in Paris.*

and the relation between science and economic growth. A further ministerial meeting on science is planned for 1965.

Canadian participation in the regular activities of the OECD continued to expand during 1963. By means of the extensive committee structure of the OECD, covering a wide range of economic activities, officials and business, labour and university representatives are able to discuss questions of mutual interest with their counterparts from other member countries.

### **Communiqué**

The Ministerial Council of the OECD held its annual meeting in Paris on November 19 and 20, 1963, under the chairmanship of the Honourable Halvard Lange, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Norway, and reviewed the economic prospects for its 20 member countries and their economic relations with the rest of the world.

2. The prospects for economic growth in member countries are on the whole better than last year. The United States, the United Kingdom and Canada are now progressing at a faster rate. In other member countries expansion continues. In the expectation that this growth will be supported by suitable measures in the United States and other countries, the increase of the gross national product of the OECD area as a whole for the years 1960-64 will probably correspond to the growth target of 50 per cent set for the decade of the 1960s by the first Ministerial Council in 1961.

The importance of internal stability for balanced economic growth was stressed. Costs and prices in a few European countries are rising rather rapidly. A stabilization plan is being put into effect in France. Measures have been taken in Italy; further steps must be envisaged.

3. As regards international payments, measures undertaken by member countries, and the recent trends of trade among them, have begun and should continue progressively to create better equilibrium between the deficit and surplus countries. It is important that measures adopted by all member countries to deal with their internal economic situations should continue to take into account their effects on the general equilibrium of international payments.

4. In member countries in the process of development, economic growth in recent years has generally been somewhat faster than in the OECD area as a whole. However, it can hardly be said that the desirable narrowing of the gap between these and other member countries has really begun; much remains to be done.

The ministers considered it desirable, therefore, that the Organization and its more developed members should continue to devote their attention and co-operation to the development problems of the less-developed member countries.

Ministers noted with satisfaction that a new Spanish development programme will be inaugurated in 1964. The ministers also reviewed the situation of the *consortia* for aid to Greece and Turkey and reaffirmed the importance which they attached to the efforts of member countries in support of the development of these two countries, particularly by the provision of long-term development capital on favourable terms.

5. Ministers reviewed the work of the Organization in the fields of agriculture, industry and manpower, and agreed that this work should increasingly be directed to the problems of adaptation arising from changes in the economies of member countries. They considered in particular that the Organization should pursue its work on an active manpower policy, and on the retraining of manpower as well as on mobility of manpower and industry.

6. Ministers noted with satisfaction the results of the ministerial meeting on policies for science and technology on October 3 and 4, 1963.

7. The ministers noted that development aid has been maintained at a high level and on improved terms, although the earlier rate of increase has not continued. The needs of the developing countries are, however, increasing, and great problems lie ahead. Past results have depended largely on public support in member



countries. The provision of aid to meet the expanding needs of the less-developed countries will depend even more on such support in the future and will be related increasingly to measures of self-help in the recipient countries.

The ministers emphasized the value of the confrontations of national aid programmes through the Organization, and asked members further to co-ordinate their efforts with a view to making aid more effective in response to priority needs in the less-developed countries. They also welcomed the intention expressed by the members of the DAC of relating more nearly the terms of aid to debt-servicing capacities of recipients. Important steps had been taken by some members in this connection during the past year. Ministers noted the decline in private capital movements from the industrialized countries to the less-developed countries, and asked the Organization to consider further what steps might be taken by industrialized and less developed countries to increase the flow.

The ministers welcomed the establishment of the OECD Development Centre. 8. Since last year's ministerial meeting, the Organization has devoted a great deal of attention to the ways and means to increase the export earnings of less-developed countries, member and non-member.

The bulk of the exports of the less-developed countries still consists of primary products, of which OECD countries are the main importers. Various methods for stabilizing and increasing the export earnings from these commodities are now being studied. Ministers stressed the importance of this work. Member countries should join in efforts to improve the market conditions for primary products.

Increasingly, however, the less-developed member and non-member countries need to diversify their economies and encourage the production of manufactured articles for their own markets and for exports. The industrialized countries of the OECD should facilitate this development by providing enlarged access to their markets for these products. The ministers noted with approval that full reciprocity from less-developed countries was not being demanded for the tariff reductions expected from the forthcoming round of GATT tariff negotiations.

Ministers instructed the Organization to continue work and consultations concerning the trade problems of the less-developed countries.

They voiced the determination of their governments to prepare for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in a constructive spirit.

# *Colombo Plan Consultative Committee*

FIFTEENTH MEETING, BANGKOK, 1963

THE FIFTEENTH meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia was held in Bangkok, Thailand, from November 11 to 14, 1963. Member countries represented at the meeting, in addition to Canada, were: Australia, Bhutan, Britain, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the United States and Vietnam. Cambodia was not represented. During the meeting, the Consultative Committee agreed to welcome the Maldives Islands and Afghanistan as members of the Colombo Plan. Observers from the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the World Bank, the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, the United Nations Special Fund and the Asian Productivity Organization attended the meeting, as did the Director of the Colombo Plan Bureau.

The Canadian delegation to the Consultative Committee meeting was led by Mr. H. O. Moran, Director-General of the External Aid Office in Ottawa. A meeting of officials was held before the meeting from October 30 to November 8. The Canadian delegation to this preliminary meeting was led by the Canadian Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. C. E. McGaughey.

## **Origin of Consultative Committee**

It will be recalled that the Colombo Plan was conceived at a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Commonwealth held in Colombo in January 1950. In recognition of the pressing needs of the quarter of the world's population that lives in South and Southeast Asia and of the responsibility of the more fortunate Commonwealth members to help meet those needs, the ministers recommended that "steps should be taken urgently to raise living standards and promote social welfare amongst the people of South and Southeast Asia, thus enabling this area, with its vast potential resources, to play an increasing part in fostering well-being and furthering world prosperity". To pursue these objectives, a Consultative Committee was established to survey the needs, to assess the resources available and required, to focus world attention on the development problems of the area, and to provide a framework within which bilateral assistance programmes could be developed. Although the establishment of the Colombo Plan was an initiative of the Commonwealth countries, non-Commonwealth countries within the region were soon welcomed as members, as were the United States and Japan as countries determined to assist in the economic development of the region. A Colombo Plan Council for Technical Co-operation in South and Southeast Asia was established in Colombo and a small Bureau was set up to service it. The Infor-



mation Unit of the Bureau assists in the promotion of knowledge of the Colombo Plan in member countries by collecting, collating and distributing information about the Colombo Plan for use by governments in their own territories.

Since 1951, and including the fiscal year 1962-63, Canadian contributions under the plan have amounted to \$423.2 million. The estimates for 1963-64 contain an amount of \$41.5 million for Canada's Colombo Plan Programme. Canadian Colombo Plan assistance has been provided in the form of grants; the chief recipients have been Commonwealth countries — India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaysia. Non-Commonwealth countries in the area are also eligible for Canadian assistance and significant amounts of technical assistance as well as some capital assistance have been provided to them.

### **Investment and Industry**

The Consultative Committee noted at its fifteenth meeting that the rate of economic growth in the countries of the Colombo Plan region showed some variation, with increases in gross national product of up to 9 per cent in the year under review. On a *per capita* basis, changes in national income ranged from a rise of up to 5 per cent to actual declines in some cases. This was due partly to high rates of population increase and partly to fluctuations in agricultural production, which achieved, at best, no more than a slow rate of growth. The rate of capital investment in many countries, however, showed significant increases, and in most countries in the area the share of industrial production in the value of gross national product showed a marked increase.

The Committee noted that comprehensive and integrated national planning for economic and social growth was now a feature of all of the countries of the region. Development programmes vary, but most of them emphasize the need to develop irrigation and water resources, the importance of introducing improved agricultural techniques, of promoting land reform and rural development, of expanding co-operative enterprises and exploiting mineral resources. The countries of the region showed a common concern for the need for industrial development and for the expansion of transport and power facilities. There is growing awareness of the importance of human resources and the need to develop them through education, training, health and community-training programmes.

The rising level of development expenditures imposed some strain on the stability of prices in a number of countries in the area. Most governments in the Colombo Plan region have had to resort to deficit financing to cover a portion of the cost of development, which has increased the money supply and the price level. The main factors contributing to the inflationary pressures in many countries in the area continued to be the relative inadequacy of domestic savings and the excess of government expenditures over revenues.

### **Agricultural Production**

Though agricultural production registered a slow rate of growth during the year

most countries were able to maintain food production at last year's record level, despite less favourable weather conditions. Several countries have achieved diversification in their agricultural production through the introduction of new crops, particularly cash crops. New opportunities arose for the expansion of exports, particularly of maize, hard fibres, vegetable oils and sugar. The Committee noted, however, that the area which appeared to be most sluggish and resistant to rapid growth was agriculture. Though there had been an average annual increase in production of about 3 per cent over the preceding decade for the region as a whole, rising population had absorbed about two-thirds of this increase. The Committee recognized that growth in the agricultural sector of this predominantly agricultural region was essential as a basis for, and complement to, progressive industrialization and diversification. The industrial sector had, however, it was agreed, shown considerable dynamism and had continued to grow at a rate of about 8 per cent *per annum*.

The value of exports from the area rose by about 2 per cent to 3 per cent between 1961 and 1962. This compares with a fall in value of about 5 per cent between 1960 and 1961. Export-promotion policies have been of assistance in some countries, while the recent rise in prices of some important export commodities has also helped some countries to increase their export receipts. Imports into the area as a whole were between 5 per cent and 6 per cent higher in value in 1962 than in 1961. A number of countries have been forced to impose import restrictions. In spite of this, the high import content of development expenditure, partly financed by external aid, has, in many cases, prevented an absolute fall in the value of imports.

### **Terms of Assistance**

The Committee noted that the amount and nature of capital and technical assistance provided to the region continued to exercise an important influence on growth in developing countries. The total of all economic aid and technical assistance provided under the Plan since its inception had been \$13,820 million. The value of aid in 1962-63 amounted to \$1,820 million. In addition to this, of course, a good deal of assistance had been provided by countries not members of the Colombo Plan and by the United Nations and its related agencies, in particular the World Bank and the International Development Association. Though some countries had improved the nature and terms of their assistance and there had been improvement in foreign assistance techniques, the Committee felt that there was considerable scope for further improvement. In view of the demands of new productive facilities for raw materials and components, it was agreed that continued attention should be paid to the important role of non-project assistance. It was recognized that many countries were faced with a growing burden of foreign debt and it was hoped that more could be done towards easing the terms of the assistance provided.

The Committee agreed that, while some measure of economic and social



progress had been achieved in the countries of the Colombo Plan area, performance could and should be improved. It was recognized that stable internal financial conditions, appropriate price, investment and commercial policies, as well as effective administration, were key elements in enabling the countries of the region to obtain maximum benefit from the resources available to them.

### **Trade and Tourism**

Though the need for increased export earnings was generally recognized, these needs have not in many cases been effectively met. Developing countries need the broadest possible market opportunities, as well as appropriate internal policies to expand export earnings. In fact, limitations on trade opportunities for developing countries through artificial restraints in importing countries such as high tariffs, import quotas and high internal taxes restrict economic growth opportunities in the developing countries; the Committee recognized that developed countries had a role to play by reducing these restraints. It was suggested that the developing countries themselves, as part of general effort towards trade expansion and the improvement of export earnings, should explore possibilities of expanding trade with their neighbours. The experience of certain European countries shows clearly the very considerable improvement in a country's foreign-exchange position that can result from increased tourist receipts. It was suggested that countries in the Colombo Plan region should approach the fostering of their tourist industries more aggressively.

The idea of technical assistance under the Colombo Plan has won a ready and general acceptance. As countries reach a higher level of development, they require different and more sophisticated forms of technical assistance; the Committee recognized that a measure of flexibility was, therefore, necessary in the administration of technical co-operation programmes. Expenditures on technical assistance during the year under review increased by about \$17 million, to a peak of \$118 million. At one time during the year ending June 30, 1963, some 6,000 men and women from South and Southeast Asia were undergoing training under the Colombo Plan. The Committee devoted special attention to the need to expand intra-regional technical-training facilities, and the Council for Technical Co-operation was invited to make an early appointment of an adviser to the Colombo Plan Bureau to facilitate such training. The Committee suggested that the governments of the region be asked to designate liaison officers with whom the adviser could correspond as a matter of urgency.

### **Topic of the Year**

Again there was a discussion of a topic of special interest to member governments — this year manpower planning for economic development. Papers submitted by member governments about their experience in this field were examined by a specially appointed sub-committee, which reported to the Consultative Committee. The report recognized that educated and trained manpower was

as important to economic growth as capital and raw materials. The sub-committee drew attention to the increasing number of people under 16 in the population of the area and the problems posed by youth unemployment. Between two-thirds and four-fifths of the work force in the area is engaged in agriculture, where acute unemployment or under-employment already exists. Yet it is in this sector that the bulk of the additional population must be absorbed. The sub-committee's report included proposals about vocational guidance, the importance of formalized apprenticeship, the mobility of labour, the role of national employment services, and an analysis of the characteristics of a manpower-planning agency. The Committee agreed that the special topic for next year's meeting should be development problems of the rural areas.

The Committee took the opportunity of reviewing the information activities of the Colombo Plan Bureau, the programme of publicity for the year 1963-64, and recommendations for future publicity. The Committee stated that it should have a comprehensive picture of the information facilities available to member countries, so that a practical programme for improving publicity without increasing the budget of the Bureau might be proposed. A Colombo Plan exhibition was held in Bangkok during the meeting, consisting of photographic and other displays prepared by member countries.

The twelfth annual report adopted by the Committee at Bangkok will be published, and is expected to be available to member countries on or after January 15, 1964. The Consultative Committee welcomed the invitation of Britain to hold its 1964 meeting in London.



# *International Atomic Energy Agency*

## SEVENTH GENERAL CONFERENCE

**T**HE SEVENTH general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency was attended by 74 of the 83 states which were members of the Agency as of the opening of the Conference in Vienna on September 24, and by a number of organizations as observers. Dr. B. F. Perera of Ceylon was elected President of the Conference by acclamation. Miss B. Margaret Meagher, Canadian Ambassador to Austria and Governor for Canada on the IAEA Board of Governors, headed a Canadian delegation of seven drawn from Atomic Energy of Canada Limited and the Department of External Affairs.

This General Conference was held in the very favourable political atmosphere engendered by the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. It was natural that this significant development in East-West relations should have had an especially beneficial effect on the deliberations of an international body devoted to fostering the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Throughout the meetings a spirit of conciliation and co-operation prevailed, and the few potentially contentious items on the agenda were disposed of without difficulty.

### **Membership Applications**

On the recommendation of the Board of Governors, the General Conference approved the applications for membership of the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Gabon, Cameroun and Algeria. When all of these states have deposited their instruments of acceptance of the Statute with the Government of the United States, the membership of the Agency will be brought to 88.

### **Statement by Director-General**

In his opening statement, the Director-General stressed the fact that the long-term plan before the General Conference would cover a period in the Agency's growth during which the use of nuclear power would substantially expand and spread to the developing countries. This could be expected to have some effect on the structure of the Secretariat. In this connection, Dr. Eklund noted that he had proposed changes designed to concentrate in one department the various services giving technical assistance to member states. With respect to the staffing of the organization, he appealed to member states to nominate the best candidates possible and to facilitate broadening the geographical distribution of posts by accepting the principle that a vacancy in the senior ranks need not automatically be filled by an official of the same nationality as the previous incumbent.

The Director-General spoke also of the development of safeguards during the last year. Apart from the proposed extension of the Agency's safeguards

system to cover large reactors, which in itself was a significant development, it had been agreed that a general review of the safeguards system would be undertaken in 1964. Dr. Eklund also noted that the first step had been taken to transfer control functions hitherto covered by a bilateral agreement to an international control, since the Agency would assume responsibility for safeguards that had so far been applied by the United States to certain reactors in Japan. (In this connection, Canada and Japan have also initiated discussions with a view to having the Agency administer the safeguards provisions of the Canada-Japan bilateral agreement for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.)

On the subject of technical assistance, Dr. Eklund noted that the volume of requests for the provision of experts and equipment was increasing at a high rate. However, since the Agency was already under heavy strain and able only to satisfy about half the requests it received, it would be a vital task to find ways to bridge the steadily-widening gap between requests and available resources even after additional help had been received under the Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance (EPTA).

The Director-General concluded his statement by emphasizing the important implications for the Agency's future of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. He reminded the Conference that the control measures that would be involved in any scheme of general disarmament would be a matter on which the IAEA should be in a position to give assistance at the appropriate time, in line with the provisions of its safeguards system and the principles governing its relations with the United Nations.

### **Election to Board of Governors**

Prior to an amendment adopted by the sixth session of the General Conference and entering into force at the seventh session, the Statute of the IAEA provided that the Board of Governors should consist of representatives from 23 member states, of whom 13 were designated each year by the outgoing Board itself, the other 10 being elected by the General Conference for a two-year term. The amendment adopted at the sixth session raised the number of elected representatives from 10 to 12, so as to provide for increased representation from Africa and the Middle East. At this session, therefore, there were seven vacancies to be filled. Uruguay, Roumania, Afghanistan and China were the candidates agreed on for the Latin American, Eastern European, South Asian and Far Eastern regions; they were elected on the first ballot. Morocco was also elected on the first ballot to represent Africa north of the Sahara, and the Congo (Léopoldville) was elected on the third ballot to represent Africa south of the Sahara. The seventh member elected was for the so-called "floating seat", and Switzerland was chosen by a substantial margin over its nearest rival.

### **Long-Term Planning**

At its fifth regular session, the General Conference requested the Board of Gov-



ernors and the Director-General to prepare a long-term programme for the Agency's activities, having due regard to its difficulties in financing its operational programme.

In their joint memorandum to the General Conference, the Board of Governors and the Director-General proposed a long-term plan, the purpose of which would be to provide general guidance for the direction and scope of the Agency's activities in the years to come, and to define the role the Agency should assume in furthering the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The programme would begin in 1965 and would be reviewed periodically, so as to keep it in line with scientific discoveries and technological developments.

Sixteen delegations spoke on the long-term plan and, though they expressed some mild reservations on points of detail, all gave it general approval and praise.

Three resolutions came before the Programme, Technical and Budget Committee on this subject. One, submitted by the Board of Governors and recommending the introduction of biennial programming to begin in 1965, was adopted in committee without a vote, and in plenary after neither debate nor vote.

A second resolution, proposed by Pakistan and co-sponsored by Brazil, Iran and Tunisia, dealt with the follow-up by the Agency of the recommendations made by the UN Conference on Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less-Developed Areas (UNCSAT) and requested the Director-General to initiate specific projects in this sector in co-operation with the Advisory Committee on Science and Technology of the Economic and Social Council. By this resolution also, member states were urged to make available the resources needed to enable the Agency to make the fullest possible contribution to the objectives of the Development Decade. After a brief debate, the resolution was adopted in committee without a vote, as it was later in plenary.

The last resolution introduced in connection with long-term planning had to do with the Soviet-bloc proposal to establish six medical centres and six centres for physics research, and was the only controversial subject before the committee. The U.S.S.R. accepted amendments put forward by Denmark, Norway and Sweden that had the effect of referring the matter back to the Board of Governors for further study. The resolution as amended was adopted both in committee and in plenary without a vote.

### **Power Development**

Thirteen delegations spoke on this subject, most of them stressing the importance of getting on with the planning for nuclear power. They also emphasized the desirability of full exchange of information through IAEA on experience of all sorts — favourable and unfavourable — in the development of power programmes. Particular interest was expressed in studies of the broad economic effects of the use of nuclear power, as well as limited-cost comparisons, and several countries where water supply was a serious problem underscored the importance to them of the study of water desalinization by nuclear power. The Canadian

delegate, Dr. J. L. Gray, gave a brief account of progress in the Canadian nuclear programme and assured the Committee that Canada was ready to transmit information to the Agency for general diffusion as rapidly and fully as possible.

### **Financing Agency's Activities**

At the present time, the expenses of the IAEA are financed through two separate budgets. Contributions to the regular budget are levied on an assessed basis against each member state at a rate that takes into account its ability to pay, whereas contributions to the so-called operational budget are voluntary. Canada contributes to both budgets at a rate of 2.88 per cent of the total.

In its consideration of the problem of financing the Agency's activities, the Administrative and Legal Committee had before it a recommendation by the Board of Governors that the Statute be amended in such a way as to provide for the financing of the Agency's activities through a single assessed budget.

Although an amendment to the Statute might have been carried by the required two thirds of the members present and voting, it was strongly opposed in some quarters and a large number of abstentions could have been expected. Apart from this, there could be no guarantee that it would be ratified by the required two thirds of the member states. In order to avoid a serious rift within the Agency, this question was ultimately resolved on the basis of a United States resolution that proposed that the matter be referred back to the Board of Governors for further study.

### **Extension of Safeguards System**

Under this item, the Administrative and Legal Committee had before it a 17-nation resolution recommending approval by the General Conference of the extension of the Agency's safeguards system to reactors of over 100 megawatts, as well as Indian amendments that, if approved, would have exempted "facilities, equipment and non-nuclear material" from the Agency's safeguards system to reactors of 100 megawatts and over.

There was a relatively brief and moderate debate on these proposals. India ultimately agreed not to press for a decision on its amendments, provided a reference was made to them in the 17-nation draft resolution recommending the extension of the Agency's safeguards system to large reactors, on the understanding that the Board would carry out a general review of the safeguards system and report to the next General Conference. This compromise received widespread support, and was adopted by a vote of 51 in favour to three opposed (the U.A.R., Iraq and Tunisia), with three abstentions (South Africa, Indonesia and Switzerland) both in committee and in plenary. In line with Canada's traditional policy of strong support of the IAEA stand on safeguards questions, Canada voted in favour of this resolution.



### **Canada's Contribution to 1964 General Fund**

At the meeting of the Pledging Committee, 31 delegates made voluntary pledges totalling the equivalent of \$1,050,000 (U.S.) to the General Fund. This compares with a total of \$1.28 million pledged at the same time last year. The figure was subsequently increased by Canada's pledge of \$57,600. A number of countries, including Mexico and Italy, said that they would be announcing specific pledges later.

Under the IAEA regular budget for 1964, Canada was assessed \$207,936 — i.e., 2.88 per cent of the Agency's total regular budget.

### **Resolution on Disarmament**

The Conference adopted without a vote a resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain, noting a resolution of the Economic and Social Council that invited the Specialized Agencies and the IAEA to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the study of the use of resources that would be released by disarmament. The Conference resolution went on to note with satisfaction the signing of the limited test ban and re-affirmed the request contained in a resolution adopted at its sixth session that the Director-General give full co-operation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in fulfilling the task entrusted to him by the Economic and Social Council resolution.

# *Kenya Becomes Independent*

**B**RITAIN'S last colony in East Africa, Kenya, achieved independence within the Commonwealth on December 12.

## **Location**

Kenya, which is slightly larger than France, is situated on the east coast of Africa astride the equator. Inadequate rainfall and unfavourable topography make three quarters of the country unfit for permanent cultivation. The remaining land is in the better-watered highlands, where the majority of the population lives. Nairobi, the capital and largest city, has an estimated population of more than 300,000. Mombasa is East Africa's most important deep-water port.

## **Early Colonization**

Although the east coast of Africa has been known to Europeans for more than 2,000 years, it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that they began to take an active interest in the area. In 1498, Vasco da Gama landed on the coast of present-day Kenya on his way to India. In the years that followed, the Portuguese established a number of posts along the coast, where they conducted a profitable trade for almost 200 years, before they were forced to withdraw in the face of Arab attacks. The Arabs subsequently fought among themselves for control of the East African coast and the very profitable slave trade of the interior, until the Sultan of Zanzibar emerged as the most powerful figure in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Sultan granted concessions to British traders and the Imperial British East Africa Company was formed in 1888 to develop trade with Uganda. When financial difficulties forced the company to withdraw, the British Government took over its responsibilities and established protectorates over Uganda and Kenya. Difficulties in communication with Uganda and a desire to stamp out the slave trade persuaded the British to begin construction of a railway from Mombasa to Kampala in 1896. Indian labourers were imported to build the railroad, which was completed in 1901. In order to make the line pay its way, the Government encouraged white settlement in the adjoining highlands.

## **Population**

In 1961 the estimated population of Kenya was 7,290,000, including 7,000,000 Africans, 178,000 Indians, 66,000 Europeans, 39,000 Arabs and 6,000 others.

## **Economy**

Kenya's economy is basically agricultural and relies heavily on three major exports — coffee, tea and sisal. These were originally developed by European farmers, and most of the export crops are still produced on European farms.



African production of these commodities has been limited by a lack of technical knowledge and capital and by the small size of the average African farm. African farmers are, however, being encouraged to raise cash crops, and this trend has been accelerated by the purchase of European farmlands by the Government for the resettlement of unemployed and landless Africans. There are some small mineral deposits in Kenya, but their importance has been negligible.

### **Constitutional Development**

A Legislative Council, which included representatives of the European population, was established in 1906. By 1930, the Indians in Kenya were granted five seats on the Council on a communal basis and provision was made for the election of an Arab member and the nomination of a member to represent the African majority.

African political activity was strongest among the Kikuyus and, in 1946, Kikuyu leaders formed the Kenya African Union. At the same time, a secret society known as the "Mau Mau" grew up among landless and unemployed Kikuyus. It preached an anti-government and anti-white policy and embarked on a programme of violence which led to the declaration of a state of emergency in 1952. Many Kikuyu leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta, were arrested and convicted of complicity in the activities of the Mau Mau. The Kenya African Union was banned. By 1956, the Government had successfully curbed the activities of the Mau Mau, but the emergency remained in force until the beginning of 1960.

The Mau Mau emergency convinced Britain that the African majority should be allowed a larger share in the government. In 1956 a constitution was introduced which provided for increased African, Asian and Arab representation in the Legislative and Executive Councils. Direct elections for the eight seats which were now reserved for Africans on the Legislative Council were held for the first time in 1957, but they failed to satisfy African leaders, who demanded increased representation. A constitutional conference was held in London in 1960, and agreement was reached on a new constitution, which was to become effective after elections were held in 1961.

### **Political Parties**

Two African political parties emerged for the first time since the banning of the Kenya African Union. The Kenya African National Union (KANU) spoke for the three largest tribes — the Kikuyus, the Luos and the Wakamba. Boundaries established by the colonial administration had confined the various tribes in Kenya to separate "reserves". The Kikuyus, in particular, were restricted to crowded and intensively farmed reserves. With their numerical strength, supporters of KANU favoured a strong central government which would allow wider opportunities for the Kikuyus and, to a lesser extent, the Luos and the Wakamba.

The chief opposition to KANU came from the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), under the leadership of Ronald Ngala, which was supported

by approximately 45 minority tribes — mostly small pastoral groups who were united by a common fear of domination by the Kikuyu. They were particularly anxious to retain traditional rights to their tribal lands. For this reason, they strongly supported the establishment of regions based on tribal considerations which would, in fact, confine the larger tribes to certain areas.

Neither party achieved a majority in the 1961 elections and a coalition government was formed. A conference held in London in the spring of 1962 to discuss a new constitution resulted in a deadlock. A further conference early in 1963 succeeded in reconciling the demands of the two main parties and general agreement was reached on a new constitution as the basis for Kenya's eventual independence. The constitution provided for the establishment of seven regions, each with its own assembly with power to deal with specified local matters, and for a bi-cameral central legislature holding residual powers. The constitution embodied a number of compromises designed to safeguard one tribal group from domination by another but with a sufficiently strong government to run the country efficiently.



*Prime Minister Kenyatta waves to the crowd immediately after receiving the instruments of Kenya's independence from the Duke of Edinburgh.*

On June 1, 1963, following a general election in which KANU gained a substantial majority of seats in the House of Representatives, the party's leader, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, was sworn in as the first Prime Minister of a self-governing Kenya and called upon to form the government which would lead Kenya to independence.

### **Minority Tribes**

Although the elections gave KANU control of the Central Government, KADU gained majorities in three of the regional assemblies. At a final conference held in September, KANU won changes in the constitution which reduced the autonomy and authority of the regions and strengthened the position of the Central Government. KADU leaders are apprehensive that KANU will make further



alterations to the constitution to centralize the government. The problem of how to reconcile the need for national unity, as stressed by KANU, with the desire to protect the rights of the minority tribes, which is the chief concern of KADU, remains the central problem in Kenya's politics.

### **European Minority**

Until recently it seemed that the chief barrier to independence would be another minority group — the European farmers in the "white highlands". However, this group eventually accepted the inevitability of an independent Kenya under African leadership. Many left the colony. The British Government is providing funds to purchase much of the farm land in the "white highlands" and to hand it over to the new Government for the resettlement of landless Africans.

### **Somali Minority**

The most immediate problem facing the Government is presented by the 120,000 Somalis in the northeastern part of the country, the majority of whom have demanded secession from Kenya and eventual federation with the neighbouring Somali Republic. A new North Eastern Region was created at the constitutional conference in March to provide a degree of local autonomy for the Somalis, who are separated from other tribes in Kenya by social, cultural, religious and ethnic differences. However, this has failed to satisfy the Somalis. They refused to participate in the elections in May and the North Eastern Region has been the scene of mass demonstrations and violence involving Somali tribesmen almost daily during the past several months.

### **East African Federation**

On June 5, 1963, one week after the elections which brought internal self-government to Kenya, the Prime Ministers of Kenya and Uganda and the President of Tanganyika announced their intention to link their three countries in an East African Federation. The basis for such an association already exists in the East African Common Services Organization, which provides a well-established network of services linking the economies of the three countries. A working party was set up at the ministerial level to draw up federal constitution, but it has encountered difficulties and federation has not been achieved in 1963 as had been originally anticipated.

Kenya takes its place as an independent African state, a member of the Commonwealth and a member of the United Nations with many unsolved problems. It has, however, a great store of human energy, considerable material resources and the goodwill of the many countries who have followed with sympathy its progress to independence, which will enable it, either alone or united with its neighbours, to become one of the leading states of Africa.

# *Zanzibar Achieves Independence*

ON DECEMBER 10, two days before Kenya's independence, Britain's smallest possession in Africa, the Sultanate of Zanzibar, achieved independence within the Commonwealth after 73 years as a British protectorate.

## **Location**

Zanzibar consists of Zanzibar Island, with an area of 640 square miles and a population of 165,000, and Pemba Island, with an area of 380 square miles and a population of 134,000. The two islands lie 30 miles off the coast of Tanganyika in East Africa.

## **Early History**

Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, Zanzibar was one of several prosperous Arab trading centres on the east coast of Africa. It was virtually unknown to the nations of Europe until Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the fifteenth century. For the next 200 years, the history of Zanzibar and Pemba, as of most of East Africa, centred on a struggle between the Portuguese and the Arabs for control of the region. By 1700, the Portuguese had been driven out of all of their possessions north of Mozambique. Various Arab factions continued to fight over the region until, in 1832, the Sultan of Oman succeeded in consolidating his authority along the East African coast and took up residence in Zanzibar.

## **Population**

Zanzibar's long connections with East Africa, the Arab world and India are reflected in the composition of its population. Its nearly 300,000 people include approximately 168,000 indigenous Africans known as "Shirazis", 60,000 Africans from the mainland, 47,000 Arabs and 18,000 Indians. There are no Europeans other than civil servants and a few persons engaged in commerce.

## **Economy**

The economy of the island is based almost entirely on the production and export of cloves, with copra and other coconut products as a secondary, though valuable, source of income. These two items together account for about 95 per cent of the annual exports valued at \$13 million. The islands have no appreciable mineral resources and no significant manufacturing industry. An effort is being made to diversify and improve agriculture production.

## **Constitutional Development**

Political progress has been complicated by the special problems of a multi-racial



society in which the wealth is largely in the hands of the minority of Arabs and Asians. The Government parties draw their support from Arabs, Asians and a section of the Shirazis. The Opposition party has little following among the Arabs but is solidly supported by the Africans from the mainland and the bulk of the Shirazi population.

As colonies in Africa moved swiftly to self-government after Ghana's achievement of independence in 1957, constitutional development in Zanzibar was accelerated. In January 1961, elections were held to inaugurate a new constitution, under which the islands would for the first time have a considerable measure of internal self-government, with an elected majority in the legislature and a ministerial system. Although all parties declared their support for a multi-racial society, voting for the most part reflected racial divisions. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) was supported principally by the influential and wealthy Arabs. The rival Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) drew its support from the majority of Africans and Shirazis on the islands. When the election resulted in a deadlock, with no party able to form a government or to agree on a coalition, new elections were held in June 1961. These were marked by riots, which led to the declaration of a state of emergency. The ZNP and the ASP won 10 seats each, while a third party, the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), which had split with the ASP in 1960, held the balance, with three seats. The ZNP and ZPPP agreed to form a coalition government, and the leader of the ZPPP, Sheikh Mohammed Shamte Hamadi, became Prime Minister.

After prolonged negotiations, agreement was finally reached early in 1963 on new elections as a first step toward internal self-government and eventual independence under a constitutional monarchy headed by the Sultan. Elections were held in July 1963. The ruling ZNP-ZPPP coalition received only 46 per cent of the votes cast, but it won a majority of the seats in the legislature. A constitutional conference was convened in London in September, and December 10 was set as the date for Zanzibar's independence.

### **East African Federation**

Zanzibar has administrative ties with Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda through the East African Common Services Organization and, following the announcement by the Prime Ministers of Kenya and Uganda and the President of Tanganyika in June 1963 that they intend to link their countries in an East African Federation, Zanzibari leaders have held discussions with leaders of the three countries concerning Zanzibar's participation in the proposed federation.

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*Note: This article was written to cover Zanzibar's independence only, and went to press before the developments since January 10.*

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Portuguese Colonial Policy**

*Replying on December 5 in the House of Commons to a question as to why Canada has abstained from voting on a resolution concerning the Portuguese territories passed by the General Assembly on December 3, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin said:*

. . . In an explanation of our vote in the Fourth Committee on Friday, November 29, the Canadian representative said that the Canadian Government had strong sympathy for the aspirations of the African people in Portuguese territories and viewed with deep regret the failure of the Government of Portugal to acknowledge its obligations under the Charter and to apply the principle of self-determination in its overseas territories.

Canada fully supports those parts of the resolution calling upon Portugal once again to co-operate with the United Nations. We do not, however, consider that the present situation warrants a recommendation for action under Chapter VII of the Charter, which deals with situations threatening to the peace. We believe that, under the Charter of the United Nations, this is a matter for the Security Council to decide.

## **Fishing Rights in Canadian Waters**

*Asked on December 5 to report to the House on "the negotiations with the United States regarding the 12-mile limit and its implications for United States and Canadian fishermen", Mr. Martin made the following statement:*

. . . The Minister of Fisheries and I yesterday attended in Washington the second meeting with representatives of the United States Government following the announcement by the Prime Minister on June 4 last that it was the decision of the Government of Canada to establish a 12-mile fishing zone, to be effective some time in the month of May 1964.

When this announcement was made following his statement of intention to the President of the United States, the Prime Minister intimated that Canada would take into consideration the historic fishing rights of certain countries, including the United States. As the United States had a very definite interest in this matter, it was decided that the negotiations with the United States and as well other countries should be pursued. These began . . . in the month of August of this year in Ottawa.

The second meeting took place in Washington yesterday. There will be a third meeting in Ottawa some time in January, which I believe and trust will conclude



this phase of discussions. I may say that the discussions yesterday marked considerable progress in the positions of the two countries. There was an acknowledgment of the position of Canada, and we have taken careful note of the position put forward by the United States in these talks.

## Financing UNEF

*On December 16, the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, observing that the Budgetary Committee of the United Nations had recently approved "certain proposals" for financing the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, suggested that, since he had the details of these proposals with him, he "put them on Hansard rather than read them into the record". The text of the document he produced is as follows:*

On Friday afternoon, the Fifth Committee on the Assembly approved (56-10 Soviet bloc — 13) a resolution co-sponsored by Canada, three Scandinavian countries, Pakistan and Nigeria, which contained an agreed formula for financing UNEF during 1964. The formula provides that the 1964 costs of UNEF, estimated at \$17,750,000, will be shared as follows: the first \$2 million will be assessed at the regular budget rate; the remainder will also be assessed at this rate, except that the less-developed countries will be allowed a 57.5 per cent reduction in their shares. For the past several years, it has been recognized that the less-developed countries, having a limited capacity to contribute toward the costs of peace-keeping operations involving heavy expenditures, should be allowed reductions in their shares. The gap created by granting these reductions is filled by voluntary contributions from the developed states.

These financing arrangements apply as regards the less-developed countries and are not related to the problem arising from the refusal of the Soviet bloc and some other developed countries to pay their share of the costs. These countries are assessed at the regular scale and their arrears of payment have been accumulating.

At the fourth special session of the Assembly last June, the formula for financing both UNEF and ONUC allowed 55 percent reductions to the less-developed countries. The Canadian Delegation at the current session was instructed to urge the re-adoption of the June formula and, in fact, it was adopted for the Congo Force. In relation to UNEF, however, the less-developed countries pressed for a slightly larger reduction. The voluntary contribution expected of Canada to fill the current gap has not been finally determined, but it is estimated to be about \$80,000.

Because of the importance which Canada attaches to the role played by UNEF in the Middle East, the Government considered it desirable to support the modified formula. In agreeing once more to an *ad hoc* arrangement, the Government has continued to insist that financing arrangements for peace-keeping oper-

ations must be placed on a long-term basis incorporating the principle of collective financial responsibility.

## Speech from the Throne

*The Throne Speech closing the First Session of the Twenty-Sixth Parliament on December 21 contained the following passages on Canada's external relations:*

. . . It has been encouraging to note some easing of tension in international relations, expressed particularly in the successful conclusion of a multilateral treaty banning nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. This treaty was signed on behalf of my Government on August 8, 1963. Further progress towards improved understanding between nations is urgently necessary. To this end my Government continues, at the United Nations and elsewhere, to participate fully in the attempt to ease international tensions.

Canadians have shared the grief of the people of the United States over the tragic and untimely death of President Kennedy, whose contribution to the causes of freedom and peace has been of immeasurable importance for all the world.

. . . My Government has renewed on satisfactory terms the trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. first made in 1956 and has entered into wheat sales agreements with that country and with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. The Canadian Wheat Board has entered into a long-term arrangement for the sale of wheat to mainland China.

. . . In recognition of the need to provide a fair share of assistance to the less-developed nations, my Ministers have announced an increase in Canada's external aid programme and the initiation of a food-aid programme to supplement the other forms of assistance.

Negotiations for the clarification of the Columbia River Treaty, and for the sale of downstream power, have been conducted with the Government of the United States in full co-operation with the government of British Columbia. . . .

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development — Preparatory Committee: New York, February 3, for two weeks.

Economic Commission for Latin America — Committee of the Whole: Santiago, Chile, February 12 to 14.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, sixth session: Addis Ababa, February 9 to March 3.

Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, twenty-first session: Geneva, February 24 to March 20.



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. R. C. O'Hagan posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York. Left Ottawa November 12, 1963.
- Mr. C. T. Stone posted from the Canadian Delegation to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, Geneva, to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, effective November 20, 1963.
- Miss L. Gauthier posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to the Canadian Embassy, Helsinki. Left Geneva November 21, 1963.
- Mr. W. K. Wardroper posted from the Canadian Embassy, Helsinki, to Ottawa. Left Helsinki November 24, 1963.
- Mr. H. D. Peel posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, to the Canadian Embassy, Madrid. Left Ankara November 29, 1963.
- Miss V. Kilsby posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles. Left Ottawa November 29, 1963.
- Mr. J. Bryson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, to Ottawa. Left Tehran December 1, 1963.
- Mr. A. W. J. Robertson posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, to Ottawa. Left Colombo December 1, 1963.
- Mr. A. Kroeger posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi, to Ottawa. Left New Delhi December 2, 1963.
- Mr. R. Brazeau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tehran. Left Ottawa December 3, 1963.
- Miss H. Currie posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Los Angeles, to Ottawa. Left Los Angeles December 6, 1963.
- Mr. L. H. Amyot posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to Ottawa. Left Bonn December 6, 1963.
- Mr. C. M. Bédard posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince. Left Ottawa December 8, 1963.
- Mr. R. D. Jackson posted from the Canadian Military Mission, Berlin, to the Canadian Delegation to the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam, Saigon. Left Berlin December 16, 1963.
- Miss F. Gagnon posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to Ottawa. Left Geneva December 20, 1963.

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Mr. J. J. Hurley, formerly Canadian Ambassador to South Africa, deceased December 29, 1963.

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## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Denmark

Exchange of notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Denmark concerning air-traffic control over Southern Greenland.

Ottawa September 16 and November 28, 1963.

Entered into force November 28, 1963.

##### India

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of India relating to the Rajasthan Atomic Power Station and the Douglas Point Nuclear Generating Station.

New Delhi December 16, 1963.

Entered into force December 16, 1963.

##### United States of America

Exchange of notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America amending the Agreement of May 5, 1961, concerning the co-ordination of pilotage services in the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River as amended February 21 and September 10, 1963.

Washington November 19 and December 4, 1963.

Entered into force December 4, 1963.

Exchange of notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the reimposition of tolls on the Welland Canal.

Ottawa December 19 and 20, 1963.

Entered into force December 20, 1963.

Exchange of notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America on measures to ensure the orderly, efficient and safe control of aircraft operating in the air space near the common boundary of Canada and the United States of America.

Ottawa December 20 and 27, 1963.

Entered into force December 27, 1963.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *The Prime Minister's Visit to France*

*At the conclusion of the Prime Minister's visit to France, the following joint communiqué was issued in Paris:*

At the invitation of General de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic, the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Lester Pearson, paid an official visit to France from January 15 to 17. The Prime Minister was accompanied by Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada.

General de Gaulle and Mr. Pearson, together with the Prime Minister of France, Mr. Pompidou, and the two foreign ministers, Mr. Paul Martin and Mr. Couve de Murville, held extensive conversations in the characteristic atmosphere of friendship and confidence which exists between the two countries.

## **Major International Problems**

Their discussions involved a full exchange of views on major international problems, as well as on defence questions affecting the two countries. The President and the Prime Minister examined the present state of and likely developments in relations between the West and the U.S.S.R. and other Eastern-European countries, questions which are also under discussion in the Atlantic alliance. They also reviewed developments in Asia and their implications for the West. They considered the situation in the countries of Southeast Asia, where Canada has responsibilities as a member of the International Commissions for Supervision and Control.

Franco-Canadian relations were examined in the spirit of co-operation which guides the two governments. It was recognized on both sides that the mutual desire to increase the existing level of co-operation between the two countries would find effective expression in the regular series of consultations which it is intended to organize.

The successful results of initiatives taken on both sides in the cultural field to develop exchanges in the arts, the humanities and the sciences, as well as in technical co-operation, were noted with satisfaction. In this way, it has been possible to facilitate a *rapprochement* between the two countries, taking into account in particular the fact that a large proportion of Canadian population is of French stock and shares with France a common language and culture. It was the common desire to seek every opportunity which could serve to intensify these exchanges.

## **Cultural Exchange**

In this context, it was noted with great interest on the part of the French that the Canadian Government intended to undertake a programme designed to develop cultural relations between the two countries. The French Government has promised its co-operation, and officials of the two countries will meet to discuss the

programme. It was considered that the agreement recently signed by the Association pour l'Organisation des Stages dans l'Industrie française on the one hand and the Province of Quebec and the University of Toronto on the other would be of considerable significance for the training of new engineers. The Foreign Minister of France confirmed to the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada that the French Government was prepared to welcome Canadian candidates to the Ecole Nationale d'Administration. The agreement of the Canadian Government has been confirmed by an exchange of letters. Finally, the two governments emphasized the interest which they shared in academic exchanges at the advanced level, as well as in exchanges in the field of the performing arts. In this spirit, an agreement concerning the joint production of films was reached last October.

### **Economic Relations**

The two Prime Ministers also exchanged views concerning economic relations between France and Canada; they expressed the desire that commercial exchanges between the two countries be developed to the fullest possible extent. They were agreed that this strengthening of ties could take place in the context of a reduction in trade barriers and the expansion of international trade, the objective of the forthcoming GATT negotiations. They noted with satisfaction that projects of mutual interest in the field of defence production were under study. They also took note of the interest of French business circles in new investment possibilities in Canada.

The Ministers were also in agreement on the importance of accelerating economic growth in the developing countries by assisting them in increasing their trade and by sustained programmes of external aid. The two governments felt that it would be useful to co-ordinate their policies in this respect, in view of the considerable role which France has traditionally played in this field and of recent developments in the Canadian programme of aid to French-speaking countries in Africa.

The President of the French Republic and the Prime Minister of Canada noted with satisfaction the warm cordiality and the spirit of mutual understanding which characterized their discussions. There is no doubt that the unanimity of views which has been evident on this occasion opens the most favourable prospect for the development of Franco-Canadian relations for their mutual benefit and for that of the Western world as a whole.

## *Mr. Pearson Meets Mr. Johnson*

*The following communiqué was published at the end of the discussions held by President Lyndon B. Johnson and Prime Minister L. B. Pearson in Washington, D.C., on January 21 and 22, 1964:*

Useful discussions on many matters have been held during the past two days while Prime Minister Pearson has been visiting Washington, D.C., as the guest of President Johnson. The Prime Minister was accompanied by Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs. Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, was with the President.

The President and the Prime Minister had a wide-ranging discussion about the international situation. In their review of world affairs they discussed the NATO alliance and the Atlantic community, the prospects for easing East-West tensions, the importance of practical specific initiatives toward disarmament, and the current problems in Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere. They will continue to co-operate fully in helping the countries of these areas move toward economic development, political stability and peace along their borders.

### **Defence and Economic Problems**

The Prime Minister and the President noted with satisfaction the progress made towards the cessation of nuclear testing. They affirmed their desire to promote additional measures to ease international tensions and to support further advances toward effective disarmament. The steady development of the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations remains for both a goal essential to the preservation of world peace.

The President and the Prime Minister examined various bilateral defence questions and noted with satisfaction that appropriate agreements have lately been concluded between their two governments. They agreed to plan for a meeting of the Joint Ministerial Committee on Defence during the first half of this year. They reaffirmed the support of both governments for the developing defence production sharing programme, which is of mutual benefit.

The Prime Minister and the President referred to the balance-of-payment problems of their respective countries. They reviewed outstanding economic problems between the two countries, including certain trade and tax measures. They agreed on the urgency of successful GATT negotiations to achieve a substantial reduction of trade barriers in order to meet the goal of expanded world trade.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the work of the Joint Cabinet Level Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs at its meeting last September and agreed that it should meet again around the end of April.

The Prime Minister and the President discussed at some length the practicability and desirability of working out acceptable principles which would make it easier



to avoid divergences in economic and other policies of interest to each other. They appreciated that any such principles would have to take full account of the interests of other countries and of existing international arrangements. The President and the Prime Minister considered that it would be worthwhile to have the possibilities examined. Accordingly, they are arranging to establish a working group, at a senior level, to study the matter and to submit a progress report to the April meeting of the Joint Committee.

The Prime Minister and the President agreed that negotiations on the Bilateral Air Agreement should be undertaken almost immediately, with a view to working out satisfactory arrangements on a North American basis.

The President and the Prime Minister noted the importance of shipping on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway and agreed to co-operate with each other and with labour and management in each country to avoid industrial strife along these waters.

Final agreement was reached on the use of the resources of the Columbia River basin, and this agreement was embodied in an Exchange of Notes between Secretary of State Rusk and the Secretary of State for External Affairs for Canada, Mr. Paul Martin. The Columbia River Treaty signed in 1961 was ratified that year by the U.S.A.; the agreements reached today pave the way for Canadian ratification and make possible the further development of the resources of this great basin.

### **Roosevelt International Park**

At the same time, the President and the Prime Minister have joined in arrangements to establish on the East Coast the Roosevelt International Park at Campobello, New Brunswick, in memory of a President who took a keen interest in both countries and in the good relations between them.

In recognition of the breadth and importance of their mutual interests, the President and the Prime Minister have determined to maintain close and continuous contact, on a personal and confidential basis and in the spirit of candor and friendship that has characterized these meetings.

# *Columbia River Development*

*New agreements of far-reaching importance regarding the development of the Columbia River were announced on January 22, 1964, by the governments of British Columbia, Canada and the United States. Following the signing of the agreements at the White House in Washington, D.C., the United States President and the Canadian Prime Minister issued this statement:*

President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson presided today at the White House at the signing of further important agreements between the two Governments regarding the co-operative development of the water resources of the Columbia River basin. Mr. Rusk, Secretary of State, signed for the United States, and Mr. Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, signed for Canada.

The arrangements which are now being made will be of great benefit to both countries, particularly to the Province of British Columbia in Canada and to the States of Washington, Idaho, Montana and Oregon in the United States. Today's signing took place in the presence of representatives of the area on both sides of the border.

## **Original Treaty Terms**

The Treaty of January 17, 1961, provides for effective regulation of the flow from the Canadian portion of the Columbia River for flood control and increased power production in the United States, as well as for benefits in Canada. The downstream power benefits resulting from increased generation in the United States are to be shared by the two countries, and the United States is to compensate Canada for the flood protection which it receives. Effective storage, amounting to 15,500,000 acre feet, will be provided in Canada from two dams on the main stem of the Columbia at Mica Creek and Arrow Lakes, and from one dam near Duncan Lake, all in British Columbia. The additional storage approximately doubles that presently available for regulation of the flows of the Columbia River.

Under the terms of the Treaty, the United States has the option to commence construction of the Libby project on the Kootenai River in northern Montana with 5,000,000 acre feet of usable storage. Canada and the United States each will retain all of the benefits from the Libby project which accrue in their respective countries.

## **Hyannis Port Decisions**

At the Hyannis Port meeting in May 1963, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Pearson

... noted especially the desirability of early progress on the co-operative development of the Columbia River. The Prime Minister indicated that, if certain clarifications and adjustments in arrangements proposed earlier could be agreed on, to be included in a protocol

to the treaty, the Canadian Government would consult at once with the provincial government of British Columbia, the province in which the Canadian portion of the river is located, with a view to proceeding promptly with the further detailed negotiations required with the United States and with the necessary action for approval within Canada. The President agreed that both governments should immediately undertake discussions on this subject looking to an early agreement.

These things have now been done. The way has been cleared for the completion of the necessary financial and related arrangements in the United States and the ratification of the Treaty by Canada.

### **Two Sets of Documents Signed**

The primary purpose of the first set of documents signed today was to agree now on the clarifications and adjustments that would eliminate possible sources of controversy between the two countries in later years. These documents contain important, if rather technical, provisions regarding such varied matters as conditions governing flood control; the intention to complete arrangements for the initial sale of Canada's share of the downstream benefits at the time when ratifications of the Treaty are exchanged; the avoidance by Canada of stand-by transmission charges in the event of sales of downstream benefits in the United States; provision for co-operation in connection with the operation of the Libby dam in the light of the Canadian benefits from it; clarification regarding water diversions; the procedures relating to hydro-electric operating plans; the adoption of a longer stream flow period as a basis for calculating downstream power benefits; various matters relating to power-load calculations; adjustments to be considered in the event of the provision of flood control by Canada ahead of schedule; the avoidance of any precedent regarding waters other than those of the Columbia River basin; and clarification regarding the position of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909.

The other set of documents relates to the arrangements to be made for the sale of the Canadian entitlement to downstream power benefits for a period limited to 30 years. The arrangements which the two governments have agreed upon will be beneficial to the United States in facilitating the coming into force of the Treaty and thereby removing uncertainty about the availability of power and flood-control protection for the northwestern part of the United States for a considerable period of time. Equally, they will benefit Canada by removing uncertainty about the return to be received by Canada from the Columbia River development during the first 30 years after the completion of each dam.

The Treaty, together with the arrangements now being made, represents an important step in achieving optimum development of the water resources of the Columbia River basin as a whole, from which the United States and Canada will each receive benefits materially larger than either could obtain independently.

These arrangements fully respect the sovereignty and the interests of the two countries. As was said in the Hyannis Port communiqué, "close co-operation across the border can enhance rather than diminish the sovereignty of each country by making it stronger and more prosperous than before".



# United Nations General Assembly

## EIGHTEENTH SESSION — FINAL REPORT

THE EIGHTEENTH regular session of the General Assembly ended on December 17, 1963. In the three-month period during which it lasted, the Assembly disposed of 78 of the 86 items on its agenda. Lack of time prevented it from taking any action on that proposed by Roumania on "actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbour relations among European states having different social and political systems" or on any of the following items scheduled for consideration by the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee:

- (1) Draft Recommendation on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriage;
- (2) Measures to Accelerate the Promotion of Respect for Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms;
- (3) Manifestations of Racial Prejudice and National and Religious Intolerance;
- (4) Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance;
- (5) Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum;
- (6) Freedom of Information.

Concerning the item on the United Nations Administrative and Budgetary Procedures, the Assembly took note of the Fifth Committee's decision to refer the records of its discussions and the Secretary-General's report on the matter to the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations for further consideration.

Finally, it will be recalled, in connection with the question of the violation of human rights in South Vietnam, that a United Nations fact-finding mission visited the Republic at the invitation of its Government in October.<sup>1</sup> The mission's report was submitted without conclusions or recommendations to the Assembly on December 7 and considered in plenary on December 14. Without discussion or vote, the Assembly decided that "oppression of Buddhists by the South Vietnamese Government" had ceased to be an issue since the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem on November 1, 1963.

The Assembly's activities during its eighteenth session centered round what the President, Dr. Carlos Sosa-Rodriguez of Venezuela, described as "the three great political imperatives of our times": the maintenance of peace; the elimination of colonialism and of racial segregation, and the improvement of economic

<sup>1</sup>See *External Affairs*, November 1963, Page 386.

and social conditions in the developing countries. The Assembly continued to concern itself with the financial situation of the organization. The Assembly also admitted two new independent African states, Kenya and Zanzibar, bringing membership in the United Nations to 113 in 1963. The following paragraphs provided a summary of the decisions taken by the Assembly on these and other matters on its agenda during the closing month of its eighteenth session.

Addressing the Assembly in the closing moments of the session, Dr. Rodriguez noted with satisfaction that it had succeeded in completing its work within the time prescribed and that its debates had been conducted in an atmosphere of harmony, understanding and mutual respect so necessary for their success. "Both these achievements were possible", he went on, "because throughout this session we succeeded in keeping alive — despite inevitable discussions, sometimes heated and prolonged — the desire to maintain, or rather to increase, the improvement of international relations and to lessen international tension. While we may not have achieved spectacular results, we did help to prepare the groundwork for the future solution of the serious problems facing the world of today."

### **Admission of New Members**

The United Nations counted 111 members when the General Assembly met in New York in September. Two more were added on December 16 with the Assembly's admission, by acclamation, of Kenya and Zanzibar, on the recommendation of the Security Council. Canada joined with the other 15 United Nations members of the Commonwealth in sponsoring the application of its newest sister states to membership in the organization.

Thirty-five states from Africa alone are now seated in the General Assembly. Speaking at the flag-raising ceremony which followed the admission of the two new members, the Secretary-General, U Thant, remarked:

(This occasion) is symbolic of the progress of the world organization, the United Nations, towards the goal implicit in the Charter of the universality of membership. Each new admission brings us closer to this goal. Today (December 16), we can take pride in the admission of Zanzibar and Kenya and in the advance of the United Nations towards the ideal of the world community.

### **Disarmament**

Four items falling under this general heading and allocated to the First Committee for consideration and report were disposed of by the General Assembly on November 27. Dealing first with the report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), the Assembly adopted by acclamation a resolution sponsored by 48 members and calling on the ENDC to resume "with energy and determination" its negotiations on general and complete disarmament under effective control, in accordance with the joint statement of principles for disarmament negotiations and in a spirit of goodwill and mutual accommodation. The resolution further calls on the ENDC to encourage the widening of the areas of basic agreement or similarity in the principal parties' approaches to the funda-

mental issues of general and complete disarmament, urges it to make efforts to seek agreement on measures that could serve to reduce international tension, lessen the possibility of war and facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament, and requests it to submit to the Assembly (a) an interim report on its work at an appropriate date and (b) a comprehensive report not later than September 1, 1964.

On roll-call vote, the Assembly then requested the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, by 64 votes in favour, 18 against (including Canada), with 25 abstentions, "to study urgently the question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons" and to report on the matter to the Assembly at its nineteenth session. Canada voted against this resolution, recalling, in an explanation of its vote, Canadian opposition at the sixteenth session to the idea of a conference to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons. The Canadian position continued to be that the only effective way to ensure that nuclear weapons would never be used was through agreement on a comprehensive and carefully verified system of disarmament, and that the convening of a special conference might detract from, rather than further, negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee for the elimination of all forms of armaments, including nuclear weapons.

The Assembly took up as its next item the matter of the urgent need for the suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests. After noting with approval that, in the preamble of the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty signed on August 5, 1963, the parties state that they are "seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time" and are "determined to continue negotiations to this end", the Assembly (by a vote of 104 in favour, one against, with three abstentions) called on all states to become parties to the Treaty and requested the ENDC to continue "with a sense of urgency" its negotiations to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions for all time.

Finally, the Assembly, by 91 votes in favour (including Canada), none against, with 15 abstentions, expressed the hope that Latin American countries would initiate studies aimed at the denuclearization of Latin America, and that all states, especially the nuclear powers, would co-operate in the realization of the peaceful aims inspiring the resolution.

On December 11, the Assembly, acting this time on the recommendation of the Second Committee, was to adopt unanimously a resolution on the related question of the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament. Under the terms of the resolution, the Assembly, "encouraged by the conclusion of the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water" and "hopeful that further agreements will be reached which will lessen world tensions and lead ultimately to general and complete disarmament under effective international control", requests the Economic and Social Council, at its thirty-seventh session, to consider the possibility of establishing an *ad hoc* group to accelerate activities in this field.



## Peaceful Uses and Exploration of Outer Space

On December 13, the Assembly unanimously adopted a declaration of nine legal principles intended to govern the activities of states in the use and exploration of outer space. Sponsored in Committee by the 28 members of the Assembly's Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the declaration states that outer space and celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation and that their use, which is subject to international law, is for the benefit of all mankind. One of the most important decisions taken by the Assembly in recent sessions, the declaration brings to fruition four years of continuing efforts on the part of Canada and other members of the Outer Space Committee to widen the areas of agreement already existing between the U.S.S.R. and the United States on their approach to the problems created by the use and exploration of outer space.

A second resolution, devoted this time to international co-operation in outer space, was also adopted unanimously by the Assembly on December 13. Acting on the recommendation of the First Committee, the Assembly endorsed the establishment of a "World Weather Watch" under the auspices of the World Meteorological Organization. The resolution further recognizes the potential contribution of space satellites in expanding global telecommunication facilities and the consequent effect which this development may have for increasing the flow of information. Dealing finally with space law, the resolution calls for the prompt preparation of international agreements on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space and on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles.

Speaking on the item in Committee on December 5, the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, Mr. Paul Tremblay, greeted the declaration of principles as one of the most auspicious developments — perhaps the most auspicious development — in the process of bringing international order in outer space. "These legal principles" he went on, "are not merely goals; they are not simply expressions of hope. In the opinion of the Canadian Delegation, they reflect international law as it is accepted by member states. We consider it most important and significant that the two major space powers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, should both have declared their intent . . . to conduct their activities in outer space in conformity with these principles. For its own part, the Government of Canada also wishes to state its willingness . . . to conduct any activities in outer space in which it may be involved in conformity with these principles." Mr. Tremblay added:

If I do not mention other arrangements for achieving co-operation in outer space through the United Nations, it is because I believe that they have been adequately treated in statements already made in this Committee. I wish to mention in passing that the Canadian Government is satisfied with progress being made, particularly in the establishment of a world weather system and in the use of outer space for expanding telecommunications. The arrangements made at the Space Radio-communications Conference convened recently in Geneva by the International Telecommunication Union represent an important development. My Government is also most interested in and following closely the arrangements which are being worked out for the development of a single global telecommunications system.

## **International Year of Co-operation**

The General Assembly, on November 21, decided by acclamation to designate 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, as International Co-operation Year.

The idea of an International Co-operation Year was first advanced by Prime Minister Nehru of India at the General Assembly's sixteenth regular session in November 1961. By Resolution 1844 (XVII) of December 19, 1962, a Preparatory Committee of 12, of which Canada was a member (Canada had incidentally been an original sponsor of the resolution, with India), was set up to look into the matter and report to the current session of the Assembly. The Committee recommended that 1965 be designated as International Co-operation Year and that another committee be established to look after the arrangements this would entail. In its report, the Committee also listed suggested criteria for international action during the International Co-operation Year, proposed several specific activities which might be undertaken, and suggested measures to achieve maximum publicity. Among the activities proposed were:

- (1) Assessment in 1965 of the progress and effectiveness of the United Nations Development Decade Programmes;
- (2) assessment of the application of General Assembly resolutions dealing with aspects of economic co-operation and development where substantial progress has been achieved;
- (3) encouragement of member states to co-ordinate long-term development programmes;
- (4) an appeal for ratification of multilateral instruments;
- (5) attendance by a large number of heads of state at the twentieth regular session of the Assembly in 1965.

In this last connection, the Committee referred to an invitation of the Mayor of San Francisco for delegations and the Secretariat to be represented at a short commemorative session of the United Nations, to be held in that city in 1965 with a view to celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the Charter.

By its decision on November 21, the Assembly took note of the Preparatory Committee's suggestion and called on member states, Specialized Agencies and interested non-governmental organizations to co-operate in the celebration of the International Co-operation Year. With the exception of Colombia, which has been replaced by Argentina, the remaining 11 of the 12 states serving as members of the Preparatory Committee were re-appointed by the Assembly, this time to act as a committee to draw up and co-ordinate plans for 1965.<sup>1</sup>

## **Enlargement of Councils and Charter Review**

In its report to the Assembly of September 4, 1963, the Committee established in 1955 to consider the advisability of convening a conference to review the Char-

<sup>1</sup>The text of Canada's intervention in the general debate on this question will be found quoted in full in the December 1963 number of *External Affairs*, Page 463.

ter of the United Nations remarked that it was generally considered by delegations that there was an urgent need to ensure adequate representation of member states on the main organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. Delegations were also agreed that the composition of these organs should be a better reflection of the increase in the United Nations membership, particularly in Asia and Africa.

Various proposals to this effect were introduced and debated in the Special Political Committee from December 2 to 16 (inclusive). The Committee's final recommendation, which was considered and voted upon in plenary on December 17, called for:

- (a) membership in the Security Council to be increased from the 11 to 15 by the addition of four non-permanent seats (under this proposal the ten non-permanent members of the Council — there are currently six — would be elected in accordance with the following pattern: five from African and Asian states; one from Eastern European states; two from Latin American states and two from "Western European and other states"). The proposal was approved by 97 votes in favour (including Canada), 11 against, with four abstentions;
- (b) membership in the Economic and Social Council to be increased from 18 to 27 (the nine additional members of the Council would be elected as follows: seven from African and Asian states; one from Latin American states and one from "West European and other states"). The proposal was approved by 96 votes in favour (including Canada), 11 against, with five abstentions.

According to the Charter, the increase in the membership of the two councils requires ratification by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including the permanent members of the Security Council. Of these, the U.S.S.R. and France voted against the resolutions and the United States and Britain abstained.

Speaking of the proposals in Committee on December 6, the Canadian Representative, Mr. Jean Chapdelaine, reiterated the views first expressed on the matter by Prime Minister Pearson in his address to the General Assembly on September 19. He went on:

The task before us is to give adequate representation on the Council to the new members who have joined the United Nations since 1945. We want to do this. There is not the slightest doubt in our minds that enlargement is the answer to the problem, and that it must be adequate in both the Security Council and in ECOSOC to permit an equitable allocation of seats. This equitable distribution of seats cannot be based exclusively on geography but must take full account of the criteria set out in Article 23 (of the Charter), the most important of which, as I have noted, is the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization. It must, therefore, take into account the existence of the Commonwealth and of its contribution to United Nations affairs, a consideration to which my Government and the people of Canada attach the utmost importance. Finally, we must remember that the membership of the United Nations has more than doubled since 1945 and is still growing. It is apparent, therefore, that, while avoiding undesirable inflation, we should move in the direction of restoring the ratio between the total of the membership and the number of seats open to



election in order to satisfy each grouping — those provided for under the Gentleman's Agreement of 1946, and the new members.<sup>1</sup>

The Assembly also adopted on December 17, by 96 votes in favour (including Canada), none against, with 11 abstentions, a resolution recommended by the Second Committee that invites the Economic and Social Council to enlarge its various functional committees (the Economic, the Social and the Co-ordination Committees) "as an interim measure pending the enlargement of the Council itself".<sup>2</sup>

Acting once more on the report of the Special Political Committee, the Assembly unanimously adopted, on December 17, a resolution to amend its rules of procedure so as to increase the membership of its General Committee, with 17 Vice-Presidents to be elected each year instead of 13 as at present. The 17 Vice-Presidents are to be elected as follows: seven from African and Asian states, one from Eastern European states, three from Latin American states, two from Western European and other states, five as permanent members of the Security Council, the geographical region providing the President of the Assembly receiving one Vice-Presidency fewer than specified above. In addition, the resolution specified that the chairmen of the Assembly's main committees be elected in accordance with the following formula: Three will represent African and Asian states, one will represent the Eastern European states, one will represent the Latin American states, one will represent Western European and other states. The seventh chairmanship is to be given in alternate years to a representative of the Latin American states and to a representative of the "Western European and other states". The resolution finally provides for the geographical rotation of the post of President of the Assembly.

With a view to rounding up its work on this and other questions pertaining to Charter review, the Assembly agreed without objection (December 17) to keep in being the committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter, set up by Resolution 992 (X) of November 21, 1955 (to which reference has been made in the opening paragraph of this section).

### **Other Political Questions**

Acting on the recommendation of the Special Political Committee, the General Assembly, on December 3, called on the Palestine Conciliation Commission to continue its efforts on behalf of the Palestine refugees. The Commission's efforts have consisted in recent years in informal discussions with the governments concerned. Canada has consistently supported these endeavours to find some constructive means of alleviating the plight of the Palestine refugees and accordingly

<sup>1</sup>The Gentleman's Agreement of 1946 was concerned with the composition of the Security Council, and stipulated that the six elected members were to include one representative from the Commonwealth, one from Eastern Europe, two from Latin America, one from Western Europe and one from the Middle East.

<sup>2</sup>The Economic and Social Council was to act on this recommendation at the December 19 meeting of its resumed thirty-sixth session by enlarging by nine members, elected for one year, the composition of its Economic, Social and Co-ordination Committees. The following countries were then elected by secret ballot to sit on each of the three committees for 1964: Cameroun, Ghana, Madagascar, Tanganyika, the United Arab Republic, Iran, Indonesia, Mexico and Italy.

voted in favour of the resolution, which was adopted by 82 votes in favour, one against, with 14 abstentions.

In addition, the resolution expressed the Assembly's appreciation of the services rendered in the matter by Dr. John H. Davis, the retiring Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agencies for the Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), and directed attention to the Agency's precarious financial position by urging increased contributions from governments (UNRWA was established in 1949 to provide relief and rehabilitation facilities for refugees from Palestine located in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Gaza). At the pledging conference held for UNRWA on December 9<sup>1</sup>, Canada undertook, subject to Parliamentary approval, to contribute \$500,000 to the Agency's 1964 budget and, in addition, promised a special contribution of wheat flour valued at \$500,000.

Two resolutions on *apartheid* finally emerged from the Special Political Committee's long and protracted discussion on this subject. The first, which was approved by 100 votes in favour (including Canada), two against (South Africa and Portugal), with one abstention, appealed to all states (a) to take appropriate measures and intensify their efforts separately and collectively with a view to dissuading the Government of the Republic of South Africa from pursuing its policies of *apartheid* and (b) to promote the implementation of the Security Council's resolution of December 4 regarding the ending of the export of strategic materials to South Africa. The second resolution, adopted by 99 votes in favour (including Canada) and two against (South Africa and Portugal), requested the Secretary-General to seek ways and means of providing relief and assistance, through the appropriate international agencies, to the families of all persons persecuted by South Africa for opposing *apartheid*.

In a statement made immediately following the vote in plenary on December 16 on the above-mentioned resolutions, the Secretary-General said:

I am prepared to do everything within my power to assist in a humanitarian measure of this kind. In this connection, I would understand the reference to appropriate international agencies as follows: If the families have left South Africa, they might be considered refugees and I would plan to take up the matter with the High Commissioner for Refugees. With respect to the families within South Africa, I would consult with the Red Cross to determine what assistance might be rendered under its auspices. I would further understand that it is not envisaged that I should provide direct relief, since no funds have been made available for this purpose. With respect to the question of which families are to be assisted, I would read the word persecuted to mean imprisoned, interned, or subject to other restrictions, as referred to in General Assembly Resolution 1881 (XVIII) of October 11, 1963, and the Security Council resolution of December 4, 1963.

A few days earlier (December 13) the Assembly, acting this time on the recommendation of the First Committee, had adopted on roll call a resolution on Korea by a vote of 65 in favour (including Canada), 11 against, with 24 abstentions. In keeping with past Assembly decisions on the matter, the resolution

<sup>1</sup>See section entitled "Pledging Conferences".

reaffirms United Nations objectives for a unified, independent and democratic country under a representative form of government, calls on the North Korean authorities to accept these objectives, and extends for another year the mandate of the Commission (UNCURK) set up by the United Nations in 1950 to bring about the unification of Korea and carry out other functions relating to relief and rehabilitation.

### **Economic Questions**

As part of the United Nations Development Decade, the Assembly adopted on December 11, on the recommendation of the Second Committee, a number of resolutions designed to promote the development of under-developed countries. Thirteen recommendations were included in the Committee's report to plenary. Reference has already been made above to that concerning the conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament. Of the remaining resolutions, six had passed Committee stage in the first two weeks of November.<sup>1</sup> Of the six, those relating to Agrarian Reform, the Eradication of Illiteracy and the Role of Patents in the Transfer of Technology to Developing Countries were unanimously adopted by the Assembly. The resolution dealing with literacy campaigns and the supply of food was adopted by a vote of 89 in favour (including Canada), none against, with one abstention. That dealing with the question of the possibility of establishing a United Nations Training and Research Institute was approved by 78 votes in favour (including Canada), one against, with 11 abstentions. Finally, the proposal to transform the United Nations Special Fund into a Capital Development Fund capable of both pre-investment and investment activities, was endorsed by the Assembly by 81 votes in favour, none against, with nine abstentions (including Canada).

The Assembly then adopted, on the report of the Second Committee, and by unanimous vote, resolutions dealing with the following subjects:

- (1) *The accelerated flow of capital and technical assistance:* Under the terms of this resolution, the Assembly requests the Economic and Social Council to give prompt and serious consideration at its thirty-seventh session to the establishment of a standing committee or any other appropriate machinery to keep the matter under constant and systematic review against the background of total capital resources, the inflow and outflow of capital in the developing countries.
- (2) *Planning for economic development:* The Assembly, in this instance, requests the Secretary-General (a) to further the assistance rendered to the regional planning institutes by drawing on the knowledge of countries experienced in planning their economic developments, applying this knowledge to the specific conditions and needs of each developing country, and (b) intensify the activities already initiated on projections of

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<sup>1</sup>See *External Affairs*, December 1963, Page 450.



world economic trends relating to the expansion of world trade and the acceleration of economic growth in the world economy.

- (3) *Activities in the field of industrial development*: The Assembly endorses the view of the Advisory Committee of Experts on Industrial Development Activities that the present institutional framework of the United Nations activities in the field of industrial developments is not satisfactory and that existing resources are not adequate. It accordingly recommends that the Economic and Social Council consider the establishment of an Organization for Industrial Development capable of dealing with the problems of the developing countries in order to intensify, concentrate and expedite United Nations efforts for industrial development.
- (4) *A world campaign against hunger, disease and ignorance*: Non-governmental organizations are called upon in this resolution to put their increased enthusiasm, energy and other resources into a world drive against hunger, disease and ignorance, which would begin in 1965 and be continued for the remainder of the United Nations Development Decade.
- (5) *International co-operation in the application of science and technology to economic and social development*: Following on the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology held in Geneva in February 1963<sup>1</sup>, the Economic and Social Council, at its thirty-sixth session, authorized the establishment of an Advisory Committee of 18 members, whose task would be to keep progress in the field of science and technology under review and propose to the Council practical measures for the benefit of the less-developed areas; to review the relevant programmes of the United Nations and related agencies in close co-operation with the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, and propose to the Council measures for their improvement; to consider questions referred to it by the Council, the Secretary-General, or the executive heads of the Specialized Agencies and the IAEA; and to study and advise the Council as to the need for making changes of organization or other arrangements which would advance the application of science and technology for the benefit of developing countries. The Assembly's resolution asks the Advisory Committee to examine "the possibility of establishing a programme on international co-operation in science and technology for economic and social development, in which scientists and technicians of the highly-developed countries would, as a matter of priority, help to study the programmes of the developing countries and explore suitable solutions, having regard to limitations upon the material resources and trained personnel currently available to the developing countries".

A resolution concerning the decentralization of the economic and social activities of the United Nations and the strengthening of the Regional Economic

<sup>1</sup>See *External Affairs*, April 1963, Page 163.

Commissions and the United Nations office in Beirut was then adopted by a vote of 91 in favour (including Canada), none against, with one abstention. The resolution welcomes the steps already taken by the Secretary-General in this direction, requests him to carry on with the implementation of the policy, and recommends the establishment of a technical assistance co-ordination unit in the Beirut office.

Finally, the Assembly, by 94 votes in favour, none against, with no abstentions, invited the coming Geneva Conference of the United Nations on Trade and Development to give serious consideration to the measures suggested by developing countries, in their joint declaration to the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, for the elimination of barriers impeding their exports and trade expansion between countries with different levels of development and different social and economic systems.

Three resolutions on the progress and operations of the Special Fund and the United Nations programmes of technical co-operation completed the Assembly's



*Mr. Kalman Kaplansky, Canadian representative on the Second Committee of the UN General Assembly, signs for Canada at the 1963 Technical Assistance and Special Fund Pledging Conference. Seated beside Mr. Kaplansky is Ambassador D. O. Hay of Australia, President of the Conference. Standing behind are (left to right): Mr. Alioune N'Doye (Senegal), First Vice-President of the Conference; Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, Managing Director of the Special Fund; Mr. David Owen, Executive Chairman of the UN Technical Assistance Board; and Mr. Bayaryn Jargaisaikhan (Mongolia), Second Vice-President of the Conference.*



work in the economic field. The first resolution which received the Assembly's unanimous approval increased member states' representation on the Governing Council of the Special Fund from 18 to 24. (Acting on this decision, the Economic and Social Council, at its resumed thirty-sixth session on December 16, elected the Federal Republic of Germany and Nepal for a three-year term of office on the Council, Sweden and Tunisia for a two-year term, and Denmark and India for a year, with Denmark, Germany and Sweden to represent the developed countries on the Council and India, Nepal and Tunisia the developing countries.)

The second resolution, adopted by a vote of 79 in favour (including Canada), none against, with 15 abstentions, authorized the use of funds from the Special Account of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA) for the provision of operational personnel by all participating organizations, at the request of governments, on an experimental basis, for the years 1964-1966. Finally the Assembly, by unanimous vote, confirmed the allocation of \$46,347,638 authorized by the Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council to each of the organizations participating in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. The resolution adds that the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board may make changes in these allocations to provide as far as possible for the full use of contributions. Modifications to country programmes requested by recipient governments are also authorized.

All three resolutions mentioned above had previously been approved in Committee.

Earlier (December 5) the Assembly had unanimously approved, without discussion, a resolution drafted by the Second Committee and providing for the addition of four new members to the United Nations FAO Inter-governmental Committee on the World Food Programme. Two of the members were to be elected by the Economic and Social Council and two by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)<sup>1</sup>.

### **Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Questions**

On November 20, the General Assembly, acting on the report of the Third Committee, unanimously adopted a Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The Declaration states in part (Article I) that "discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offense to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as a violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and as a fact capable of disturbing the peace and security among peoples".

<sup>1</sup>The Committee of 20 states, composed in equal number of members of the United Nations and members of the Food and Agriculture Organization, was established pursuant to Resolution 1714 (XVI) of December 19, 1961, to provide relief from hunger and malnutrition among needy countries. At its resumed thirty-sixth session on December 6, the Economic and Social Council elected Jamaica and the United Kingdom to serve on the United Nations FAO Inter-governmental Committee on the World Food Programme.



In two supplementary decisions, also taken on November 20, the Assembly (a) called on governments to publish the Declaration as widely as possible, and (b) proposed that a draft international convention on the subject be prepared for consideration at its nineteenth session. The first resolution was adopted unanimously; the second was approved by 89 votes in favour, none against, with 14 abstentions (including Canada).

Addressing the Assembly following the President's announcement on the vote on the Declaration, the Canadian representative, Mrs. M. Konantz, said:

By adopting the Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Assembly has given greater expression to the pronouncement in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that all human beings are born free and equal.

The right of the individual to protection of the law without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex is enshrined in the Canadian Bill of Rights and elsewhere in Canadian law. Therefore there can be no question about the attitude and action of Canada to a declaration of the United Nations which elaborates the provisions of the Charter intended to promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, in the Canadian view, a declaration should concern itself primarily with principles to guide the conduct and behaviour of nations. Since it creates no legal obligation, it should be designated to exert the maximum moral influence. The language used should commend itself to the widest possible support.

My Delegation continues to regret that the Assembly should have found it desirable to depart from the text carefully drafted by the Commission on Human Rights at its nineteenth session. When this draft was being considered in the Third Committee, some views were expressed and some language included which, in the Canadian Government's view, were inappropriate for a declaration and which involve, for Canada, considerations related to provincial jurisdiction.

Canada has been particularly concerned about the implications in Article 9, Sub-Paragraph 3, since it could have been interpreted as restricting such well-established rights as freedom of opinion and expression and freedom of association. We fully recognize the aims of those who wish to provide new safeguards against the evil of racial discrimination, but we must guard against the temptation to pursue one desirable aim at the expense of others equally desirable. The laws of Canada have long provided for the punishment of those who would incite or use violence in pursuit of racial discrimination. To contemplate in addition the persecution and punishment of groups or individuals, on the ground that they seek to promote any particular view, even one as offensive as racial discrimination, is to go too far. This would encroach on one of the most cherished human rights in our society, the right to express opinion freely. Moreover, such an approach can hardly be reconciled with Articles 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by which everyone has a right to freedom of opinion and expression, as well as the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

For these reasons, and in the hope of persuading the General Assembly to modify this article, the Canadian Delegation in the Third Committee abstained in the vote on the declaration as a whole. On the other hand, we in Canada have always fully supported the intent and purposes of the declaration and for this reason the Canadian Delegation has voted for the declaration in this Assembly. It would have been a sad reflection on the United Nations if the declaration could not have been adopted unanimously. Lack of complete agreement would only serve to encourage those who would practice racial discrimination.

The Assembly also gave its approval on December 5 to nine resolutions proposed by the Third Committee in connection with the Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1963. The resolutions, which had passed committee stage early in November<sup>1</sup>, dealt with community development, the world social situation,

<sup>1</sup>See *External Affairs*, December 1963, Pages 451-53.

housing, building and planning, capital punishment, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the participation of women in national, social and economic development, the question of the preparation of a draft declaration on the elimination of discrimination against women, the request for a 1969 session of the Commission on Human Rights, and the matter of the equitable geographical distribution of membership in the Commission on Human Rights.

Except as regards the resolution on community action and that on a 1964 session of the Human Rights Commission, all the above-mentioned recommendations of the Third Committee were unanimously approved by the Assembly. The vote on the resolution on community action showed 89 delegations in favour and none against, with one abstention. Twelve delegations (including Canada) voted against the resolution calling for a 1964 session of the Human Rights Commission, which was nevertheless adopted by an over-all vote of 78 in favour, 12 against, with seven abstentions. (Pursuant to the Assembly's decision, the Economic and Social Council at its resumed thirty-sixth session decided [December 13] that a session of the Committee on Human Rights would be held in 1964 at headquarters, from February 17 to March 13.)

In explaining Canada's vote on the resolution, the Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Dr. John B. Stewart, M.P., made clear Canada's deep and abiding concern for the promotion of human rights throughout the world. If, therefore, he went on, Canada voted against the resolution, it was because it believed that the United Nations, in dealing with the many problems which required its attention, had to operate within the limits of the resources, human, material and financial, at its disposal. In order to do so, the organization had to establish efficient priorities and abide by them. The General Assembly had decided to give priority in 1964 to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. This meeting would necessarily entail a heavy drain on United Nations facilities and staff resources. Because of this, the Secretary-General had asked that the Functional Commissions should not meet in 1964, a request reflected in a decision of the Economic and Social Council. While, therefore, the Canadian Delegation understood the desire of some delegations to have a draft convention on racial discrimination ready for the nineteenth session of the Assembly, it considered that the holding of the meeting of the Human Rights Commission in 1964 would adversely affect the United Nations operations in areas equally important to the needs and aspirations of all member states but particularly those of the less-developed countries.

The Assembly's remaining decisions on social and humanitarian questions were taken on the recommendation of the Third Committee on December 12. With regard to the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Assembly decided that the membership of the Executive Committee for the High Commissioner's programme should be increased from 25 to 30, so as to achieve the widest possible representation. In the second resolution pertaining to the High Commissioner's report, the Assembly requested the High Com-

missioner to extend his programme of international protection to refugees under the mandate given to him, with particular attention to the problem of new refugees. The resolution also invites member states to aid in solving the refugee problem by facilitating voluntary repatriation, resettlement or local integration of refugees, by improving the legal status of refugees residing in their territory, and by providing the necessary financial support to the High Commissioner's programme in order that the tasks assigned to his Office may be achieved. Both resolutions were unanimously adopted. A third resolution, which was also given unanimous approval, requests the Secretary-General to transmit to member states, for their consideration, the texts of the draft International Covenants on Human Rights, together with the records of the debates of the Third Committee on the measures proposed for their implementation. The resolution further calls on the Assembly to make a special effort to complete the adoption of the Covenants at its nineteenth session.

Finally, the Assembly, by a unanimous vote, designated 1968 as International Year for Human Rights. Under the terms of the resolution, the Economic and Social Council is requested to invite the Commission on Human Rights, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, (a) to submit to the Assembly's twentieth session "a programme of measures and activities representing a lasting contribution to the cause of human rights to be undertaken by member states and the Specialized Agencies during 1968 in celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" and (b) to prepare, also for the consideration of the Assembly at its twentieth session, suggestions for a list of goals in the field of human rights to be achieved by the United Nations not later than the end of 1968.

### **Colonial Questions**

It is a measure of the interest evinced by the Assembly in the situation of colonial countries and peoples throughout the world that it should have adopted no fewer than 22 resolutions on this subject in the course of its eighteenth session. For the most part, its decisions arose out of the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four established to keep under continuing review the situation with regard to the implementation of the Assembly's 1960 Declaration on Colonialism.

The Assembly's resolutions on colonial questions were otherwise concerned with reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, and the question of Oman.

Early in the session, those chapters of the report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four relating to Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, and the Portuguese territories were referred, on the recommendation of the General (Steering) Committee, to the Fourth Committee, for consideration and report. An account will be found elsewhere of the action taken by the Assembly in respect of Southern Rhodesia<sup>1</sup>. On November 13, the Assembly adopted three resolutions

<sup>1</sup>See *External Affairs*, November and December 1963, Pages 388 and 453.



on South West Africa. The first, approved on roll-call by 84 votes in favour, six against, with 17 abstentions (including Canada), after reaffirming the "inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and independence", considered that any attempt by South Africa to annex a part or the whole of the territory would constitute an act of aggression and urged member states to refrain forthwith from supplying arms, equipment and petroleum which might be used by South Africa for this purpose. Finally, the resolution called on the Government of South Africa to inform the Secretary-General not later than November 30, 1963, of its decision regarding the appointment of a United Nations Technical Assistance Resident Representative for South West Africa, as recommended by the Assembly in its Resolution 1805 (XVII) of December 14, 1962. The other two resolutions on South West Africa, which in this case received the Assembly's unanimous approval, dealt respectively with petitions concerning the territory and the provision of special educational and training facilities for South West Africans. All three resolutions had passed committee stage on November 12<sup>1</sup>.

One last resolution on South West Africa, adopted by the Assembly on December 17, called on the Security Council to consider the critical situation prevailing in the territory. Adopted on roll-call by 89 votes in favour (including Canada), two against, with three abstentions, the resolution in effect rejects South Africa's contention — in response to the Assembly's query of November 13 — that (a) it has so far been precluded from commenting on the question at issue because of the *sub-judice* rule arising from the fact that a litigation with respect to the South West Africa question was now before the International Court of Justice, and (b) in any event, its reply should be allowed to wait until the Oendaal (South African) Commission and Enquiry has made known its plans for the future development of the territory.

As regards the territories under Portuguese administration, the Assembly, on December 3, adopted, by 91 votes in favour, two against, with 11 abstentions, a resolution requesting the Security Council to give immediate consideration to the question and to adopt such measures as might be indicated to put into effect its earlier decisions on the matter, particularly those of its resolution of July 31, 1963, calling on Portugal to recognize immediately the right of these territories to self-determination and independence.

Canada abstained in the vote on the resolution. Explaining his vote when the resolution was considered in the Fourth Committee on November 27, the Canadian Representative, Mr. Leo Cadieux, M.P., reiterated that the Canadian Government had strong sympathy for the aspirations of the African people in Portuguese territories and therefore viewed with deep regret the failure of Portugal to acknowledge its obligations under the Charter and to apply the principle of self-determination in its overseas territories. After calling on the Government of Portugal once again to co-operate with the United Nations, Mr. Cadieux went

<sup>1</sup> See *External Affairs*, December 1963, Page 454.

on: "We do not consider that the situation in these territories warrants mandatory Security Council action involving sanctions or other punitive measures, and we consider it important that the language of resolutions on this subject should not be open to different interpretations. Since, therefore, we had this difficulty with Operative Paragraph 1, which is the most important part of the resolution, my Delegation found it necessary to abstain."

The General Assembly was to complete its consideration of the situation in the territories under Portuguese administration by adopting on December 16, by 102 votes in favour (including Canada), two against, with one abstention, a resolution which drew the attention of member states within whose boundaries refugees from the territories in question might be residing to the possibilities opened to the said refugees of obtaining educational assistance from the United Nations under the organization's programmes of technical co-operation.

The Assembly dealt with the remaining chapters of the Report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four without reference to its main committees. Following a general debate on colonialism, in the course of which some 45 speakers were heard from, the Assembly adopted, on December 11, seven resolutions dealing respectively with Aden, British Guiana, Malta, Fiji, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the three territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. A last resolution concerned the work of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.

The seven resolutions referred to above contained the following recommendations:

*The resolution on Aden*, adopted by 77 votes in favour, ten against (including Canada), with 11 abstentions, recommends that the people of the territory and of the Aden protectorates be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination and that the exercise of that right take the form of a consultation of the population, to be held, in the presence of United Nations observers, on the basis of adult universal suffrage. (A separate resolution on Aden, adopted by the Assembly on December 16, this time on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, invites Britain (a) to take effective measures to secure the immediate release of the national leaders and trade unionists in the territory and (b) to end all acts of deportation. This resolution was approved by 53 votes in favour, 23 against, with 31 abstentions.

*The resolution on British Guiana*, adopted by 78 votes in favour, none against with 21 abstentions (including Canada), reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of the territory to independence and calls on the British Government to fix, without delay, a date for the independence of British Guiana in accordance with the wishes of its people.

*The resolution on Malta*, adopted without vote, notes with satisfaction that the island will attain independence not later than May 31, 1964, and congratulates the Governments of Malta and Britain for the steps taken to achieve the aims of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence.

*The resolution on Fiji*, adopted by 78 votes in favour, none against, with 2

abstentions (including Canada), invites the administering power to work out, with the representatives of the people of the territory, a new constitution providing for free elections based on the principle of one man, one vote, and the creation of representative institutions with a view to the early transfer of all powers to the people of Fiji.

*The resolution on Northern Rhodesia*, adopted unanimously, notes with satisfaction that elections for the new Legislative Council will be held in January 1964 and expresses the hope that the territory will achieve independence in the nearest possible future.

*The resolution on Nyasaland*, also adopted unanimously, notes with satisfaction that the territory will attain independence not later than July 6, 1964, and hopes that nothing will hinder it from becoming an independent state by that date.

*The resolution on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland*, adopted by 78 votes in favour, three against, with 16 abstentions (including Canada), (a) once more requests the administering power immediately to convene a constitutional conference for each of the three territories, with a view to devising democratic constitutional arrangements which would lead to general elections based on universal suffrage and thereafter to immediate independence, and (b) warns the Government of South Africa that any attempt to annex or encroach on the territorial integrity of these territories will be considered an act of aggression.

In its final resolution on this item, the Assembly requested the Special Committee of Twenty-Four to pursue independence for all territories, and "deeply regretted" the refusal of certain administering powers to co-operate with the Special Committee in its endeavours. The resolution was adopted on roll-call by 95 votes in favour, none against, with six abstentions. Canada voted in favour of the resolution. Belgium, Britain, France, South Africa, Spain and the United States abstained. Portugal did not participate in the vote.

As regards those territories covered by Chapter XI of the Charter, the Assembly, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, unanimously approved on December 16 the report on economic advancement in non-self-governing territories prepared by the Committee on Information for Non-Self-Governing Territories on the basis of the information transmitted to the Secretariat by the administering powers concerned during 1962.

A second resolution, which was also adopted unanimously on December 16, once more invited the United States, Britain, France, Australia, Portugal and Spain (a) to take all necessary measures to ensure that the study and training facilities offered by member states to the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories under their administration were fully utilized and (b) to render effective assistance, especially as regards their travel formalities, to those among them who had already applied for or been granted the scholarships in question.

More important however, was the Assembly's approval on the same day by 144 votes in favour (including Canada), none against, with 27 abstentions, of



the Fourth Committee's recommendation to dissolve the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and request the Special Committee of Twenty-Four to take over its functions. (In Resolution 1847 (XVII) of December 19, 1962, the Assembly had recognized that the Committee on Information continued to play a useful role both as regards the attainment of the principles set forth in Chapter XI of the Charter and the implementation of the mandate incumbent on its Special Committee of Twenty-Four. The Assembly had accordingly decided (a) to continue the Committee on Information in office for one more year and (b) to review the situation at its eighteenth session "in the light of the rapid progress required for the accession of non-self-governing territories of independence".) The recent decision of the Assembly should now dispose of the duplication of work and overlapping of responsibilities evident in the handling of questions relating to non-self-governing territories since the establishment in 1960 of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.

The Trusteeship Council continued to review conditions in the Australian-administered trust territories of New Guinea and Nauru and in the United States-administered trust territory of the Islands of the Pacific. The Council's report for 1963, which dealt with New Guinea and Nauru, was the object of a resolution adopted by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee on December 16. As regards New Guinea, the Council examined the extent to which its recommendations in the political, economic and educational fields had been implemented. It took note in particular of a decision taken by the administering authority to establish by 1964 a House of Assembly elected by adult suffrage, on a common roll, with full powers of legislation. It also welcomed the intention to enlarge the Administrator's Council and to associate indigenous elected members with its work as a means of accelerating the progressive development of an Executive responsible to the House of Assembly. With regard to Nauru, the Council noted the statement of the Resettlement Committee of the Nauru Local Government Council that either Curtis Island or Fraser Island was acceptable as a site for the resettlement of the Nauru people, subject to agreement on the future form of government of the Nauruans in their new home. The Council urged continuing consultation between the Nauru Local Government Council and the Administering Authority in an effort to arrive at a harmonious solution, bearing in mind the legitimate desire of the Nauruans to preserve their national identity.

Finally, the Assembly adopted, on December 11, on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, a resolution on the situation in the Imamate of Oman. The question of Oman was first brought before the Security Council in 1957, when a number of Arab delegations charged Britain with "armed aggression against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity" of the Imamate. In his intervention of December 9 in Committee, the Canadian Representative, Mr. Leo Cadieux, remarked that the debate had confirmed his opinion that the point at issue was not a colonial question as such. The situation in Oman, he

went on, had never been examined in the United Nations under the heading of "colonialism" and Oman had never once been mentioned in any of the organization's list of non-self-governing territories or trust territories. Further, the Canadian Delegation had found nothing in the excellent report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (M. Herbert de Ribbing, Swedish Ambassador to Spain) on the matter to indicate the existence in Oman of a colonial problem.

After taking into account the fact that the Special Representative himself had recognized in his report that, in the course of his mission, "he had not had the time nor had he considered himself competent to evaluate the territorial, historical and political issues involved in the problem", the Assembly decided by 96 votes in favour (including Canada), one against, with four abstentions, to establish an *ad hoc* committee of five members, to be appointed by the President of the Assembly, to look into the matter, and called on all parties concerned to co-operate with the Committee by all possible means, including facilitating visits to the area should these ever prove necessary in the accomplishment of its task.

### **Administrative and Budgetary Questions**

During the period under review, the Assembly (on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee) adopted 19 resolutions dealing with administrative and budgetary questions. The Assembly also agreed, on the recommendation of the Committee, (a) to appoint Viktor F. Ulanchev of the U.S.S.R. as member of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) for the unexpired term of office of Aleksei F. Sokirikin, and (b) confirmed, on December 11, the appointment of George A. Murphy (Chairman of the Irving Trust Company of New York), to the Investments Committee until December 31, 1964, in replacement of Mr. David Rockefeller, who had resigned some time earlier. Finally, the Assembly, by 51 votes in favour (including Canada), ten against, with 23 abstentions, authorized the Secretary-General (a) to arrange for the installation for one year, on an experimental basis, of electric voting equipment in the General Assembly Hall, and (b) to carry out additional work of a preparatory nature in one or two committee rooms, so as to permit, if the experiment is successful, an eventual expansion of the system without undue expense. The resolution, co-sponsored in Committee by Canada and 15 other countries, and adopted by the Assembly on December 12, had as its basis a report on the matter submitted by the Fifth Committee pursuant to the Assembly's decision of November 11 on the question of the improvement of the methods of work of the Assembly. (Among other things, the Fifth Committee had suggested that, should the Assembly favour the introduction of a mechanical voting system on a trial basis, it be introduced experimentally for one year in the Plenary Hall or in a committee room. In addition, the Committee suggested that, during the alterations to be undertaken at United Nations headquarters in 1964, preparatory work be carried out to provide for a possible eventual expansion of

the system, without undue expense, to two more committee rooms or to one committee room and the Plenary Hall, depending on where the first installation was made. If these suggestions were adopted, a total additional appropriation of \$105,100 would, in the estimation of the Fifth Committee, be needed under the United Nations budget for 1964. Of this sum, \$40,700 would be for the complete installation of the system in one room, \$26,400 for the preparation of two other rooms, and \$30,000 for the rental and maintenance of the voting equipment for one year.)

Of the 19 resolutions referred to above, seven were adopted by the Assembly on December 11. These dealt respectively with the supplementary budget estimates for 1963, personnel matters, including the geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat, the scale of assessments of the United Nations, amendments to the Pension Scheme Regulations for members of the International Court of Justice, and the report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board.

By a vote of 71 in favour (including Canada), 11 against, with one abstention, the Assembly adopted a resolution embodying adjustments to the 1963 estimates, the combined effect of which will be (a) to decrease the voted expenditure appropriation of \$93,911,050 by \$1,034,500, and (b) to decrease the estimate of income under the 1963 budget from \$15,247,500 to \$15,190,500. The reduction in the expenditures for 1963 was brought about to a large extent by substantial cuts in expenditures under Sections 2 (Special Meetings and Conferences) and 3 (Salaries and Wages) of the Budget.

On the question of a proposed amendment to the pension scheme for members of the International Court of Justice, the Assembly approved, without objection, amendments to three articles of the relevant regulations, the net effect of which will be to raise the annual pension of judges, following a full term of nine years, from \$10,000 to \$12,500, beginning January 1, 1964. This adjustment is made by fixing the pension at half the judge's annual salary, which now stands at \$25,000.

The Assembly then unanimously agreed to a recommendation (a) setting the scale of assessment of Algeria at 0.10 per cent; of Jamaica at 0.05 per cent, and of Burundi, Kuwait, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda at 0.04 per cent, and (b) at the same time reducing the percentage assessment of Czechoslovakia and Hungary. (Adjustments to the assessments of the two last-mentioned countries were recommended by the Committee on Contributions of the United Nations, following an examination of the difference existing between systems for calculating national income.)

The next two resolutions arose out of the report of the Fifth Committee on personnel questions. The first, dealing with the geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat, was approved by 86 votes in favour (including Canada), none against, with 11 abstentions. It calls on the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to have all member states represented on the Secretariat, asks the Secretary-General (a), in the recruitment of his staff on a wide geographical basis



established at the senior levels of the Secretariat, to take into special account the equitable distribution of each post among member states of each region, and (b) to report to the nineteenth session of the Assembly on the progress made in the implementation of these requests. The second resolution amends the staff regulations dealing with language allowance and repatriation grants and endorses proposals of the Secretary-General to implement a flat-rate language allowance and to make certain payments for service benefits.

In its final decision of December 11 on the reports of the Fifth Committee, the Assembly took note, without objection, of the report of the Joint Staff Pension Board on the operation of the Pension Fund for the year ended September 30, 1962.

On December 17, the Assembly took note of the report of the Fifth Committee relevant to Chapter XIV of the report of the Economic and Social Council for 1963. (The Committee's report was concerned primarily with the action the Council took under various agenda headings or the discussions carried out relative to the financial implications of the actions taken by the Council during the period under review.) It also endorsed a series of recommendations relating to: the organization's budget estimates for 1964; the financing of the United Nations Emergency Forces (UNEF); studies concerned with the financing of peace-keeping operations; the United Nations International School; co-ordination within the United Nations family of organizations, and some administrative matters with respect to technical assistance expenditures incurred by Specialized Agencies.

Five resolutions relating to the United Nations budget estimates for 1964 were adopted by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee. The first resolution fixes (Part A) the expenditures of the organization for 1964 at \$101,327,600, against (Part B) estimates of income of \$15,186,800 other than assessments on member states. A final section of the resolution (Part C) sets out details of how the net expenditures for 1964 will be assessed on members, factors such as revised estimates for 1963 and amounts available on surplus account for 1962 entering into the formula. The vote on the resolution was as follows:

Part A: 96 in favour (including Canada), ten against, three abstentions;

Part B: 109 in favour (including Canada), none against, no abstentions;

Part C: 97 in favour (including Canada), 11 against, one abstention.

The second resolution, adopted by 100 votes in favour (including Canada), 11 against, with no abstentions, authorizes the Secretary-General, as has been customary in past years, to enter into commitments to meet unforeseen and extraordinary expenses in the financial year 1964 with the prior concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. The resolution waives this provision, however, in the matter of expenditures not exceeding \$2 million, which the Secretary-General certifies to be related to the maintenance of peace and security. The third resolution, adopted by 98 votes in favour (including Canada), 11 against, with one abstention, recommends that the working capital fund be established, as in 1963, at a level of \$40 million. The fourth resolution,

adopted unanimously, recommends the continuance until December 31, 1964, of the pattern of conference established in 1957 and revised at last year's session of the General Assembly. It asks the Economic and Social Council (a) to consider advancing its first session of the year to January and its summer session to May or early June and (b) to undertake during 1964, for the Assembly's consideration at its nineteenth session, a study of the optimum frequency of the sessions of its various subsidiary bodies, as well as the possibility of either integrating or eliminating bodies whose terms of reference might overlap. A final provision of the resolution recommends that the Assembly decide *as a general rule* that only the annual programme of conferences be rationalized and that not more than one major special conference be scheduled to take place annually. The fifth resolution authorizes the Secretary-General to adjust sectional budgetary provisions for technical assistance programmes in 1964 up to a limit of a 5 percent reduction in any of the three sections. The effect of this authorization will be to enable the Secretary-General to appropriate additional funds to areas of high priority in the technical-assistance field at the expense of areas he considers of relatively lower priority.

Finally, the Assembly, by a vote of 88 in favour (including Canada), 12 against, with five abstentions, extended the Secretary-General's authority to sell United Nations bonds until December 31, 1964. This decision should help alleviate the organization's financial situation by facilitating additional sales and enabling governments to fulfill pledges already made. (Of the \$200-million bond issue which could be sold until December 31, 1963, only \$153.1 million had been subscribed by the year's end, of which \$5.5 million had been pledged but not purchased.)

The Fifth Committee's report on the financing of UNEF was considered in conjunction with the Secretary-General's report on the organization and functioning of the force. After taking note, without objection, of the Secretary-General's report, the Assembly adopted, by a roll-call vote of 77 in favour (including Canada), 11 against, with 20 abstentions, an appropriation for UNEF of \$17,750,000 for 1964, the first \$2 million of which will be apportioned in accordance with the regular scale of assessments for 1964. The balance will be assessed in the same manner, save that the states defined as "economically less-developed" will be assessed an amount calculated at 42.5 per cent of their rates under the regular scale. Provision is further made for states to contribute on a voluntary basis to the cost of UNEF, so as to make up for the reduction granted "the economically less-developed countries". (The formula for assessment on member states was incidentally approved by 61 votes in favour (including Canada), to 11 against, with 34 abstentions.)

The Fifth Committee devoted no fewer than 18 of 53 meetings to the question of the financing of major peace-keeping operations of the United Nations, of which UNEF is one, the other being the United Nations operations in the Congo commonly known as ONUC. In its consideration of the subject, the Fifth Com

mittee had before it two requests of the Assembly to the Secretary-General, formulated at its special session held in May 1963 and calling on the Secretary-General to report (a) on administrative and financial procedures to be followed by the Assembly at the time peace-keeping operations are authorized and (b) on consultations with governments and interested organizations on the desirability and feasibility of establishing a peace fund made up of voluntary contributions. The Fifth Committee did not recommend any resolution on these subjects to the Assembly at its eighteenth session. It did point out, however, that it had referred the reports in question, along with relevant discussions in the Committee, to the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations, which has been asked to report to the Assembly on matters relevant to peace-keeping expenses. The Fifth Committee's decision was agreed to by the Assembly without objection.

Regarding the United Nations International School, the Assembly agreed unanimously to contribute a total of \$55,000 to the School (a) to liquidate its operating deficit for the current school year and (b) to forward plans for its new permanent premises. In addition, the Assembly asks the Secretary-General to continue to seek assistance for the construction and equipment of the School building and the creation of an endowment fund, and appeals to member states to encourage voluntary contributions from appropriate governmental and non-governmental sources. The Assembly incidentally agreed without objection to a decision of the Fifth Committee that the unspent balance of its grant to the School for 1963 be carried over to 1964 for planning purposes.

Two resolutions taking note of audit reports relating (a) to expenditures by the Specialized Agencies of certain technical assistance (EPTA) and (b) to expenditures of the Specialized Agencies acting as executing agencies of resources earmarked from the special fund were then approved without objection.

The Assembly also adopted two resolutions dealing broadly with co-ordination between the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. A first resolution, which was adopted unanimously, refers to a report on inter-Agency co-ordination prepared by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ). It requests the Secretary-General to refer the matters raised in this report to the executive heads of the Specialized Agencies. The second resolution endorses proposals for an increase in the membership of the International Civil Service Advisory Board (ICSAB) from nine to 11, as well as an expansion of the Board's terms of reference. It requests the Secretary-General to bring to the attention of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC) some comments of the ACABQ on the proposals and to report to the nineteenth session of the Assembly on measures taken to implement the resolution. The proposed revised terms of reference of ICSAB would give the Board a number of new functions. The preamble of the resolution refers in this connection to an earlier decision of the Assembly — Resolution 1869 (XVII) which refers to taking steps to make the Board a "strongly constituted, independent, inter-organizational



body, to deal with pay and personnel problems". This resolution was approved by 83 votes in favour (including Canada), ten against, with one abstention.

### **Legal Questions**

Acting on the recommendation of the Sixth Committee, the General Assembly on November 18 adopted two resolutions arising out of the report of the International Law Commission on the work of its fifteenth session. Included in the Commission's report were draft articles of the law of treaties. The report dealt as well with the Commission's activities with regard to such topics as state responsibility, the succession of states and governments, special missions, relations between states and inter-governmental organizations and the possible accession of new states to a number of treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations. By unanimous vote, the Assembly commended the Commission for its efforts in the codification and progressive development of international law, particularly as regards the law of treaties, and invited it to proceed with its work on this and the other topics covered in its report.

The second resolution addressed itself to the League of Nations treaties mentioned above. By 79 votes in favour (including Canada), none against, with 22 abstentions, the Assembly agreed to assume certain functions of the League with a view to opening for accession by states otherwise ineligible to participate in them 21 of the agreements in question, closed since 1946 and dealing variously with such matters as counterfeiting, narcotics and dual nationality. Under the terms of the resolution, the Secretary-General is requested to invite to accede to the treaties member states of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies or parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice or others designated for this purpose by the Assembly and not otherwise eligible to become parties to the treaties in question. The resolution disposes in this way of the very real difficulty with which the Secretary-General might otherwise have been faced had an "all-state" formula, as proposed by Ghana and Ceylon or by Czechoslovakia, been adopted of having to decide which areas of the world whose status was still unclear (e.g. East Germany, North Korea and North Vietnam) came within the context of such a formula. The resolution finally provides for consultation between the Secretary-General and member and non-member states that are parties to the treaties as to which of the treaties are still in force, which have been superseded by later treaties, which are no longer of interest for accession by additional states and which require action to adapt them to contemporary conditions. On December 16, the Assembly adopted reports of the Sixth Committee on the consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and on technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law.

Two resolutions were included in the Committee's report on the first item. The first, which was adopted unanimously, establishes a Special Committee (to

be composed of member states appointed by the President of the Assembly with regard to equitable geographical representation and representing the principal legal systems of the world) to look into the matter of the progressive development and codification of the four principles of international law concerning friendly relations among states, namely: (1) the repudiation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state; (2) the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means; (3) non-intervention in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state; and (4) the sovereign equality of states.

The second resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 65 in favour (including Canada), 15 against, with 27 abstentions, calls for an enquiry into the advisability of establishing a special fact-finding body as a contribution toward the settlement of international disputes, one of the four principles singled out for consideration by the Special Committee referred to in the previous resolution.

Concerning the item on technical assistance, three resolutions were adopted. Resolution A, adopted unanimously, establishes a Special Committee composed of Afghanistan, Belgium, Ecuador, Ghana, Hungary and Ireland to draw up a practical plan and proposals for the promotion, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law. Resolution B, adopted by a vote of 91 in favour (including Canada), ten against, with one abstention, requests the Technical Assistance Committee of the Economic and Social Council to advise the Special Committee established under the previous resolution concerning the extent to which technical assistance programmes for the purposes of strengthening the practical application of international law could be implemented within the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA). The resolution also invites the Technical Assistance Committee to comment on the provision of funds from the regular budget of the United Nations for such programmes.

Resolution C, also adopted unanimously, requests the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to collect periodically from member states detailed information on the training in international law offered by their universities and institutions of higher learning and to transmit it to the Secretary-General for circulation among member states. The resolution further invites member states (a) to offer to foreign students fellowships in international law at their universities and (b) to consider the inclusion in their programmes of cultural exchange of provision for the exchange of teachers, students, experts, books and other publications in the field of international law.

### **Pledging Conferences**

Two pledging meetings for special programmes of the United Nations were held during the period under review.

On November 29, 31 governments pledged the equivalent of \$1.5 million for the 1964 programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) at a meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the General Assembly for

the Announcement of Voluntary Contributions to the Programme of the UNHCR. An additional five governments stated that their pledges were under consideration. Canada, through its representative in the Third Committee, Mrs. M. Konantz, M.P., announced its intention to contribute, subject to Parliamentary approval, the sum of \$290,000 in appreciation of the efforts of the High Commissioner and his staff in alleviating the plight of refugees. The High Commissioner, Mr. Felix Schnyder of Switzerland, had previously made known his intention of terminating the Office's major assistance programme in Europe by the end of 1965 and set at \$2.6 million his financial needs for 1964.

On December 9, 30 governments announced pledges in cash and in kind, valued at approximately \$32.5 million, for the 1964 activities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). The pledges were made at a meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee of the General Assembly for the Announcement of Voluntary Contributions to UNRWA.

At the outset of the meeting, the Agency's Commissioner-General, Dr. J. H. Davis, appealed for generous government assistance to enable UNRWA to carry out fully its activities for the coming year. (UNRWA provides relief, educational training, and other services to some 1,200,000 Arab refugees from Palestine now living in the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Its proposed expenditures for these purposes have been estimated at about \$38 million for 1964.) Subject to Parliamentary approval, Canada undertook to contribute \$500,000 to the Agency's 1964 budget and, in addition, promised a special contribution of wheat flour valued at \$500,000.



# Canada's Bilateral Grant Aid Programmes

The following are extracts from the report on Canada's bilateral programmes of grant assistance to less-developed countries, submitted by Mr. H. O. Moran, the Director-General of the External Aid Office, to the Standing Committee on External Affairs of the House of Commons in December 1963. The report is a survey of Canada's various bilateral programmes and does not, therefore, deal with the sizeable Canadian contributions to multilateral programmes under the United Nations and related organizations. As the report was prepared up to November 1963, it also does not include recent proposals for increased aid outlined to the House of Commons on November 14, 1963 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs.<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

This report describes activities under Canada's various bilateral programmes of grant assistance to less-developed countries for which funds were voted by Parliament in the fiscal year 1962-63. These programmes, for which the External Aid Office is responsible, are:



Canada Dam at Mayurakshi, India

A major feature of the Canadian bilateral aid effort in recent years has been a sharp increase in technical assistance and a greatly increased emphasis upon assistance in the educational field, especially in the newly independent African countries, which place high priority on a rapid expansion of their educational facilities. The details of educational projects are set out in the sections of this report dealing with specific programmes but, as an illustration of increasing edu-

### *Estimates 1962-63*

Colombo Plan	\$ 41,500,000
Special Commonwealth	
Africa Aid Programme	3,500,000
Canada-West Indies	
Aid Programme	2,452,000
Educational Programme for	
French-speaking Countries	
in Africa	300,000
Commonwealth Technical	
Assistance Programme	120,000
Commonwealth Scholarship	
& Fellowship Plan	1,000,000

<sup>1</sup>See *External Affairs*, December 1963, Pp. 471-473.

cational assistance, it may be noted that, from about a dozen teachers sent abroad in 1960, Canada increased its effort to 40 teachers in 1961, while the total number of teachers serving abroad under the Canadian programme at the end of the fiscal year 1962-63 was 122. In the present academic year, there are now 182 Canadian teachers, educational advisers, and university staff serving abroad under government programmes.

In addition, 61 Canadian technical advisers were serving in the developing countries under Canadian bilateral aid programmes as of March 31, 1963. These advisers were in such fields as agriculture, fisheries and minerology, and most of them were helping to instruct local personnel to carry on their work, thereby helping to increase the supply of skilled and trained manpower which is a vital need in all the developing countries. Technical assistance also includes the bringing of students to Canada for training, and here, too, there was a substantial increase in the Canadian effort in 1962-63. During the past calendar year, there were 1,043 students in Canada under government aid programmes, compared to 849 the year before. During the present year 1,200 students are expected.

While Canadian expenditures on technical assistance are increasing, they are by their nature relatively small compared to project and commodity aid, which accounts for about 95 per cent of Canadian aid expenditures. The largest part of Canadian project assistance has been in the form of basic power and transportation projects, where Canadian funds are used both to provide for the services of Canadian engineering or other firms and to supply equipment or goods produced in Canada. Project assistance may also be in the form of feasibility studies or surveys of resources, where Canadian services only are required or, alternatively, it may relate simply to the provision of Canadian-manufactured items such as locomotives, road vehicles or educational equipment.

Commodity assistance includes the provision of raw materials, fertilizers and pesticides from Canadian sources. Under the Colombo Plan programme, there has again been, in the past fiscal year, a considerable expenditure on industrial raw materials for India and Pakistan, which are urgently in need of these materials and whose five-year development plans could not go forward unless assistance of this type was available to them.

In addition to assistance provided under its bilateral programmes, Canada is a substantial contributor to a number of multilateral programmes such as the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, the United Nations Special Fund, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the International Development Association. Since these financial contributions are paid over to the international agency concerned, the External Aid Office is not involved in their expenditure. The External Aid Office does, however, co-operate with the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in recruiting Canadian experts for service abroad under these programmes and in arranging training programmes in Canada for trainees sponsored by the United Nations or other agencies

## The Colombo Plan

The Colombo Plan for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia, of which Canada was a founding member, marked its eleventh anniversary in 1962. Meeting at Melbourne, Australia, in November 1962, the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee noted in its annual report that progress in the area was continuing and that the economic development of its members was being assisted both in exchanges of ideas and experience and through the provision of many forms of capital and technical assistance. The Committee reviewed economic developments during the previous year, when the rate of economic growth in the region had varied considerably from country to country. On a *per capita* basis, changes in gross national product had ranged from increases of up to 6 per cent in some countries to falls of 2 per cent in others. Agricultural production in the area as a whole had increased substantially and industrial production also continued to rise. Another encouraging feature was the increase in total resources devoted to development. During the year under review (1961-62), the 15 countries of the region had spent the equivalent of \$5.4 billion on development, an increase of about \$1 billion over the year before. Of this total amount, foreign assistance from the donor countries of the Plan through bilateral loans and grants accounted for about \$1.8 billion, approximately 33 per cent of the total.

Certain problems remained, however. Population was continuing to grow at an annual rate of about 2 per cent in the area, making economic development more urgent and, in some cases, more difficult. Moreover, trends in the international economy had not been altogether favourable for countries of the Colombo Plan region. The continued weakness of primary commodity prices in the world market remained a severe problem in 1961-62 for the developing countries. Import restrictions in certain advanced countries on manufactured goods which the developing countries could produce had added to their difficulties, while foreign exchange stringency was perhaps the most pervasive problem for governments of the region.

Since 1951, and including the fiscal year 1962-63, Canadian contributions under the Plan have amounted to \$423.2 million. The estimates for 1963-64 contain an amount of \$41.5 million for Canada's Colombo Plan programme. The chief recipients of Canadian aid under the Colombo Plan have been the Commonwealth countries of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaysia, which have accounted for over 95 per cent of Canadian expenditures. Other non-Commonwealth countries in the area, however, are also eligible for Canadian assistance and significant amounts of technical assistance have been given to countries such as Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. All Canadian assistance under the Colombo Plan, as with other bilateral aid programmes undertaken by Canada, takes the form of grant aid.



## Burma

The total value of assistance, including technical assistance, made available to Burma from 1950 to the end of the fiscal year 1962-63 was \$4,277,000.

The major capital project undertaken by Canada under the Colombo Plan in Burma is the Thaketa Bridge, which will link Rangoon with a town across the Pazundaung River. Construction work commenced in 1962-63. The Canadian contribution of \$900,000 toward this project includes supplying from Canadian sources steel and other construction materials, bridge machinery, some construction equipment, as well as the services of engineers to design and supervise the building of the bridge. Burma has allocated \$950,000 in counterpart funds which were derived from sales of Canadian wheat provided earlier under the Plan. Burmese engineers were brought to Canada to work with Canadian engineers during the design stage as part of a training programme associated with this project.

A number of smaller projects, including the provision of technical education equipment, have been undertaken and completed. A start was made on a project involving the testing of a Burmese hardboard manufacturing process in 1962-63, and is still under way.

Since 1951, \$1,975,000 in commodity assistance has been given to Burma in the form of wheat and flour. In 1962-63, the value of commodity assistance was \$325,000.



*Burmese forestry trainees in Canada*

Seven Burmese students arrived in Canada under the Plan during 1962-63, and there were two Canadian advisers serving in Burma. At the Rangoon General Hospital, a Canadian radiotherapy technician continued her work of helping to treat cancer patients with the Canadian cobalt beam-therapy unit given to Burma in 1958 and, at

the same time, training Burmese technicians in its operation. A Canadian transportation economist was serving as adviser to the Burmese Ministry of Transport.

## Cambodia

Assistance to Cambodia has been principally in the field of technical assistance, totalling \$377,000 since the inception of the Colombo Plan.

During 1962-63, 31 training programmes were arranged in Canada for Cambodian scholars and fellows. This represents a marked increase over the comparable figure of 13 for the previous year. Most of the Cambodians studying in Canada under the Colombo Plan are in engineering courses at Laval University and the École Polytechnique in Montreal, although there are also Cambodian nurses enrolled at L'Institut Marguerite d'Youville in Montreal. Four Canadians were teaching in Cambodia under the Plan during this year.

## Ceylon

To the end of the fiscal year 1962-63, Ceylon has received from Canada under the Colombo Plan total assistance to the value of \$24,103,000 for economic development purposes.

Over the last few years, Canada has assisted Ceylon with the construction of capital projects such as several transmission lines and the expansion of power producing facilities. The transmission lines have not only interconnected the power systems of the Eastern and Western sectors of the island but have also made available much needed electricity to the industries, villages and schools located throughout the Gal Oya area. During 1962-63 a transmission line from Inginiyagala to Badulla was completed and the construction of the Inginiyagala powerhouse, which is expected to be completed this year, proceeded on schedule. The aerial and geological survey of Ceylon undertaken by Canada at a cost of 2,500,000 and designed to help the country plan the development of its natural resources was completed in 1962. Commodity assistance to Ceylon has consisted primarily of flour (\$8,500,000) and railway ties (\$180,000). Under the 1962-63 programme, \$1 million of flour was given to Ceylon.

The 20 Ceylonese trainees studying in Canada under the Colombo Plan during 1962-63 included a social worker, a health officer, a rehabilitation worker, a forestry officer and a number of university students. The principal of the Institute of Technology spent six months in Canada studying the supervision and administration of technical institutes in Canada.

Two of the three Canadian instructors sent to the Institute of Practical Technology, Katubedde, completed their assignments and returned to their regular employment with the Province of Manitoba. A Canadian electrical engineer experienced in the management of small hydro-electric systems was sent to Ceylon as an adviser to the Gal Oya Development Board on generation and transmission maintenance problems. A film production adviser visited the Ceylon Film Unit to assist in planning future development of this unit.

## India

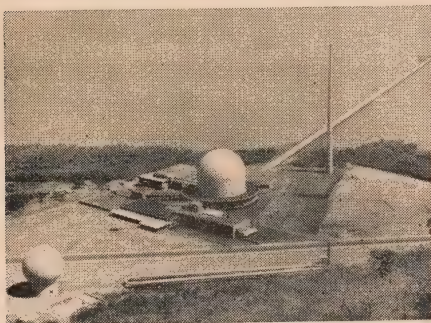
Total Canadian assistance to India under the Colombo Plan to the end of the fiscal year 1962-63 is \$218,877,000.

In the South Indian State of Madras, Canadian and Indian engineers continued during 1962-63 to work on the third stage of the Kundah Hydro-electric project, which will provide an additional 240,000 kw of electrical generating capacity to meet the industrial demands of the area. Canada's contribution in engineering services, generating equipment and other materials will total some \$24 million over a four-year period. Up to 1962-63, \$22.0 million had been allocated to the project, and the balance is expected to be provided in 1963-64.

During 1962-63, Canada agreed (a) to carry out an economic feasibility study of the Iddikki power project to be constructed on the Periyar River in the State of Kerela, South India, (b) to provide four aircraft equipped with spraying ap-

paratus for crop protection purposes, and (c) to supply three hospitals with cobalt-therapy units for the treatment of malignant diseases.

A summary of the Canadian 1962-63 capital and commodity assistance programme, which included the carry-over of funds from the previous year, is as follows:



*Canada-India Reactor at Trombay, India*

Kundah III	\$ 9,300,000
Iddikki Power Project	200,000
Crop Spraying Aircraft	300,000
Cobalt-Therapy Units	148,000
Commodities (Copper, Aluminum, Nickel, Asbestos, Wheat)	10,109,000
	<hr/> \$20,057,000

Bureau of Mines at Nagpur. A limestone adviser spent two months in India with the National Building Organization, reporting on the economic development potential of known limestone deposits. An adviser on swine husbandry, on loan from the Canadian Department of Agriculture, completed an assignment, and a Canadian film producer working with the Reserve Bank of India completed with outstanding success a series of films on the organization of rural co-operatives.

Engineers, scientists, medical doctors and nurses were included among the 15 Indian trainees studying in Canada under the Colombo Plan during 1962-63. Also included were 36 technicians and engineers studying steel production techniques and methods at a steel mill in Canada.

### **Indonesia**

Since 1950, funds totalling \$3,988,000 have been made available by Canada to Indonesia for development purposes. A large part of this amount has been in the form of wheat flour valued at \$1,875,000, including \$325,000 worth of flour in 1962-63.

Among the 73 Indonesian trainees studying in Canada in 1962-63, the large groups included undergraduate students in science and engineering and in medicine. Others included students of public administration and earth sciences.

Two Canadian advisers served in Indonesia in 1962-63. A Canadian flying instructor continued his assignment at the Indonesian Air Academy, Tjurug, part of the co-operative project also being assisted by the International Civil Aviation Organization and other Colombo Plan countries. A Canadian statistician completed his Colombo Plan assignment in Indonesia, remaining to carry out another project under United Nations auspices.

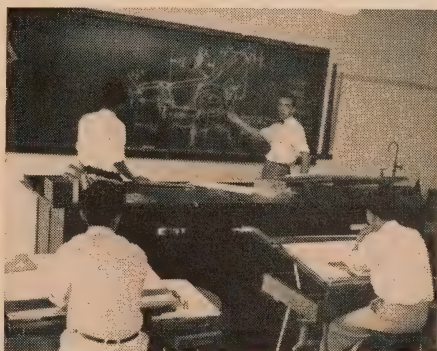
### **Malaya**

Aid funds totalling \$8,540,000 have been made available to Malaya by Canada



since the Colombo Plan began. More than \$7.5 million of this amount has been for capital assistance (including a \$2-million allocation in 1962-63) and the remainder in technical assistance. No commodity assistance has been provided. Projects under way during the year included the East Coast Fisheries Scheme (comprising storage depots, insulated trucks, refrigerated hatches for fishing vessels and other items of equipment), a highway survey in North Malaya, and a national television project for which Canada is providing consulting engineering and design services, as well as technical assistance. Arrangements were also made to send technical education equipment for a further 18 schools in the country.

During the past year, 18 Canadian teachers and advisers served in Malaya, a larger number than in any other Colombo Plan country. At the University of Malaya, a team of Canadian university professors who arrived in 1961 continued their work of helping to establish a School of Business Administration. The project also involves bringing Malaysians to Canada for training as replacements for the Canadian staff. The whole arrangement is being carried out by the University of British Columbia under a contract with the External Aid Office.



*Canadian engineering instructor in Malaya*

Canada has undertaken to help Malaya establish a training college for technical teachers at Kuala Lumpur, and a team of teachers from Manitoba were recruited and sent to Malaya early in 1962 for this purpose. The Department of Education of the Province of Manitoba selected the team and seconded them to the External Aid Office and has assisted in other ways in the development of this project. These four instructors will be maintained or replaced as required until such time as the Malaysians are able to staff the school with qualified personnel. Canada has also provided equipment for this college.

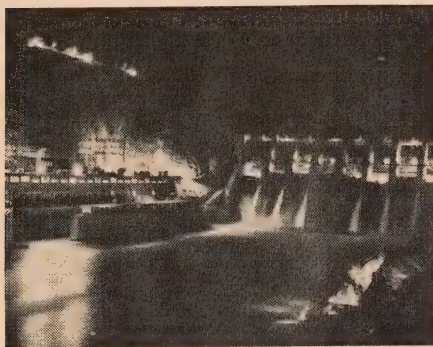
Canadian advisers served in a number of other fields as well. A medical team consisting of four doctors and a nurse worked in Malaya during the year. A fisheries co-operatives and marketing adviser arrived in December 1962 to implement the programme of fisheries development which he had recommended in an earlier assignment. Two television advisers sent in mid-1962 for brief periods were succeeded by an adviser assigned to remain in Malaya until the new television service was on the air. An economic adviser in the field of industrial economics recently completed his one-year assignment. A Canadian adviser in the field of small industry development commenced a one-year assignment in August 1962. Other advisers included a Canadian industrial statistician, a soil surveyor and two teaching specialists.

The number of Malayan trainees brought to Canada increased from 20 in the previous fiscal year to 48 in the period under review. Scholarships and fellowships

were made available to undergraduate students in sciences, engineering and medicine, and to audio-visual aid instructors, co-operative officers, trade union officials and two prospective instructors for the Malaya Technical Teacher Training College.

## Pakistan

From 1950 to the end of the fiscal year 1962-63, Pakistan has received \$193,503,000 under the Canadian Colombo Plan programme.



*Warsak Dam completed in Pakistan*

were accepted for Canadian participation in 1963. They included a refugee housing project to be located near the city of Lahore, West Pakistan, aircraft for crop protection, and electronic computing equipment for the Pakistani Atomic Energy Commission.

A summary of the Canadian 1962-63 Colombo Plan programme for Pakistan which included the use of funds carried over from previous years, was as follows

Bheramara-Goalpara Transmission Line	\$ 1,000,000
Comilla-Sylhet Transmission Line	2,500,000
Hardboard Development Project	900,000
Sangu Multipurpose Scheme	150,000
Refugee Housing Project	1,000,000
Aircraft and Spraying Equipment	400,000
I.B.M. Equipment for Atomic Energy Commission	250,000
Commodities: (Pesticides, Fertilizers, Woodpulp, Copper, Aluminum, Wheat)	9,950,000
	<hr/> \$16,250,000

The number of Pakistani trainees in Canada under the Colombo Plan during 1962-63 was 85, representing a substantial increase over the previous year. Study and observation programmes were provided for a wide range of subjects, including science, engineering, industrial management, cost accounting, co-operatives, patent laws and various aspects of public health.

Among Canadian advisers in Pakistan in 1962-63 were a Canadian adviser on machine accounting for the Pakistan hydro-electric power complex, a store adviser with the Stores Organization, a physiotherapist instructor with the Inst.

tute of Prosthetics and Physiotherapy at Lahore, a senior management adviser to the Pakistani Industrial Development Corporation, a Canadian accounting adviser with the Pakistan Institute of Industrial Accounts, and a pilot instructor with the spray control unit of the Department of Agriculture.

### **Vietnam**

The total allocation to the end of the present fiscal year to Vietnam under the Colombo Plan by Canada was \$1,374,000. This has been predominantly in the form of technical assistance, while \$600,000 worth of wheat flour has also been made available. In 1962-63, there were 79 Vietnamese students at French-language universities in Canada. Thirty-two of them arrived during this year. A Canadian entomologist completed his assignment in 1962-63 as a Colombo Plan adviser on pest insect control in Vietnam.

### **Brunei, Laos, Nepal, North Borneo, Philippines, Sarawak, Singapore and Thailand**

The Canadian contribution under the Colombo Plan to these countries has been almost exclusively in the form of technical assistance. Total funds used for this purpose in these countries to the end of March 31, 1963, amounted to \$1,414,000. As of March 31, 1963, there were in Canada under Colombo Plan arrangements one student each from Brunei, Laos and Nepal; six from North Borneo; 16 from the Philippines; 39 from Sarawak; 12 from Singapore; and 27 from Thailand. Three Canadian technical advisers (in apprenticeship training, medicine and fisheries) were serving in Singapore and a transportation economist in Thailand; there were 27 Canadian teachers in North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore.

### **1963-64 Programme**

The Estimates for 1963-64 contained an amount of \$41.5 million for the Colombo Plan and the Canadian programme has been continuing during the present fiscal year.

Work is being carried on during the present year on many of the capital projects described above and agreement has been reached on a number of new projects. These new projects include, among others, an expansion of the Umtru hydro-electric power plant and the provision of cobalt-therapy units in India; an expansion of the Sukker thermal-electric power plant and a land-use study in Pakistan; the construction of facilities at the Katunayake Airport in Ceylon; and a hydro-electric engineering study of the Upper Perak River in Malaya.

The Canadian commodity assistance programme for Colombo Plan countries in 1963-64 will involve the provision of the following commodities: copper — \$6,380,000; aluminum — \$3,000,000; wood pulp — \$2,300,000; zinc — \$2,150,000; asbestos — \$2,000,000; nickel — \$500,000; sulphur — \$500,000; wheat and flour — \$4,000,000.

The technical assistance programme for Colombo Plan countries is continuing to expand, especially in the field of training. As of September 30, there were 584



students in Canada under Canadian Colombo Plan arrangements, compared to 397 on the same date the year before.

## **Special Commonwealth Africa Aid Programme**

In the fall of 1960 the Canadian Government undertook, subject to Parliamentary approval, to contribute \$10.5 million to a Special Commonwealth Africa Aid Programme over a three-year period beginning April 1, 1961. The programme, known as SCAAP, arose from discussions at the meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers in 1960. Roughly speaking, SCAAP is a counterpart in Africa of the Colombo Plan in Asia, although very early in its existence the Colombo Plan was extended to include non-Commonwealth countries, whereas SCAAP is entirely a Commonwealth scheme. The main donor countries are Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, although some of the newer Asian members, particularly India and Pakistan, have been able to provide limited amounts of technical assistance in fields where they have experience and specialized knowledge. All the Commonwealth areas of Africa, both independent countries and dependent territories, qualify for assistance under SCAAP.

It has been the Canadian practice to date to concentrate assistance on the independent Commonwealth countries of Africa. Only limited amounts of assistance have been given to the smaller dependent territories. The greatest part of Canadian SCAAP funds has been used for Nigeria and Ghana, with Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda also receiving significant amounts of aid.

At the commencement of SCAAP, the African countries made it clear that one of the most important requirements for the development of their countries was assistance in the field of education. Their need was for trained manpower. Accordingly, a large proportion of the Canadian aid effort has been in the field of education. During 1962-63, a total of 89 Canadian secondary-school teachers, teacher-trainers and university professors were serving in Commonwealth Africa. Over the same period there were 145 students in Canada under the auspices of SCAAP, compared to 84 the year before. Canada has also supplied education equipment to a number of countries. Two major educational projects have now been started — the construction of a Trades Training Centre in Ghana and Boys' Secondary School in Sierra Leone; these will combine capital assistance with the construction of the institutions with technical assistance, through the provision of Canadian staff and a training programme in Canada for African teachers.

Canada has also provided assistance in other fields to SCAAP countries. Canadian advisers or experts have been working with Africans in such fields as agriculture, fisheries, mineral development, pest control and statistics. The large single capital assistance project is an aerial survey and topographic mapping project in Nigeria at a cost to Canada of \$1.85 million. In addition, Canada

carrying out a forest inventory in Kenya and has provided a variety of vehicles and equipment to Ghana, Tanganyika and Uganda.

### **Basutoland**

In 1961-62, Canada agreed to a request from the Basutoland Government to provide some of the staff for Pius XII University College. This college is open to Africans in the southern part of the continent and Canadian missionaries have been instrumental in its development. Three Canadian instructors in chemistry, zoology and co-operatives were maintained at the college from SCAAP funds during 1962-63. Eleven students from Basutoland were brought to Canada during the same period.

### **Gambia**

One Canadian technical teacher was sent to Gambia in 1961 to help the development of a technical school. A teacher trainer was also assigned to Gambia during 1962-63.

### **Ghana**

Three capital assistance projects were begun and two of them completed in Ghana during 1962-63. Twenty 50-ton capacity silos with loading machinery were supplied to the Ministry of Agriculture and various types of agricultural equipment and teaching aids were provided for a model farm and community development project at Damongao in Ghana's northern region. Canada undertook a project involving the construction and operation of a trades-training centre in Accra, as well as supplying architectural services, prefabricated parts and workshop equipment. Canada will also provide Canadian staff and training courses for African instructors. The construction phase is not expected to be completed until 1964-65.

There were in all 31 teachers and university professors serving in Ghana during the year and 22 technical advisers. The advisers included two geologists, seven entomologists and entomology technicians, two television instructors, three doctors, a social welfare adviser, two economic planning economists, and a radio-isotope research expert.

Thirteen Ghanaian students arrived in Canada in 1962-63. The total number under SCAAP in this country at the end of the fiscal year was 36.

### **Kenya**

Forty Canadian-built trucks with spare parts were supplied to Kenya during the year. In addition, an inventory of over 7,000 square miles of Kenya's forested area began in January 1963. Two Canadian firms are carrying out this work under contract with the External Aid Office. An important part of the project is a training programme to instruct Kenyans in the techniques of forest inventory work. The project is expected to be completed in 1963-64.

There were four Canadian teachers in Kenya during the past year and an aerial photography adviser. Five students from Kenya were in Canada during 1962-63 in public health, agricultural and co-operative courses. Two of them arrived the previous year.

### **Mauritius**

One Canadian adviser in fish marketing served in Mauritius during 1962-63.

### **Nigeria**

The largest single aid project under way in Africa under SCAAP is an aerial mapping, photography and airborne geophysics survey. The work, which is being



*Aerial survey in Nigeria*

carried out under contract by two Canadian companies, is expected to cost \$1.85 million when completed. Over 36,000 square miles of Nigeria will have been mapped and an even larger area photographed from the air. The airborne geophysics survey will cover some 13,000 line miles in three separate areas in Nigeria where earlier studies had indicated a further investigation of mineral resources was required. The Nigerian Government is co-oper-

ating in this project by providing local support including local transportation and accommodation for the Canadian personnel working on the project.

Another, but smaller, project, provision of data-processing equipment for the Nigerian Meteorological Service, was undertaken during the year. As part of this project, two Nigerians are being trained in Canada by the Meteorological Service of the Department of Transport and a Canadian adviser will be sent to Nigeria.

Under the technical assistance programme, 34 Canadian teachers were at work in Nigeria during the year. Of these, 22 arrived in 1962-63. There were five technical assistance advisers from Canada — an entomologist, a film producer, an instructor in co-operatives and advisers in map production and airborne geophysics.

Nine Nigerians arrived in Canada during the year to study in such fields as animal husbandry, social welfare and public administration. At the end of March 1963, there were 16 Nigerians in Canada under SCAAP training awards.

### **Rhodesia and Nyasaland**

One trainee studied in Canada during 1962-63.

### **Sierra Leone**

Two teachers were sent to Sierra Leone in 1962-63 and 10 trainees brought



Canada. Most of the trainees were at the university level and took courses in forestry, economics, agriculture, engineering and chemical pathology. The Canadian Government agreed to assist in the construction and staffing of a secondary school for boys at Koyeima in Sierra Leone, and design work for the school was commenced during the year.

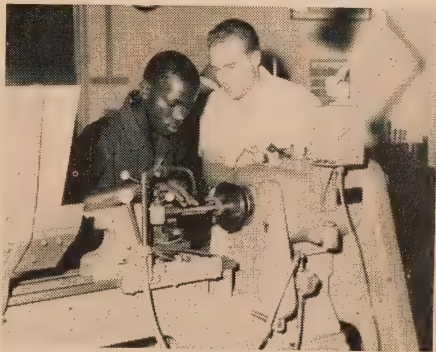
### **Swaziland**

One trainee from this country studied in Canada during the year under review.

### **Tanganyika**

Canada agreed to supply a variety of vehicles and equipment to Tanganyika during the year, including 10 cinema vans, road-building equipment and general-purpose vehicles. The film vans were for use by the Tanganyikan Ministry of Community Development, the road-building equipment and trucks by the Ministry of Forestry, and the general-purpose vehicles by various departments for economic development purposes.

In addition to these capital items, eight Canadian teachers arrived in Tanganyika during the year, to bring the total number of teachers to 11. Additionally, one film unit adviser served in the country.



*Technical college in Tanganyika*

At the end of March 1963, one Tanganyikan was studying in Canada on a public administration course.

### **Uganda**

During the year Canada undertook to provide the Uganda Geological Survey Department with a number of trucks and four-wheel drive vehicles as well as a number of precision instruments for a national geological survey being carried out. Canada also agreed to provide staff to work in the Geological Survey.

During the year there were in Uganda two Canadian advisers, one in fisheries and the other in geology. Three Canadian teachers also served in Uganda in 1962-63. Nine Ugandans were on SCAAP training awards in Canada during the course of the year. They pursued studies in such fields as electrical engineering, commerce and hard-rock drilling.

### **Zanzibar**

Canada furnished Zanzibar with three ambulances for the island's medical services during 1962-63. So far, Canada has no advisers or teachers in Zanzibar, but two students from Zanzibar were in Canada during the year under review.

### **1963-64 Programme**

Many of the capital assistance projects begun in previous fiscal years are continuing in 1963-64. These include the aerial mapping and airborne geophysics survey in Nigeria, the forest inventory in Kenya, the construction of educational institutions in Ghana and Sierra Leone and the supply of vehicles and equipment in Nigeria, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. In addition, a number of new projects are under construction, including a fish-distribution and cold-storage project in Ghana, fisheries-research facility in Uganda and a natural-gas feasibility study in Nigeria. Some of these new projects may be undertaken during the current fiscal year.

Expenditures on technical assistance, which in 1962-63 amounted to \$1,417,958.68, are expected to increase substantially during 1963-64. On September 30, 1963, there were 141 trainees from Africa studying in Canada under SCAAP, 97 teachers, including university professors, and 31 technical-assistance advisers on assignments in Africa. Additional technical-assistance advisers are scheduled to take up appointments before the end of the fiscal year. Canadian secondary-school teachers, university professors and technical-assistance advisers were on assignments in nine African Commonwealth countries: Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Uganda.

## **Canada-West Indies Aid Programme**

### **Caribbean Programme**

Because of Canada's substantial interests in the Commonwealth territories of the West Indies, the movement towards a West Indies Federation was of some importance to Canada and this geographic area became the first, after the Colombo Plan, into which a Canadian aid programme was extended. In 1958 the Canadian Government announced that it wished to assist the West Indies Federation in its economic development efforts and that, accordingly, it was prepared to grant, subject to Parliamentary approval, a total of \$10 million over a five-year period commencing in the fiscal year 1958-59. This programme continued even after the dissolution of the Federation, but obviously some changes had to be made in it. With the separate independence of Jamaica and Trinidad in 1962, Canadian diplomatic missions were established on these islands and assistance was carried on through bilateral negotiations. In 1961, Canada joined with the United States and Britain in carrying out an economic survey of the smaller territories and, as a result of this survey, Canada accepted certain projects to be carried out in these islands under its West Indies Programme.

The original undertaking of a \$10 million, five-year programme expired on March 31, 1963. In advance of this date, the Government agreed that Canadian aid to the West Indies area should continue into 1963-64 and should be maintained at the same average level as in recent years. This meant a sum of \$2 million

for 1963-64. At the same time, the Government also agreed that British Honduras and British Guiana, which had formerly been receiving about \$100,000 worth of annual assistance under a separate programme for other Commonwealth countries, should be brought into the general Caribbean scheme. Accordingly, Canadian aid to the Commonwealth countries and territories of the Caribbean area for 1963-64 has been set at a level of \$2.1 million.

Since the inception of the Canada - West Indies Programme in 1958, Canadian capital assistance has been given in the following forms:

- (a) Two ships with a value of \$5,866,000 were provided in 1960 for inter-island traffic.
- (b) A deep-water wharf and warehouse project for the Island of St. Vincent, to which Canada contributed \$1 million, was started in 1962 and is scheduled to be completed in February 1964.
- (c) Construction of a university residence hall in Trinidad was started in 1962 and is scheduled to be completed in November of this year at a cost to Canada of \$700,000.
- (d) A quantity of port handling equipment for the Islands of Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Kitts, costing \$450,000 is currently being purchased and will be delivered during the current fiscal year.
- (e) In 1962 Canada agreed to provide the Islands of Grenada, Antigua and Dominica with primary schools and the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Kitts with port warehouses. The Canadian contribution has been set at \$1 million, and construction of the building is scheduled to commence early next year.
- (f) The drilling and developing of fresh water wells costing approximately \$400,000 was started last year on behalf of the Islands of St. Kitts, Montserrat, Nevis and Anguila. Phase I of the project has been completed and the installation of storage and distribution facilities is scheduled to commence November 1963.
- (g) A forest survey for the Island of Dominica was completed in 1962 at a cost of approximately \$50,000.
- (h) A vocational-training school was equipped for the Island of St. Kitts at a cost of \$44,000.

Canada has also provided substantial amounts of technical assistance. Sixty West Indian students received training in Canada and 43 Canadian advisers or teachers served in the West Indies to the end of March 31, 1963.

Up to 1963-64, British Honduras and British Guiana, which have now been placed under the Commonwealth Caribbean Assistance Programme, received assistance under the Commonwealth Technical Assistance scheme. British Guiana received \$30,000 worth of construction and vocational-training equipment, and technical assistance was provided in the form of training programmes for nine students and the services of four Canadian advisers. Technical assistance to British Honduras took the form of training places for nine students and the sending of six



Canadian advisers. Miscellaneous equipment has also been provided.

### **1963-64 Programme**

Some of the above capital projects are being carried in to the present fiscal year and a number of new projects have also been undertaken. These include the provision of a fishing vessel and vocational-training equipment for Jamaica, an aircraft guiding system for Trinidad, and water storage and distribution facilities for the Leeward and Windward Islands. A technical-assistance programme is also being carried in to the present fiscal year.

## **Educational Assistance for French-Speaking African States**

In April 1961, the Canadian Government announced the immediate commencement of a programme of educational assistance, amounting to \$300,000 a year, for the independent French-speaking countries in Africa. Because of the special nature of this programme, an Advisory Committee was established to make recommendations on the use of available funds. This Committee consists of representatives of various national and Quebec provincial educational organizations, as well as representatives of the Quebec and federal governments.

On the basis of reports received from the Canadian delegation to the Addis Ababa UNESCO Conference on Educational Needs in Africa, on the recommen-



*Canadian teacher in Cameroun*

dation of a Canadian diplomatic representative who toured the French-speaking African countries investigating their requirements, and as a result of other information then available, it was decided at the commencement of this programme that emphasis should be placed on the sending of Canadian teachers to Africa. This has continued to be the main emphasis in the programme. To date, some 20 secondary school teachers from Quebec have been

sent to Africa, of whom nine are still there. These teachers were assigned to Cameroun (9), Congo (Brazzaville) (3), Mali (5), and Togo (3). It is expected that further teachers will be sent to Guinea and Morocco this year. Training programmes have been arranged for three students from French-speaking Africa: one each from the Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville) and Niger.

Other forms of assistance in the field of education have also been provided. Some 150 tons of Canadian paper worth \$50,000 were sent to a UNESCO textbook-production centre in Cameroun, which also serves other French-speaking states in the area. Earlier in 1963, a number of mobile film units and package

of audio-visual equipment, valued at \$85,000, were sent to seven French-speaking African countries for use in their educational programmes.

One of the most recent projects under this programme is the assistance being provided to Rwanda in helping to establish its new national university, to be known as the University of Butare. The Government of Rwanda appointed the Right Reverend Father Levesque as President of this university to plan its establishment and to guide it through its formative years. Canadian Government assistance for this project is in the form of paying the salary, transportation and other related costs of Father Levesque and of six other French-speaking Canadian staff for the university, all of whom left for Rwanda this summer.

## **Commonwealth Technical Assistance Programme**

This appropriation was initiated in 1958 to give Canadian technical assistance to Commonwealth countries other than those included in the Colombo Plan or the Canada - West Indies Aid Programme. In the first year, Ghana received technical assistance under this programme and later Nigeria, but in 1961-62 these countries were included in the new SCAAP programme. In the past fiscal year, therefore, Canadian aid under this programme was confined to British Guiana, British Honduras and Hong Kong; \$120,000 was made available by Parliament for this purpose.

The assistance given to British Guiana and British Honduras during 1962-63 is mentioned in the earlier section of the Report dealing with the Caribbean area. Assistance to Hong Kong during the past year was in the form of a Canadian adviser in social work.

### **1963-64 Programme**

Since British Guiana and British Honduras are now included in the Commonwealth Caribbean Programme, an amount of only \$20,000 is included in the Estimates for 1963-64 and this amount will be used for the provision of further technical assistance to Hong Kong.

## **Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan**

The plan is designed to provide opportunities for Commonwealth students to pursue advanced courses of study in other Commonwealth countries. The scholarships are intended for men and women of high intellectual promise, who may be expected to make a significant contribution to their own countries on their return from abroad. Although this is a programme of scholarly exchange, it nevertheless is of particular benefit to the developing members of the Commonwealth,

who gain additional access to the educational facilities of the older members of the Commonwealth.

The plan was conceived at the Montreal Trade and Economic Conference held in 1958. The general outlines of the scheme were established at a conference held at Oxford in 1959, and the academic year 1960-61 marked the first year of operations. At Oxford it was agreed that 1,000 scholarships would be made available under the Plan, of which number the U.K. was to provide half and Canada one quarter. An amount of \$1 million was made available by the Canadian Government in 1962-63 for this Plan.

The overall responsibility for the Plan in Canada rests with the External Aid Office, which also undertakes the administration of its financial aspects. The Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Committee, which is composed of members from representative universities across Canada, advises on and assists with the academic aspects of the programme and arranges for the selection and placing of scholars in Canadian universities. The Canadian Universities Foundation provides secretariat services for the Committee.

The number of Commonwealth scholars studying in Canada since the inception of the scheme has been as follows:

1960-61	—	101
1961-62	—	181
1962-63	—	220

Approximately 77 per cent of these scholars have come from developing countries: 38 per cent from Asia, 19 per cent from Africa, 13 per cent from the Caribbean area and 7 per cent from other developing Commonwealth areas. During 1963-64, a further increase in the number of students studying in Canada under this plan is expected.



# Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group

## SEVENTH SESSION, WASHINGTON

THE SEVENTH session of the Canada - United States Inter-parliamentary Group was held in Washington beginning on January 14, 1964. Twenty-four members of the Canadian Parliament and an equal number of members of the United States Congress, representing all political parties, participated.

Since the first session of the Canada - United States Inter-parliamentary Group, in 1959, meetings have been held alternately in Canada and the United States. The last previous session — the sixth — took place in Ottawa and Montreal in March, 1962.<sup>1</sup>



The co-chairmen of the seventh meeting of the Canada - U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group meet President Lyndon B. Johnson at a reception in the White House on January 15, 1964. Left to right: Senator Aiken, co-chairman, U.S. delegation (back to camera); President Johnson; Representative Cornelius Gallagher, co-chairman, U.S. delegation; the Honourable Maurice Bourget, Speaker of the Canadian Senate, and the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, co-chairmen of the Canadian delegation.

<sup>1</sup>For reports of previous meetings, see *External Affairs*, August 1959, July 1960, May and August 1961, and April 1962.

The United States delegation to the seventh session was led by Senator George D. Aiken of Vermont and Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher, member of the House of Representatives from New Jersey. Leading the Canadian delegation were the Speaker of the Senate, the Honourable Maurice Bourget, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable Alan A. Macnaughton.

### **Committee Work**

The delegations were divided into two committees, which met in camera on January 14 and 15. One discussed defence matters of national interest, such as defence-production sharing, hemispheric defence and NATO relations; the other focussed its attention on subjects such as trade with Communist countries, aid and trade with under-developed countries, and labour problems on the Great Lakes.

A visit by the Canadian delegates to the House of Representatives on January 14 was followed the next day by a visit to the United States Senate, where they were introduced on the floor. With their wives, they toured the White House and were received by President and Mrs. Johnson. Later that evening the delegates were addressed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk at a dinner offered by the co-chairmen of the United States delegation.

Members of both delegations and their wives visited Florida from January 16 to 19. The programme included a visit to St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, a dinner with ranking city officials, and an excursion by horse-drawn carriage round this historic centre. An extensive tour of the Cape Kennedy facilities of NASA and the U.S. Air Force included briefing sessions with respect to various space craft and inspections of a number of launching sites.

### **Final Communiqué**

A press release issued following the Group's final session on January 15 stated that the exchange of views had been "informal and frank with the purpose of acquainting Parliamentarians of both countries of attitudes and policies and positions existing within their respective countries." It noted that the discussions in the first Committee had ranged around issues arising out of the current crisis in Panama, the possible participation of Canada in the Organization of American States and the relations of both countries to NATO. In the second committee, the principal items discussed had been current problems and prospects of trade between Canada and the United States and with other free-world countries. In the discussion of trade with Communist countries, there had been an interchange of views concerning the policies of the United States and Canada with respect to trade with Communist China and Cuba. Discussion had also taken place regarding developments arising from the Canadian Government's decision to extend its fisheries zone to 12 miles, as well as on the United States interest-equalization tax and tax measures invoked by Canada on United States subsidiary companies in Canada. Also reviewed in brief were the Passamaquoddy power project and problems associated with highways to Alaska.

## **Members of Delegations**

The United States delegation, in addition to the members already mentioned, included Senators Mike Mansfield, Wayne Morse, Spessard Holland, E. L. Bartlett, Philip A. Hart, John O. Pastore, Edmund Muskie, Edward Kennedy, Karl E. Mundt, Milton Young, Len B. Jordan, and Representatives Harris B. McDowell, Jr., Thaddeus J. Dulski, William T. Murphy, Harold T. Johnson, John M. Slack, Jr., Fernand St. Germain, William S. Broomfield, Stanley R. Tupper, Howard W. Robison, James F. Battin and Mark Andrews.

The Canadian delegation included, from the Senate, the Honourable M. Wallace McCutcheon, the Honourable W. H. Taylor, the Honourable F. Elsie Inman, the Honourable Sydney J. Smith, the Honourable M. Grattan O'Leary and, from the House of Commons, the Honourable Michael Starr, the Honourable J. Waldo Monteith, the Honourable Paul Martineau, Mr. Herman M. Batten, Mr. W. B. Nesbitt, Mr. Jack McIntosh, Mr. Robert Thompson, Mr. Lucien Lamoureux, Mr. Stanley Knowles, Mr. James Byrne, Mr. Maurice Sauvé, Mr. A. J. P. Cameron, Mr. Andrew Brewin, Mr. R. G. L. Fairweather, Mr. H. Latulippe, Dr. Pauline Jewett and Mr. Jean Chrétien.



## *“Canada Hall” for Trinidad University*

*Text of Department of External Affairs press release dated January 22, 1964:*

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, announced today that the Honourable W. Ross Macdonald, Minister without Portfolio and Leader of the Government in the Senate, will officiate in Port of Spain on January 24 at the formal unveiling ceremonies which will mark the opening of the university residence to be known as “Canada Hall”. The Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University of the West Indies, Dr. H. D. Huggins, will lead the academic procession and preside over the ceremonies.

“Canada Hall” consists of two separate three-story dormitories and a single-story service block. Each of the dormitory buildings contains 96 single bedrooms, which have been provided with built-in furniture. The service block comprises caretaking, storage, laundry and other related services. All the electrical and plumbing equipment, as well as the built-in furniture in “Canada Hall”, were supplied from Canadian sources. The overall cost to Canada for this university residence and its furnishing was \$700,000.

The building of “Canada Hall” is one of a number of capital-assistance projects undertaken by Canada in the Caribbean area under its \$10-million Commonwealth Caribbean Assistance Programme. In September 1958, Canada began this five-year Assistance Programme for the Commonwealth islands in the West Indies. Canada is continuing this 1958-63 Caribbean Assistance Programme during the present fiscal year with a further contribution of \$2.1 million. The capital-assistance projects which have been or are in process of being carried out with Canadian funds include, in addition to the building and furnishing of “Canada Hall”, the provision of two ships designed and built in Canada for inter-island traffic in the Caribbean; the construction of a deep-water wharf and harbour facilities at St. Vincent; the taking of a forestry inventory in Dominica; the supply of school buildings and equipment in St. Kitts, Grenada, Antigua and Dominica; the development of fresh-water supplies in St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla and Montserrat; the provision of warehouses in St. Kitts and St. Lucia; supplying port handling equipment to a number of West Indian islands; providing a pilot launch for Barbados and a fishing-research vessel for Jamaica; and installing an aircraft landing system in Trinidad. Canada’s Caribbean Assistance Programme has also provided a substantial amount of technical aid involving the training of West Indian students in Canada and the supply of Canadian advisers or teachers to a number of the territories in the area. In its recent announcement about an expanded aid programme in the years 1964-65, the Government of Canada made clear that this would permit a more comprehensive and sizeable programme for the Commonwealth countries of the Caribbean with which Canada has had a long and historical association.

## *Nobel Peace Prize Award*

The Nobel Peace Prize ceremony for 1963 took place in Oslo, Norway, on December 10. The main address on that occasion, at which King Olav and Crown Prince Harald were present, was given by Mr. Gunnar John, Chairman of the Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Committee. In the evening, a dinner was held in honour of the prize winners. On the evening of December 11, recipients of the awards made their addresses in the University Festival Hall. Mr. MacAulay, Chairman of the Red Cross Board of Governors, received the prize on behalf of the League of Red Cross Societies. This is the third Nobel Peace Prize won by the Red Cross in the first 100 years of its existence.



Left to right: Crown Prince Harald; King Olav; Professor Leopold Boissier, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross; Mr. MacAulay; Dr. Linus Pauling (right foreground); Mr. H. Lange, Norwegian Foreign Minister (far right background).



## Chilean Grand Award to Canada

Canadian painters have recently added new honours to Canada's international reputation in the graphic arts. The Grand Award of Honour for the best selection of prints was given to Canada at the First American Biennial Exhibition of Engraving held at Santiago, Chile, from November 20 to December 20, 1963. Fifteen other countries participated. The purpose of the exhibition was to give a representative view of the work being done by print-makers of the Western Hemisphere. No limitations of style or technique were imposed. The jury, which was composed of art critics, considered only the quality of each print and the professional ability of the artist. The photograph below shows the Canadian Ambassador, George Bernard Summers, receiving the Grand Award of Honour from the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Enrique Ortuzar Escobar.

A second prize, of \$180.00, was awarded to the Toronto artist Harold Town for his relief print *Quiet Presence*. Three other Canadians — James Boyd, Alber Dumouchel and Yves Gaucher — won honourable mention. The 64 prints by 14 Canadian artists were chosen by the National Gallery of Canada. They include lithographs, colour etchings, relief prints, un-inked intaglio prints, meta collage reliefs, colour woodcuts and mono-screen prints.





## **FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 19th session: New York, February 17 to March 13.

United Nations Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: Geneva, February 24 to March 6.

International Atomic Energy Agency, Governing Board: Vienna, February 25 to March 6.

United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, 20th session: Tehran, March 2 to 17.

World Health Organization, 17th World Health Assembly: Geneva, March 3 to 21.

United Nations Outer Space Legal Subcommittee: Geneva, March 9 to 26.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: Geneva, March 23 to June 14.

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## **APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE**

Mr. J. A. Chapdelaine, Canadian Ambassador to Brazil, appointed Canadian Ambassador to the United Arab Republic. Left Rio de Janeiro October 26, 1963.

Mr. P. A. Beaulieu, Canadian Ambassador to Lebanon, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Brazil. Left Beirut December 7, 1963.

Mr. P. R. Jennings posted from the Canadian Embassy, Port-au-Prince, to Ottawa. Left Port-au-Prince December 20, 1963.

Mr. J. D. L. Rose posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos, to Ottawa. Left Lagos December 21, 1963.

Miss E. M. Stock posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New Orleans, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos. Left New Orleans December 24, 1963.

Mr. F. M. Filleul posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara. Left Ottawa December 30, 1963.

Mr. P. Dupuy, Canadian Ambassador to France transferred to the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition effective December 31, 1963.

Mr. J. L. Fournier resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective December 31, 1963.

Mr. R. A. D. Ford, Canadian Ambassador to Cairo, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Moscow. Left Cairo January 5, 1964.

Mr. H. L. Weidman posted from Ottawa to l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Paris. Left Ottawa January 10, 1964.

- Mr. A. R. Wright, posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos. Left Ottawa January 17, 1964.
- Mr. R. A. Farquharson retired from the Public Service effective January 18, 1964.
- Mr. J. A. Donald posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New Orleans. Left Ottawa January 19, 1964.
- Mr. R. W. MacLaren posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York. Left Ottawa January 26, 1964.

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## **TREATY INFORMATION**

### **Current Action**

#### **Bilateral**

##### **United States of America**

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America regarding sale of Canada's entitlement to downstream benefits under the Columbia River Treaty, signed at Washington, January 17, 1961.

Washington January 22, 1964.

Entered into force January 22, 1964.

Exchange of Notes, with attached Protocol, between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the Columbia River Treaty signed at Washington, January 17, 1961.

Washington January 22, 1964.

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America relating to the establishment of the Roosevelt Campobello International Park

Signed at Washington January 22, 1964.

#### **Multilateral**

Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water Done at Moscow August 5, 1963.

Signed by Canada at London, Washington and Moscow August 8, 1963.

Canada's Instruments of Ratification deposited at London, Washington and Moscow, January 28, 1964.

Entered into force for Canada, January 28, 1964.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Mr. Pearson's Visit to France*

ON JANUARY 15, 16 and 17, the Prime Minister and Mrs. Pearson and the Secretary of State for External Affairs and Mrs. Martin, accompanied by senior officers of the Department of External Affairs, made an official visit to France. During this visit, Mr. Pearson and Mr. Martin had a series of talks with their French hosts. Prime Minister Pearson had two meetings with President de Gaulle at the Elysée, the first of which lasted much longer than had been scheduled in the official programme and took the form of a private conversation; the second was held in the presence of the French Prime Minister, Mr. Pompidou, Mr. Martin and Mr. Couve de Murville and several assistants. Mr. Pearson also



*Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson stands at attention before the Arc de Triomphe in Paris after placing a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Left to right: M. Sainteny French Veterans' Minister; Colonel B. J. Guimond, Military, Naval and Air Attaché at the Canadian Embassy, Paris; Mr. Pearson; General Dodelier, Military Governor of Paris.*



*Mr. Paul Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs (right), is received at UNESCO House, Paris, by M. Rene Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO.*

had a private conversation with Mr. Pompidou at the Hôtel Matignon, and Mr. Martin visited Mr. Couve de Murville at the Quai d'Orsay.

### **A Heavy Schedule**

Mr. Pearson and Mr. Martin and other Canadian officials were guests at several brilliant functions held during their visit. On the morning of January 16, the Prime Minister laid a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Arc de Triomphe and visited the headquarters of the Quebec delegation, where he was greeted by Mr. Lussier, head of the delegation. On January 17, after a visit to the staff of the Canadian Embassy, he was the guest of the Chairman of the Municipal Council of Paris at the Hôtel de Ville and was guest of honour at a luncheon of the Diplomatic Press Association. During the luncheon, and in an interview given to the newspaper "Le Monde", Mr. Pearson had the opportunity to explain Canada's policy with regard to several international problems.

Mr. Pearson was also able to visit the Secretary-General of NATO at the headquarters of the Permanent Council of the Organization. On January 15, Mr. Martin went to UNESCO headquarters, where he had private talks with Mr. Maheu, the Director-General, and met several Canadian officials.

After their stay in Paris, the Canadian visitors went to the Royal Canadian Air Force base in Marville (Meuse). They visited the Canadian War Cemetery



of Dieppe and flew over the battlefield of Vimy, before returning to Canada.

### **Object of Franco-Canadian Talks**

As shown by the joint communiqué, these Franco-Canadian talks offered first of all the opportunity for an exchange of views on the main international political problems. General de Gaulle and the Canadian Prime Minister informed each other thoroughly of the position of their respective countries concerning the present state and the possible evolution of East-West relations, the political situation in Asia — particularly in Southeast Asia, where Canada is a member of the International Supervisory Commissions — and the implications of this situation for the West. They also discussed the question of trade expansion and of the reduction of trade barriers, which will be the objective of the forthcoming GATT negotiations.

During the conversations, bilateral Franco-Canadian problems were also reviewed. The two governments indicated their desire for the greater development of their relations on both the economic and cultural levels. In the spheres of culture and technical co-operation, they registered with satisfaction the steps already taken, such as the recent agreement between the association responsible for foreign trainees in French industries (ASTEF), and the Province of Quebec and the University of Toronto. Mr. Couve de Murville further confirmed the fact that his Government would welcome Canadian trainees at the École nationale d'administration. Various means of increasing existing co-operation were also considered. After an exchange of views on economic relations between Canada and France, a study was made of measures to be taken to develop further trade between the two countries within the framework of the expansion of international trade and to increase French investments in Canada. The communiqué also notes with satisfaction projects of mutual interest in the field of defence production. Finally, the talks emphasized the importance of assisting under-developed countries, particularly through trade and commerce and steady external aid.

### **Positive Results of the Visit**

The visit of the Canadian Prime Minister to France not only provided the opportunity for an exchange of views between the two governments, but resulted in the development of several important projects for Franco-Canadian co-operation. First of all, consultations will be held at regular intervals between the two governments to study problems affecting Franco-Canadian relations. Furthermore, it was decided to stimulate cultural and technical exchanges by all possible means. France, for its part, pledged itself to co-operate in the implementation of the Canadian Government programme of cultural relations; and a meeting on that subject will soon take place between officials of the two countries.

Finally, in the matter of aid to developing countries, Canada and France agreed to co-ordinate their policies of assistance to French-speaking countries



of Africa, a field in which France has always played a prominent role and in which Canada is organizing a special programme.

### **Warm and Friendly Atmosphere**

Special mention should be made of "the great cordiality and the spirit of mutual understanding" — to use the words of the communiqué — that prevailed in these conversations. As emphasized by Mr. Pearson on several occasions during his visit, the ties of sympathy between the two countries originated in the fact that France was one of the two motherlands of Canada and that a number of Canadians had lost their lives defending France during the two World Wars. At a Canadian Embassy dinner offered in honour of the French Prime Minister, Mr. Pearson stated:

In English-speaking regions of Canada, there is a much greater interest in the French language and French culture, the role of which is being increasingly appreciated as an essential element in our nation. This development brings about, quite naturally, a renewal of interest, which serves most appropriately our relations with France, and this, I can assure you, is not limited to the Province of Quebec. . . . The two governments are fully alive to the opportunities offered by the dynamic progress within the two countries and stemming from our firm intention to draw mutual benefits from that progress.

The best way to summarize the results achieved by this Franco-Canadian meeting is to reaffirm with Mr. André Malraux, the French Minister for Cultural Affairs, that a "new order of mutual trust" has been established between France and Canada.

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NOTE: The text of the joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of the Prime Minister's visit to France was included in the February 1964 issue of *External Affairs*, P. 34.

# *The Columbia River Treaty and Protocol*

**D**URING the current session at Ottawa, a Parliamentary committee will consider the Columbia River Treaty and Protocol, which comprise the agreement under which Canada and the United States have undertaken to carry out the co-operative development of the Columbia River on both sides of the border.

The Treaty was signed by the governments of the two countries on January 17, 1961. Two months later, on March 16, the United States Senate adopted a resolution approving it by vote of 90 to 1. It has not, however, been ratified by Canada.

Following the Hyannis Port meeting between Prime Minister Pearson and President Kennedy in the spring of 1963, negotiations were begun that led to:

- (a) an agreement with British Columbia setting out the responsibilities of the two governments respectively;
- (b) an agreement with the United States on a Protocol to the Treaty to adjust and clarify certain provisions of the original document;
- (c) an agreement for the sale of downstream power benefits to the United States for part of the Treaty period.

As a result of continuous negotiations, an arrangement was reached in January of this year that was satisfactory to all governments concerned, and on January 22 the Protocol was signed at Washington. The following sections of this article review the various documents in question and the advantages to Canada of the development of the Columbia River as now contemplated.

## **Protocol to the Treaty**

The main British Columbia-Canada agreement signed on July 8, 1963, an analysis of which, with the supplementary agreement of January 13, 1964, is included in this article, cleared the way for negotiations with the United States on a Protocol to the Treaty. The Protocol gives Canada the following advantages, which were either lacking or not clearly defined in the Treaty:

### **1. Flood-Control Operation**

Under the Treaty, Canada is to receive \$64.4 million in United States funds for the operation of 8.5 million acre feet of storage at the three Treaty dams — Mica, Arrow Lakes and Duncan Lake — during the 60-year life of the Treaty. In addition to this flood-control protection, Canada has agreed to operate further storage for flood control during the period of the Treaty, and all existing storage facilities thereafter if called on by the United States. Although the Treaty stipulates that Canada will be reimbursed for any economic or hydro-electric loss which might be incurred as a result of providing the additional flood control, the Federal Government was concerned that Canada had no voice in determining whether a need for additional flood control actually existed. It was also concerned



*Present at the signing in Washington, D.C., on January 22, 1964, of the Protocol to the Columbia River Treaty between Canada and the United States (left to right): Mr. Paul Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs; Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson; President Lyndon B. Johnson; Mr. Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State.*

that, with the development of the potential flood areas in the United States, the calls on Canadian flood-control storage might become so frequent that they would interfere with the effective operation of the storage for Canada's own needs.

The Protocol requires that the United States entity requesting the additional flood control must submit its requests to the Canadian operating entity. The latter can accept, reject or suggest modifications to these requests. If agreement between the entities cannot be reached, the request is then submitted to the Permanent Engineering Board, a joint Canadian-United States body. The Board's decision will be binding on both entities. If, however, the Board fails to agree as to the need for the flood control, the request must be honoured so that the possibility of loss of life and damage to property will be minimized. The provision under the Treaty by which Canada is reimbursed for loss incurred through such flood-control operation remains in effect.

The Protocol is quite specific as to when the United States can call for additional flood control. During the Treaty period, calls for additional storage can be made only if the flood peak expected at The Dalles, Oregon, would exceed



600,000 cubic feet a second\* *after* the use of all storage facilities which existed or were under construction in the United States portion of the basin in January 1961, as well as storage at the Libby Dam and the 8.5 million acre feet of basic flood-control storage provided by Canada. Thus only a flood of major proportions would require the use of the additional Canadian storage during the Treaty period.

After the Treaty period, calls for any Canadian flood-control storage can be made only if the flood peak at The Dalles would exceed 600,000 cubic feet a second after the use of all storage facilities existing in the basin in the United States at the termination of the Treaty. Once again, Canada will be effectively protected against an undue number of calls on its storage.

Thus the Protocol improves on the Treaty by providing an objective test of need and ensuring that Canada will have a voice in determining whether flood control is actually needed.

### 2. *Aim of Flood-Control Operating Plans*

The Protocol also requires that any operating plans for flood control to be carried out under the Treaty and Protocol be prepared in a manner which will minimize flood damage in both the United States *and* Canada. While substantial flood-control protection to Canada is automatic when the Treaty projects are in operation, the specific inclusion of Canadian needs in the determination of flood-control plans was not provided for in the Treaty and is an important clarification of that document.

### 3. *Exchange of Notes on Downstream Benefit Sales*

The Protocol modifies the Treaty on a point which is vital to the sales agreement with the United States. Article VIII(1) of the Treaty, which refers to a possible disposal of downstream power benefits in the United States, requires that such disposals be covered by an exchange of notes between the two countries "as soon as possible *after* the ratification date". The sale of Canada's entire entitlement to downstream benefits for 30 years, as now planned, and the absence of immediate markets for those power benefits in Canada make it essential that assurance of purchase by the United States is made either before, or contemporaneously with, ratification by Canada. The Protocol requires a simultaneous exchange of the ratifications and completion of the initial sales agreement and therefore insures a market for Canada's downstream benefits.

### 4. *Elimination of Standby Charge*

The Protocol eliminates the standby transmission charge on Canada's downstream benefits which are either sold to the United States or delivered to Canada at points other than Oliver, British Columbia. This charge, provided for under

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\*The level of flood control at present considered desirable in the United States.

the Treaty, could have amounted to as much as \$2 million a year. Under the terms of the Protocol, the charge is, for all practical purposes, eliminated completely.

#### 5. *Co-ordination of Libby for Canadian Benefit*

The Protocol acknowledges that Canada will benefit from the operation of Libby and makes more specific the willingness of the United States to co-ordinate the operation of that dam with the operation of Canadian Kootenay River plants, unless such co-ordination is to the disadvantage of the United States or would result in a violation of the International Joint Commission Order relating to the levels of Kootenay Lake.

#### 6. *Diversions by Canada*

Article XIII of the Treaty gives Canada the right to divert the waters of the Kootenay River to the Columbia River for power purposes within specified times in the future. These diversions, if deemed economic by Canada, would in time permit the maximum diversions which have been advocated by certain critics of the Treaty. Although it was intended that any diversions under the Treaty could continue in perpetuity, there was room for doubt as to whether the wording of the Treaty made this clear. The Protocol specifies that diversions of Kootenay waters undertaken by Canada during the period stipulated by the Treaty may continue indefinitely.

Doubt has also been expressed as to whether Article XIII(1) of the Treaty gives Canada the right to make diversions of Columbia system waters for consumptive purposes such as irrigation, domestic, and municipal needs. The Protocol clears up any misunderstanding on this point by affirming Canada's rights to make such diversions under the Treaty. This right would apply, for example, to any diversion that might become desirable to the Prairie Provinces for irrigation. It should be noted that provision for diversions under the Treaty generally continue for at least 60 years, while diversion rights under the Boundary Waters Treaty can be terminated on one year's notice.

#### 7. *Control of Canadian Storage for Power*

It has been claimed that the Treaty gives the United States control over Canadian storage operation for power, and therefore limits the benefits which Canada might otherwise obtain from regulation of the Columbia. It is difficult to see where the Treaty supports this view, as it refers to plans of operation which must not only be agreed to *jointly* but will take into account the benefits possible *within Canada*. However, there are instances in the Annexes of the Treaty which leave doubt as to the exact procedure to be followed in formulating and carrying out the operating plans. The Protocol removes any uncertainty in this regard by placing the following conditions on the plans of operation:

- (a) The plans will only commit the amount of Canadian Treaty storage necessary to produce the downstream benefits credited to that storage.

- (b) They will be based on the same series of studies from which the benefits are calculated five years in advance.
- (c) Canada is given full discretion to decide from which projects storage releases will be made.
- (d) Canada is given full discretion also as to the detailed operation which will give the monthly storage quantities required by the agreed operating plan drawn up five years in advance.

#### 8. *Calculation of Downstream Benefits*

The Columbia River Treaty stipulates that, unless otherwise agreed, a 20-year period of streamflow record be used to calculate downstream power benefits. Under the Protocol, the two governments have agreed to use a 30-year period of record. Use of the longer period has the effect of increasing the average flows under study, thereby increasing the need for control by Canadian storage. The resulting average increase in Canada's downstream energy benefits is approximately 500 million kilowatt hours annually, or an increase of 14 to 18 per cent of the total energy benefit.

Canadian capacity benefits have also been increased significantly (5 per cent to 7 per cent) through the clarification of how the irrigation pumps at the Grand Coulee project should be considered in the studies of downstream benefit credits. The Protocol also clarifies the general calculation of energy and capacity credits under the Treaty, by stating the annual load shape to be used in the calculations and defining more explicitly the Treaty limitation on the capacity credit to Canadian storage.

#### 9. *Added Flood Control Payments for Early Completion of Storage*

The Protocol allows for the upward adjustment of the payments to Canada for flood-control protection in the event of an earlier completion of the Treaty storages than is called for by the Treaty. This adjustment will be calculated on the same basis as the Treaty payments.

#### 10. *No Precedent for Other Developments*

It has been suggested that the Treaty would establish a precedent for the development of international rivers which would restrict Canada's freedom to develop rivers such as the Yukon in a manner most advantageous to this country in the particular circumstances of each case. The Protocol states clearly that the Treaty does not establish any such principle or precedent and effects no change in the application of the Boundary Waters Treaty to other international rivers.

#### **Attachment Relating to Terms of Sale**

This agreement provides that Canada will sell to the United States its full entitlement to the downstream power benefits from the three Treaty projects for 30 years after each project goes into operation. In return, the United States will



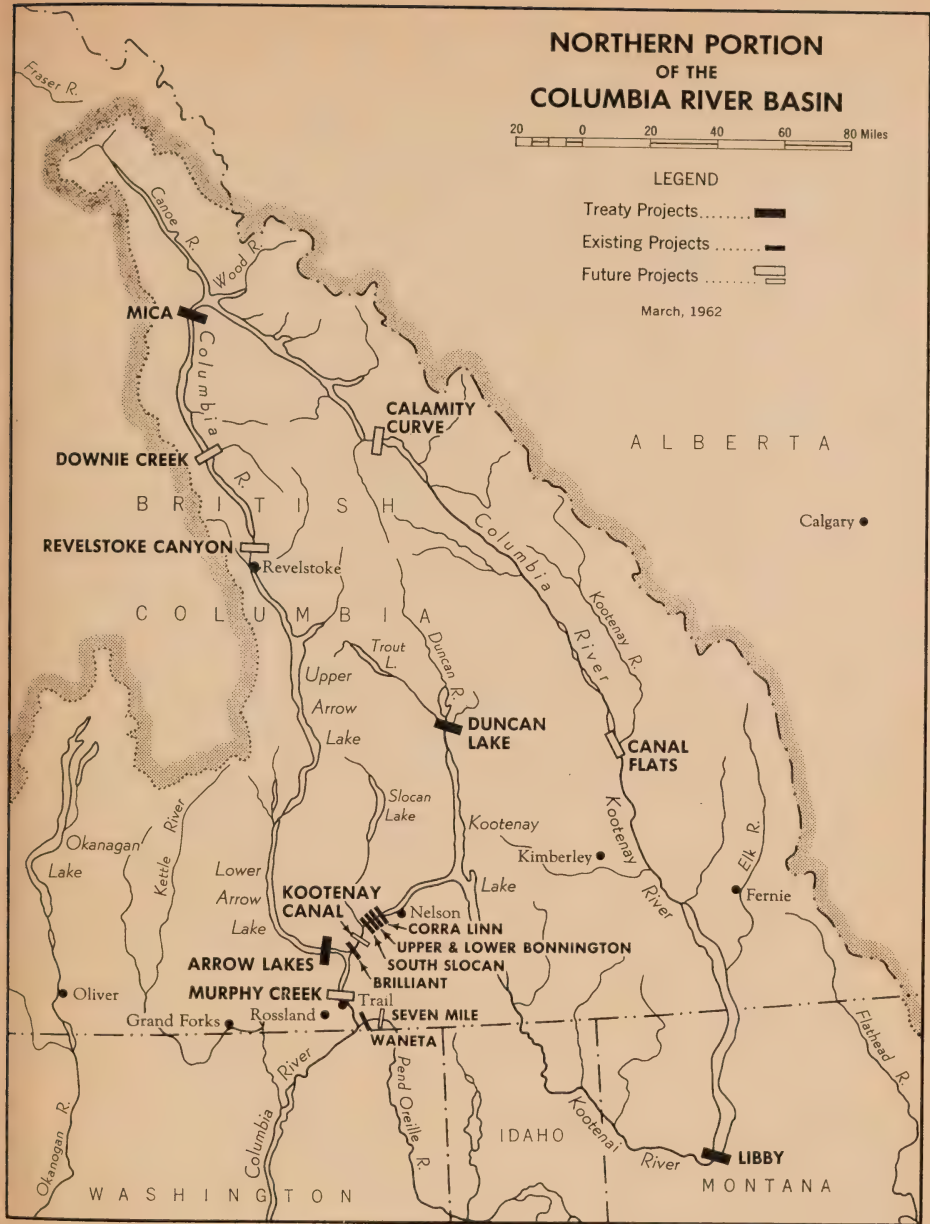
# NORTHERN PORTION OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN

20 0 20 40 60 80 Miles

## LEGEND

- Treaty Projects .....
- Existing Projects .....
- Future Projects .....

March, 1962



make a payment to Canada which, together with the Treaty flood-control payments, will have a value to Canada of \$501 million (Canadian) by 1973, when all three dams will have been completed.

The derivation of the \$501-million value is indicated on Table 1, Page 108, which also gives the derivation of the equivalent value of the construction costs of the projects by 1973. The indicated surplus of revenues over costs of \$53.4 million is approximately half the cost of installing ten generating units at Mica with a total capacity of 1.8 million kilowatts.

Rather than paying for the power year by year, the annual values of the power sold have been discounted at 4½ per cent to a lump sum payment in October 1964. Investment at higher interest rates of that part of both power and flood-control payments not immediately needed for construction will substantially enhance their value to Canada. The calculations presented in this document assume that reinvestment within Canada is possible at 5 percent interest.

The value of the payments to Canada can be illustrated in a number of ways. Table 1 compares the value and the corresponding Treaty construction costs at the point in time when all three Treaty dams are completed. The surplus of revenues then existing is compared to the capital cost of installing the very large generating installation at Mica.

A second approach to the value of the payments is to apply them year by year to the cost of constructing and maintaining the Treaty storage over the full construction and sales period (1964 to 2003). Under this approach, we find that all construction costs are paid as they occur and all operating and maintenance costs of the storage are fully covered. In addition, a revenue surplus of \$40 million remains at the end of the period. Over the full period of construction and sale, the value to Canada of the initial payments, plus interest earned on the unused portions of those payments, totals \$488 million.

No matter which approach is used, the end result is the full coverage of all Treaty costs, and with surplus revenues to be applied against Mica generation so that the average cost of the 6.6 billion kilowatt hours of energy produced annually at that site will be less than 1.5 mills a kilowatt hour.

### **Advantages of Treaty, Protocol and Sales Agreement**

The agreements which have been reached with the governments of the United States and British Columbia make the full development of the Columbia River system in Canada an economically-viable undertaking. There is no evidence available that development of the river in Canada without the Treaty could produce power at competitive rates; rather, in that case, development might not take place at all.

Under the proposed arrangement by which the storages will be more than paid for by the flood-control payments plus the sale of downstream benefits for 30 years, the advantages of the storages will be available to Canada at no cost. The benefits to Canada, in addition to the revenues referred to above, will be as follows:

### 1. *Mica Generation in Canada*

The installed capacity of 1.8 million kilowatts at Mica will produce 6.6 billion kilowatt hours of energy annually at a cost of less than 1.5 mills a kilowatt hour and at a very low load factor. If there were no Treaty, the cost of Mica generation would be approximately 4 mills a kilowatt hour. The annual savings to Canada after full production is achieved at Mica will be about \$16 million a year up to the year 2003 and \$13 million a year for a further period of at least 20 years. These multi-million dollar savings to Canada are the direct result of the Treaty and sales agreement.

### 2. *Generation Downstream from Mica*

The regulation of the river provided by the Mica dam will also make economically feasible generating plants downstream on the river in Canada at Downie Creek, Revelstoke Canyon and Murphy Creek with a combined installed capacity of 1.9 million kilowatts. These projects are dependent on the river regulation provided by the Mica dam and therefore would probably not be constructed if Mica proved uneconomic without the Treaty.

### 3. *Kootenay River Benefits*

Construction of the Libby dam in the United States and the Duncan Lake dam in Canada will increase the generating potential of the Kootenay River in Canada by approximately 250,000 kilowatt years of energy annually. Of this increase, approximately 200,000 kilowatt years will be contributed by the construction of the Libby dam by the United States. These downstream benefits do not have to be shared with the United States, and therefore provide Canada with a major energy resource costing less than 2 mills a kilowatt hour, including consideration of both generating costs and the cost of that portion of the Libby reservoir that is in Canada. The power benefits which will be realized on the Kootenay River in Canada will ensure the future economic growth of an area largely dependent on sources of low-cost power.

### 4. *Total Power Benefits to Canada*

The total power potential of the Columbia River basin within Canada with development under the Treaty will amount to over 4 million kilowatts of installed capacity producing energy at an average cost of approximately 2 mills a kilowatt hour. These benefits will be increased even further through co-ordination with other resources within Canada. For comparison, the total hydro-electric generating capacity in Canada at the end of 1963 was 20 million kilowatts. The additional hydro-electric capacity available on the Columbia River therefore represents 1/5th of today's total for Canada.

### 5. *Flood-Control Benefits in Canada*

Canada will benefit from flood-control protection provided by the three Ca-



nadian dams and the Libby dam. Canada is not required to pay the United States for the flood protection given by Libby.

#### 6. *Downstream Benefits after Period of Sale*

When the period of sale to the United States ends, a substantial quantity of downstream power benefits will still be available to Canada. Even under the most adverse conditions these benefits will continue at approximately 1.7 billion kilowatt hours annually, and, with the Treaty projects already paid for, will be available to Canada at the cost of operating those projects and delivering the power to load centres. The value to Canada of these continuing benefits will be from \$5 to \$10 million annually.

#### 7. *Balance of Payments*

Canada's foreign-exchange resources will benefit directly from the payment by the United States of \$319 million in U.S. funds, of which \$254 million will be paid in 1964.

#### 8. *Employment*

During the nine-year construction period of the Treaty storage projects, an average of 1350 men will be employed at the dams and, in the peak years of construction, about 3000. Expenditures by this labour force and by industries across Canada on the production of materials and equipment for the dams will create a great many more jobs. Following the construction of Duncan, Arrow and Mica, there will be a continuing building programme for a further 10 to 15 years for other large dams on the Columbia River.

### **British Columbia-Canada Agreements**

The Government of Canada (referred to as "Canada") and the government of British Columbia entered into a main agreement dated July 8, 1963, and a supplemental one dated January 13, 1964, under which the rights and obligations of British Columbia under the Treaty and related arrangements are defined and provision is made for effective implementation of all the arrangements that are contemplated.

The need for the agreements lies in the fact that, while "Canada" is the contracting party in the Treaty, the Protocol and the exchange of notes, in relation to the United States, it is British Columbia that is the owner, in Canada, of the water resource involved and is to do the things required for its development under the Treaty. There must, therefore, be very clear agreement as to just how British Columbia is going to discharge the obligations that Canada has undertaken in relation to the United States, both immediately and during the entire life of the Treaty. Equally, there must be clear understanding as to how Canada is going to pass on to British Columbia the payments and other benefits the United States is to provide and how, during the life of the Treaty, Canada will

handle the claims, benefits and other questions that will arise. These all constitute a very complex set of relations between three governments, stretching over 60 years at least. The two agreements have been worked out to cover them and are as important as the Treaty itself. They are, indeed, essential to its successful operation.

As the owner of the water resource, British Columbia gets the downstream power benefits or the proceeds of their sale, all compensation payable by the United States in return for flood control, the Kootenay River benefits in Canada resulting from the Libby dam, the water-diversion rights in Article XIII of the Treaty, and any future payments to settle claims, compensate for extra flood-control requests or cover any other arrangements that may be agreed on.

In return, British Columbia agrees to carry out the construction and operation of the three Treaty dams through its agency the British Columbia Hydro and Power Authority and to do everything which it is constitutionally capable of doing to carry out the terms of the Treaty. British Columbia has to comply with the construction schedule and must install generation at the Mica dam as soon as "economically feasible".

In order to protect Canada in respect of obligations under the Treaty arrangements, British Columbia undertakes a complete indemnification of Canada in respect of all liability to the United States not due directly to some fault of Canada itself. In particular, British Columbia will reimburse Canada for any costs or expenses Canada incurs in doing anything which British Columbia should have done.

British Columbia agrees to use the money received under the Treaty to finance the construction of the Treaty dams, and it is expressly stated that Canada will have no obligation to assist in the financing.

The agreements also provide:

- (a) that British Columbia will make progress reports during the construction phase to Canada and will maintain complete records and accounts;
- (b) the respective responsibilities of Canada and British Columbia relating to the Permanent Engineering Board and any arbitration proceedings under the Treaty;
- (c) that Canadian labour and materials are intended to be used in the construction of the Treaty dams and that all discrimination is prohibited.

Disputes under the agreements are to be submitted to the Exchequer Court of Canada for decision. Any amounts which British Columbia owes Canada under the agreements, and which remain unpaid for 60 days after an Exchequer Court order, may be deducted by Canada from amounts which Canada owes British Columbia on any other account, including such accounts as the tax agreements.

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NOTE: The text of a joint statement issued by the United States President and the Canadian Prime Minister following the signing of the agreements at the White House in Washington, D.C., was included in the February 1964 issue of *External Affairs*, P. 38.

TABLE 1

## COMPARISON OF REVENUES AND COSTS COLUMBIA RIVER TREATY PROJECTS

### A. Payments to be made by United States of America

<u>Payment for</u>	<u>\$ Millions (Can.)</u>	<u>Amount of Payment at date of</u>	<u>Value on 1 April 1973 \$ Millions (Can.)</u>
Power Benefits	274.8	1 Oct. 1964	416.1
Flood Control			
Duncan	12.0	1 April 1968	15.3
Arrow	56.3	1 April 1969	68.4
Mica	1.3	1 April 1973	1.3
		Total	501.1

### B. Capital Costs of Projects

<u>Project</u>	<u>\$ Millions (Can.)*</u>	<u>Capital Cost at in-service date of</u>	<u>Cost on 1 April 1973 \$ Millions (Can.)</u>
Duncan Storage	33.3	1 April 1968	42.5
Arrow Storage	129.5	1 April 1969	157.4
Mica Storage	245.2	1 April 1973	245.2
General Costs	2.6	1 April 1973	2.6
		Total	447.7

### C. Surplus

Total payments less total capital cost, i.e. A-B      \$53.4 million

This surplus represents approximately one-half the cost of Mica at-site generation.

NOTE: <sup>(1)</sup>Interest rate assumed at 5 per cent both on costs and investment of payments.

<sup>(2)</sup>Exchange rate assumed to be \$1.00 (U.S.) = \$1.08 (Canadian)

\*Includes interest during construction at 5 per cent *per annum*.



TABLE 2

# **COLUMBIA RIVER** **GENERAL & PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS**

<u>GENERAL DATA</u>		<u>Canada</u>	<u>U.S.A.</u>
Source of Columbia River		Columbia Lake	
Mouth of Columbia River			Astoria, Oregon
Length in Miles		480	740
Drainage Area in Square Miles		39,500	219,500
Total Fall of River in Feet		1,360	1,290
Average Yearly Runoff in Million Acre Feet		73	107
<u>TREATY PROJECTS</u>			
<u>Project</u>	<u>Arrow Lakes</u>	<u>Duncan Lake</u>	<u>Mica Creek</u>
Location	5 miles upstream from Castlegar	Outlet of Duncan Lake	90 miles upstream of Revelstoke
Consultants	CBA Engineering Co. Ltd.	Montreal Engineering Co. Ltd.	Caseco Consultants Ltd.
Drainage Area	14,100 sq. miles	925 sq. miles	8,220 sq. miles
Average Flow	39,800 cfs	3,600 cfs	20,700 cfs
Max. Recorded Flow	220,000 cfs	21,400 cfs	112,000 cfs
Min. Recorded Flow	4,800 cfs	268 cfs	2,140 cfs
Dam Type	Earthfill	Earthfill	Earth and Rockfill
Dam Height	190 feet	120 feet	645 feet ±
Dam Crest Length	2,850 feet	2,600 feet	2,500 feet ±
Dam Volume	8,500,000 cu. yds.	6,400,000 cu. yds.	37,000,000 cu. yds.
Live Storage Capacity	7,100,000 ac. ft.	1,400,000 ac. ft.	Stage 1—Storage only 7,000,000 ac. ft. Stage 2—with at-site gen. 12,000,000 ac. ft.
Length of Reservoir	145 miles	28 miles	85 miles
Completion period after ratification	5 years	5 years	9 years
Flood Control Payment in U.S. Dollars	\$52,100,000	\$11,100,000	\$1,200,000

TABLE 3

**PROPOSED HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECTS  
IN THE COLUMBIA RIVER BASIN IN CANADA**

**SUMMARY OF DATA**

Name of Project	Live Storage Ac. Ft.	Normal Full Pool Elevation	Maximum Gross Head, Feet	Number of Units	Installed Capacity Kw
Mica Creek	12,000,000	2475	570	10	1,820,000
Downie	480,000	1905	255	10	1,000,000 <sup>(a)</sup>
Revelstoke	220,000	1650	196	9	630,000
Arrow Lakes	7,100,000	1444	42	—	—
Murphy Creek	Pondage	1402	62	6	300,000
Duncan Lake	1,400,000	1892	110	—	—
Lower Bonnington (Additions only)	Pondage	1620	70	1	13,700
Brilliant (Additions only)	Pondage	1470	70 <sup>(b)</sup>	2	54,600
Kootenay Canal Plant	817,000	1475	272	3	270,000
Seven Mile	Pondage	1714	198	4	350,000
Total					4,438,300

<sup>(a)</sup>Output is reduced to 930,000 kw when tailwater is at normal full-pool elevation of Revelstoke Project.

<sup>(b)</sup>Following completion of Murphy Project, which reduces head by 26 feet.

## *British Prime Minister Visits Ottawa*

THE PRIME MINISTER of Britain, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, paid an informal visit to Ottawa from February 9 to 11, 1964. The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Lester B. Pearson, held wide-ranging discussions with Sir Alec on current international problems, as well as on matters affecting their two countries, in the intimate and friendly atmosphere that characterizes the relations between Canada and Britain.



*The two statesmen are shown above during one of their talks. Mr. Pearson is seated left.*



## *Reply to Chairman Khrushchov*

*On January 3, 1964, the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. Ivan F. Shpedko, handed to the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, the text of the year-end message addressed to him and to other heads of state and government by Mr. N. S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., on the subject of territorial and frontier disputes and the means of settling them. The Canadian Prime Minister's reply, dated February 4, 1964, the text of which is given below, was delivered in Moscow on February 7, 1964, by the Canadian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Mr. Robert A. D. Ford.*

Ottawa, February 4, 1964.

Dear Chairman Khrushchov,

Thank you for your letter of December 31, 1963, concerning territorial and frontier disputes and the means of settling them. I have given it careful study and would like to make some observations on your analysis of the problem and on your proposals.

First of all, I welcome this indication of your concern over the necessity of finding peaceful solutions to international disputes. Canada has consistently worked for general acceptance of discussion, negotiation, mediation or arbitration as the means of attaining that objective. We are, therefore, always ready to examine new ways of reasserting and strengthening the principle already enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations of the renunciation of force or threat of force in international disputes and relations between states.

### **One Aspect of Larger Problem**

You have concentrated in your letter on territorial and border disputes. This is but one aspect of a larger problem, and I hope you will agree that other disputes should also be settled by peaceful means only. In the present age, other types of disputes can be just as critical and can therefore lead to just as dangerous and potentially explosive situations as can disputes over frontiers. In any further exploration of the problem, therefore, our range of discussion should include disputes arising from any and all causes. It is unreasonable to assert that, although the use of force must be eschewed in territorial and border disputes, it is acceptable in disputes to which anyone chooses to give the arbitrary appellation of, for example, "wars of liberation". It is inadequate, in my view, to emphasize the prohibition of the use of direct and overt force only and to make no attempt to outlaw subversion, infiltration by trained guerillas, and the supply of arms to insurrectionary forces — all of which are, as I am sure you realize, the cause of dangerous tensions in a great many parts of the world today.

I should be also less than frank with you if I did not state that my own interpretation of various events and situations described in your letter — for example, some of your references to military bases abroad, colonialism and imperialism — differs in certain respects from your own. I am convinced, however, that responsible and reasonable discussions and negotiations depend to a great extent on the avoidance of unnecessarily controversial interpretation of situations from which tensions between states arise. Hence, although we seem to be some distance apart on several aspects of the problem, I should like to try to bridge the gap, and it is for this reason that I am making these comments and suggestions aimed at achievement of the goal you proclaim.

I welcome your recognition of the need to continue working towards general and complete disarmament, while at the same time paying increased attention to more limited objectives aimed at initial measures of disarmament and at the further reduction of tension. Agreement on general and complete disarmament is, of necessity, a longer-term undertaking, but the importance of the goal is so great and the consequence of failure so serious that it must be pursued with exceptional patience and determination regardless of present or possible future difficulties.

### **Reconciling Two Sets of Proposals**

You refer to the various proposals which the Soviet Government has put forward on general and complete disarmament but, as you know, the Western nations also have put forward constructive and far-reaching proposals in this field. Moreover, the West has similarly offered a number of proposals for collateral measures of disarmament aimed at promoting international peace and security. It will continue to be a primary aim of the Canadian Government during the resumed negotiations in Geneva to seek ways of reconciling differences between existing proposals, both on general disarmament and on collateral measures, and I hope that the Soviet Government will follow the same constructive approach.

It is encouraging to read in your letter that the United Nations can, in your view, contribute positively to peaceful solutions of territorial and frontier problems. I heartily agree with you, and indeed believe that it can contribute effectively to the peaceful solution of many other disputes as well. You will be aware of my personal interest in that organization and of the important place it occupies in the formulation and implementation of Canadian foreign policy. Canada has, for example, given active support to United Nations peace-keeping operations, contributing tangibly in men, money and materials. In addition, as I emphasized in my speech to the General Assembly on September 19, 1963, we should all co-operate to strengthen and improve the peace-keeping methods of the United Nations, and place them on a sound financial footing, so that the organization will have a continuing capacity to discharge its first responsibility — the maintenance of international peace and security. We should also like to see the

Security Council become effective as the United Nations organ with the primary responsibility in this field. I hope that our respective representatives in New York may work more effectively together in order to see how these objectives might be reached.

As I observed to your Ambassador in Ottawa when he delivered your message to me, many of the general undertakings concerning renunciation of the use of force envisaged in your letter would appear to be spelled out already in the Charter of the United Nations, which also recognizes the important principle of the right of self-defence by national and collective means. I am glad to see the reaffirmation of Soviet adherence to important international obligations assumed by members of the United Nations, and I consider that this exchange of letters may in itself serve to strengthen attachment to peaceful processes in international affairs. It seems to me that even more important than texts of the obligations which nations have assumed is the willingness of their governments to abide by and to adjust their policies to the spirit and the letter of such obligations. I hope that the present correspondence will help to create an atmosphere in which governments will find it easier to act in this way as well as to reach agreement on specific matters.

This brings me to the four-point proposal near the end of your letter concerning an international agreement on the renunciation of force in solving territorial disputes. It would seem to me important, in any serious consideration of the subject, to take into account that subversion, infiltration and clandestine arms supply can be just as dangerous as overt and direct aggression; that some administrative dividing lines and access routes are just as sensitive as recognized international boundaries; and that the Charter of the United Nations specifically and properly permits the use of force in self-defence.

With these considerations in mind and in consultation with Canada's allies, I shall be happy to have Canadian representatives in the appropriate forum take part in discussion of the questions raised in your letter and, in this and other replies to it, to see whether we can arrive at understandings and agreements which genuinely further the cause of peace, security and mutual trust in the world.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Lester B. Pearson

His Excellency

N. S. Khrushchov,

Chairman of the Council of Ministers

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.



# *Canada-India Co-operation in Atomic Energy Field*

ON NOVEMBER 14, 1963, in Ottawa, the Governments of India and Canada concluded two agreements of far-reaching significance to both countries in the production of nuclear power. Both agreements were formally signed in New Delhi on December 16.

## **Exchange of Information**

One of the agreements is between the Government of India and Atomic Energy of Canada Limited. Under its terms, the parties will freely exchange scientific and technical information regarding the development of heavy-water moderated reactor systems. Either party will, if requested by the other, furnish information and detailed design data, including plans and working drawings, regarding the design and construction of nuclear power stations of the heavy-water type. Initially, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited will supply such data, relating to the CANDU design and the Douglas Point Nuclear Generating Station now under construction in Canada, to the Indian Atomic Energy Department.

This agreement was signed on behalf of India by Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Chairman of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, and on behalf of Canada by Mr. J. L. Gray, President of AECL. Initially it will run for eight years and may be extended by mutual agreement. During the early years of the agreement, valuable information already developed as a result of Canada's special experience in heavy-water systems will be transferred to the Government of India for full commercial use in India. This information, which has been valued by the Government of India at \$5 million, is to be transferred without cost to India and without deduction from Colombo Plan or other assistance.

During the life of the agreement, as the Indian experts develop their own competence in designing and constructing atomic power stations, Canada expects in turn to acquire from them valuable information and experience.

## **Construction of a Nuclear Power Station**

Under another agreement between the two governments, signed on behalf of India by Dr. H. J. Bhabha, and on behalf of Canada by the Canadian High Commissioner in New Delhi, Mr. Chester A. Ronning, the two countries will co-operate in the construction in India of a nuclear power station of the CANDU type, with a net electrical output of 200 megawatts. It is to be located at Rana Pratapagar, Rajasthan State. The Indian Department of Atomic Energy will act as prime contractors and be responsible for the erection of the station. Canada will provide the design, with detailed working drawings and specifications of the station up to the steam-raising equipment, while India will provide the design



*Prime Minister Nehru of India and Mr. C. A. Ronning, Canadian High Commissioner to India, shake hands after the signature of the Atomic Energy Agreements between their two countries on December 16, 1963.*

for the conventional portion of the station. Canada will supply half the initial charge of uranium fuel, which, at current prices, would be worth approximately \$2.1 million. Such additional fuel as may from time to time be required by India will also be procured from Canada, provided that Canadian fuel is not more expensive than that from other sources.

### **Financing**

The total cost of the project is to be about \$70 million. The Government of Canada will provide, under the Export Credit Insurance Act, credit facilities for the purchase of services, materials and equipment, to be supplied from Canada which it is estimated will cost approximately \$35 million. Canada provides these credits as part of its pledge to the Consortium for Aid to India arranged by the World Bank.

### **Significance to India**

This station will make a valuable contribution to meeting the needs of a chronically power-short area that includes New Delhi. By its entry into the field of nuclear power, India will no longer be solely dependent on its coal and oil reserves as sources of energy. This is all the more important in view of the fact that these reserves are limited and not readily accessible.

The annual fuel requirement of an atomic power station of this type and size is roughly 25 tons of uranium. India's reserves are estimated at some 30,000 tons, providing ample supplies for future nuclear-power production.

### **Safeguards**

Canada and India have agreed to exchange information regarding the disposition of fissionable material resulting from operation of this station and its counterpart, the Douglas Point Nuclear Generating Station now under construction in Canada. The agreement also provides that the two stations shall be used only for peaceful purposes. A unique feature of the agreement is that these provisions are completely reciprocal, conferring on India and Canada identical facilities for assuring themselves that both stations are being so used.

Since the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna has a very important role to play in establishing and administering safeguards against the divergence of nuclear materials to non-peaceful purposes, the agreement specifically recognizes the desirability of making use of the facilities and services of the Agency and provides for consultation in this regard.

### **Significance to Canada**

Canada has concluded agreements with a number of countries concerning co-operation in the field of atomic energy. However, these two agreements with India represent a significant step toward the recognition abroad of Canadian progress in the achievement of the economic production of nuclear power. The station to be built at Rajasthan will be the first Canadian power reactor to be built outside Canada.



## *U.S.S.R.-Canada Nuclear Agreement*

**A**N AGREEMENT for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy was signed on January 24, 1964, in Ottawa between Atomic Energy of Canada Limited and the U.S.S.R. State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy. Under the terms of the agreement, the two countries are to organize exchange visits by small groups of specialists and exchange scientific information. The two organizations are also to consider the possibility of making available to each other scientific instruments and equipment.

The initial fields of co-operation will include exchange of information on atomic power and research reactors and the materials used in their construction, nuclear and solid-state physics, methods of disposing of radioactive waste products, and the uses of radioactive isotopes. Other scientific fields and other methods of co-operation may be added by mutual agreement.

Mr. J. L. Gray, President, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, and Dr. I. D. Morohov, First Deputy Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, signed the agreement for their respective agencies.

### **Soviet Delegates Visit Canada**

Dr. Morohov led a delegation of five Soviet officials, who spent ten days visiting atomic energy centres in Canada, including the Chalk River Nuclear Laboratories; the Nuclear Power Demonstration Station (NPD) at Rolphton, Ontario; the Douglas Point Nuclear Power Station at Kincardine, Ontario; AECL Commercial Products in Ottawa; and the nuclear reactor at McMaster University.

Members of the Russian delegation, in addition to Dr. Morohov, were: Prof. P. A. Petrov, Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Physics; G. S. Afonin, Deputy Chief, International Relations, U.S.S.R. State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy; E. L. Makeev, Chief Engineer, State Design Institute; and V. F. Menshikov, International Relations, U.S.S.R. State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy.

This visit was preceded by a visit to the Soviet Union in July 1963 by three members of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited.

# *United Nations Children's Fund*

## THIRTY-EIGHTH SESSION, EXECUTIVE BOARD

**T**HE EXECUTIVE Board of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is composed of delegates of 30 nations elected to two-year terms from among the supporters of the Fund, including some non-members of the United Nations. Its thirty-eighth session was held in Bangkok from January 13 to 24, the first meeting in the 17-year history of the Fund to be held in a developing country. The Thai Government, as host, agreed to assume the additional cost involved in organizing the meeting away from the United Nations headquarters in New York, and further indicated the importance it attached to the work of UNICEF by having Her Majesty Queen Sirikit and Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn participate in the opening session.

In addition to the national delegations (including one from Canada), some 100 delegates and experts in child and youth welfare, representing governments, international organizations and private agencies, attended as observers. In the absence through illness of the Chairman of the Executive Board, the meeting was presided over by Dr. A. H. Tabibi of Afghanistan.

### **Theme of Meeting**

Appropriately enough, the theme chosen for the meeting was "Needs of Children in Asia". In order to allow its members the opportunity to see at first hand the needs of children in this part of the world, the Executive Board decided over a year ago to convene the meeting in Asia, where numerous programmes assisted by UNICEF are now in operation. Accordingly, before the meeting in Bangkok, groups of Board members visited UNICEF activities in India, Pakistan, Iran, Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia as guests of the governments of these countries. Their impressions were reported to the meeting as part of the discussion on the needs of Asian children, and the delegates were unanimous that these tours had helped make them more aware both of the needs and problems of children and of the good work being done by UNICEF in the field. The discussion also included reports on specific problems prepared by six Asian governments — by Thailand on education, India on nutrition, Pakistan on water supply, Indonesia on maternal and child health and yaws control, Iran on malaria, and the Philippines on social services for children.

### **Slow Economic Growth**

These reports, with others prepared by the Secretariat of UNICEF and co-operating Specialized Agencies, gave a broad picture of the condition of children in Asia, where they numbered approximately 650 million in 1960 and will increase to .5 billion by the end of the century. Most Asian countries still have a basically

agricultural economy and in most the rate of economic growth falls far short of the United Nations Development Decade goal of an annual increase of 5 per cent in national income, despite efforts to industrialize. The reports discussed the effects of this situation on children, drawing attention to the fact that urbanization and industrialization often meant the breakup of the traditional family system, this in turn often being accompanied by the abandonment of children, vagrancy, child labour, delinquency and illegitimacy.

Asian children who continued to live in rural areas faced other problems, it was stated, particularly scant medical and educational facilities. Attention was drawn to the fact that, while over half the world's population lived in Asia, it existed on only a quarter of the world's food supply. "With few exceptions," it was reported, "the countries of Asia have not improved at nutritional levels in the past two decades, and have barely held their own. Children, particularly the very young, are the most vulnerable, and among them there is widespread under-nutrition and malnutrition."

### **Complex Health Problems**

Other reports illustrated the range and complexities of health problems in Asia. UNESCO reported that fewer than half the children of Asia had access to free compulsory primary education, that the situation was, in fact, worse than this because many students attended school only briefly, and that education in primary schools left much to be desired. Ill health, malnutrition and the indifference of parents toward education were also seen as common factors retarding education. In the vocational field, it was reported, children five years of age and up were widely employed in a variety of occupations. In all of these fields, UNICEF had a role to play: the problem was to sort out priorities.

In addition to the discussion of Asian children's needs, the meeting considered several progress reports and the request from 71 governments for commitments of aid totalling over \$23 million (U.S.), of which approximately \$21 million (U.S.) is required for use in the next 12 months. The Executive Director, Mr. Maurice Pate, recommended aid for 127 projects, 91 of them already in operation with UNICEF aid. These recommendations were studied in detail by the 15-member Programme Committee, of which Canada is a member. Of the total assistance approved the main items were: \$11.6 million (U.S.) for health programmes, \$4.1 million (U.S.) for nutrition work, and \$2.9 million (U.S.) for education. The Executive Director called for increased contributions from governments over the next two years to meet UNICEF's needs. He was pleased to point out, in this connection, how very encouraging private contributions had been, totalling \$7.5 million in 1963, from such activities as the sale of UNICEF greeting cards and the "Trick or Treat" campaign carried out by Canadian school children at Halloween.

In the Programme Committee, questions were asked regarding UNICEF's assessment of the relative needs of different countries and regions and its attitude to



Africa. The replies provided showed that the Secretariat tried to keep a flexible attitude and to respond to changing needs and operations from year to year, bearing in mind such factors as population and the capacity of a country to use aid. Also taken into account was the volume of external aid in fields of United Nations interest a country was receiving from other sources. So far as Africa was concerned, the Secretariat could say that it now received a higher *per capita* allotment than any other area. Indicative of this development were the following figures:

Africa	\$2.2 million (U.S.)
Asia	\$7.2 million (U.S.)
Eastern Mediterranean	\$2.5 million (U.S.)
Europe	\$0.4 million (U.S.)
Americas	\$6 million (U.S.)
Inter Regional	\$4.6 million (U.S.)

While the programme recommended by the Secretariat met with the general approval of Board members, some differences of opinion were expressed regarding malaria control and the amount of emergency aid now afforded by UNICEF. The discussion revealed that the global malaria-eradication programme was now saving 2,000,000 lives a year, mostly children; a striking example was Ceylon, where the number of cases had been reduced from 3,000,000 to nil in 20 years. There had also been impressive achievements in the Middle East and the Americas; much remained to be done in Africa, where medical assistance was urgently needed. Despite the vital importance of anti-malaria measures, however, UNICEF could not devote all its resources to this field alone. UNICEF was now spending about one-sixth of its funds to support malaria eradication. Speakers accordingly cautioned against expenditures in excess of this amount, which could force the cancellation of aid in other no less vital fields of endeavour.

The question of emergency aid to the Caribbean was also debated at the meeting. In view of the extent of the damage caused to the area in October 1963 by hurricanes, it was agreed to recommend (a) immediate allocation of \$75,000 for the above-mentioned purposes and (b) the preparation of a comprehensive paper and recommendations (not limited by any specific ceiling) on further needs in the area, the latter to be submitted by the Secretariat to the Board by mail not later than March 15, 1964.

### Canadian Role

The Canadian delegation took an active part in the meeting. On the question of UNICEF's relations with bilateral aid programmes, Canada presented a paper outlining how various Canadian Colombo Plan programmes have complemented the work of UNICEF, stressing the need for bilateral and multi-national programmes to avoid overlapping, and suggesting that UNICEF should be alert to opportunities for fruitful co-operation with other types of aid programmes. The major Canadian statement, however, was devoted to a review of the scope of

aid currently afforded by UNICEF. The Canadian delegation considered that the time had come to define priorities. Concern was expressed about any tendency toward UNICEF involvement in economic development at the cost of concentration on fields of clearly-established priorities for children. Canada accordingly suggested that the Board should now pause to digest its experience and to re-emphasize that UNICEF, while having some flexibility of action, must remain centered on the idea of giving direct aid to children.

The Canadian delegation to the meeting was composed of Dr. R. B. Splane and Mr. Evan Smith of the Department of National Health and Welfare, and Mr. Earl Drake as the adviser from the Department of External Affairs.



#### CANADA HALL

*A frontal view of Canada Hall, the residence recently donated by Canada to the University of the West Indies, Trinidad. (The text of a Department of External Affairs press release announcing the formal opening of Canada Hall was included in the February 1964 issue of "External Affairs", P. 88.)*

# *Roosevelt Campobello International Park*

*At the Hyannis Port meeting in May 1963, the late President John F. Kennedy of the United States and Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson of Canada issued the following joint communiqué:*

The President and the Prime Minister received a very generous offer from the Hammer family to donate the Roosevelt cottage and surrounding grounds on Campobello Island to the two countries to be used for public purposes which would appropriately commemorate that great President and good friend of Canada. The Prime Minister and President, after consulting Premier Robichaud of New Brunswick, where the island is situated, have accepted the offer with deep appreciation.

Following this announcement, officials of both governments, in consultation with the government of New Brunswick, began negotiating the terms of an agreement that would take advantage of this unique opportunity to symbolize the close and neighbourly relations between the peoples of the United States and Canada by the use of the gift to establish a U.S.-Canada memorial park. As a result of these negotiations, President Lyndon B. Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson signed at the White House on January 22, 1964, an agreement between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada relating to the establishment of the Roosevelt Campobello International Park.

## **Park Commission**

The inter-governmental agreement provides for the establishment of a joint United States-Canadian commission, to be called the Roosevelt Campobello International Park Commission, which will have as its functions:

- (a) to accept title from the Hammer family to the former Roosevelt estate comprising the Roosevelt home and other grounds on Campobello Island;
- (b) to take the necessary measures to restore the Roosevelt home as closely as possible to its condition when it was occupied by President Roosevelt;
- (c) to administer as a memorial the Roosevelt Campobello International Park, comprising the Roosevelt estate and such other lands as may be acquired.

The Commission will consist of six members, of whom three will be appointed by the Government of the United States and three by the Government of Canada. One of the Canadian Commissioners will be nominated by the government of New Brunswick and one of the United States Commissioners by the government of Maine.

Both United States and Canadian citizens may be employed by the Commission, which is to take appropriate measures to emphasize the international nature of the park. The Governments of the United States and Canada are to share equally the costs of developing the park and the annual cost of operating and maintaining it.



### Statement by President and Prime Minister

The agreement, which requires implementation by legislation in each country will come into effect after the enactment of such legislation on a date to be fixed by an exchange of notes between the two governments. The following is the text of a joint statement issued by Prime Minister Pearson and President Johnson on January 22:

"President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson signed today in the White House an inter-governmental agreement providing for the establishment of the Roosevelt Campobello International Park at the house formerly belonging to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on Campobello Island, New Brunswick. The President and the Prime Minister recalled the generous offer of the Hamme family, made to President Kennedy and Prime Minister Pearson at Hyannis Port in May 1963, to donate the property to the Governments of Canada and the United States as a memorial to President Roosevelt. President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson have welcomed the opportunity on this occasion to sign the inter-governmental agreement under which the Roosevelt estate will become an international park jointly owned and operated by the United States and Canada as a memorial open to the peoples of the two countries and of all the world.

"The establishment of the Roosevelt Campobello International Park represents a unique example of international co-operation. The park will stand forever



*Campobello, the summer home of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on Campobello Island, New Brunswick.*

is an expression of the close relationship between Canada and the United States, as well as a fitting memorial to the President of the United States who so greatly strengthened that relationship and who himself spent so many happy days of rest and relaxation on Canadian soil and in Canadian waters. The memorial will celebrate President Roosevelt's love of Campobello Island and of sailing in the deep waters of the Bay of Fundy; his deep sense of the abiding values of conservation and recreation; and the old and friendly relations between the people of the Maritime Provinces of Canada and the people of New England and New York. When Canadians and Americans visit the International Park, they will see a living expression of the historic collaboration between their two countries; while visitors from other parts of the world may find it an inspiration for similar co-operative arrangements along many frontiers across the world.

"This inter-governmental agreement has, of course, been drawn up in close consultation with the government of the Province of New Brunswick, where the property is located.

"The agreement will require legislative action in both countries. The President and the Prime Minister hope for speedy enactment of such legislation in order to open the Roosevelt Campobello International Park to the people of both countries at the earliest moment."

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Speech from the Throne**

*The Speech from the Throne opening the Second Session of the Twenty-Sixth Parliament on February 18, 1964, contained the following passages dealing with Canada's external relations:*

... This is a time when it is possible, despite our many problems, to deliberate on Canadian and world affairs in a spirit of reasoned hopefulness.

My Government will attempt to make its full contribution to the maintenance of peace and the improvement of international relations; to the strengthening of our national unity through a co-operative federalism; to fostering the full employment of our people and the efficient growth of our economy; and to broadening the opportunities for a good life which should be open to all Canadians.

We are looking forward to the visit this autumn of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth. The presence of the Queen of Canada will mark for our country the historic occasion of the interprovincial conferences on confederation; it will also re-emphasize the importance we attach to the Commonwealth, through which so much can be done to advance understanding and co-operation in this increasingly interdependent world.

We recently had great pleasure in welcoming to Ottawa the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, with whom many matters of mutual concern were fruitfully discussed.

Since the close of the last session of Parliament, my Prime Minister has visited France and the United States. His friendly discussions with the President of the Republic of France will help to encourage an increasingly intimate relationship between France and Canada.

The unique partnership of Canada and the United States was symbolized in the signing by the President and the Prime Minister of an agreement by which the two countries become, for the first time, joint owners of property in what is to be the Roosevelt-Campobello International Park. You will be asked to approve legislation implementing this agreement.

A protocol signed during the Prime Minister's visit to Washington will make the Columbia River Treaty a basis for developments of great advantage to both countries. This was made possible by successful negotiations between my Ministers and the Government of British Columbia. You will be asked to examine and approve the Columbia River Treaty and the Protocol.

Canada will this year be taking part in important trade and tariff negotiations. My Ministers will negotiate for the expansion of markets for Canadian export through the liberalization of world trade.

In the conduct of external affairs, my Government will continue to work for



the conciliation of international differences and for practical steps toward adequately controlled disarmament. Such steps depend on keeping the defences of the free world strong. My Government will submit for your approval a statement of a new defence policy designed to maintain an effective Canadian contribution to keeping the peace in co-operation with our allies. . . .

A measure will be placed before you to establish a 12-mile limit for the use of Canadian fisheries. In co-operation with the provinces, my Government will undertake a national fisheries development programme reflecting the outcome of the Federal-Provincial Conference on Fisheries held last month. . . .

## **A Peace Force for Cyprus**

*Replying in the House of Commons on February 19 to a request for assurance "that no Canadian troops will be sent to Cyprus unless they are under the aegis of the United Nations" and that "before any such action is taken there will be full consultation in the House", Prime Minister L. B. Pearson said:*

. . . As far as sending Canadian troops to Cyprus is concerned, no decision has been taken by the Government. It may be premature to speculate on the circumstances surrounding a possible Canadian contribution to a peace-keeping force at a time when the whole matter is under discussion in the Security Council of the United Nations.

It is clear, however, that, before the Canadian Government would decide to provide a force for peace-keeping purposes, certain requirements would have to be met. First, we would have to be satisfied that the composition and terms of reference of the force were such as to contribute to peace and stability in the area. Second, we would not wish the commitment of the force to be of indefinite duration. In addition, we would wish to ensure that the choice of a mediator and his terms of reference would be such as to lead to the expectation that a solution to the dispute in Cyprus might be found within a reasonable time. Third, the arrangements would, of course, have to be acceptable to the Government of Cyprus in accordance with constitutional procedure. Fourth, there should be an association of the force with the United Nations. Finally, if a request is made involving the use of substantial numbers of Canadians abroad, we would bring the matter before Parliament before any final decision is taken.

*In answer to a further question regarding the meaning of the phrase "associated with the United Nations", the Prime Minister replied:*

The matter is under consideration today by the United Nations Security Council, and I would not wish to say anything which might complicate that consideration. . . . There could be a connection with the United Nations Security Council which would make the operation of any force quite impossible. On the other hand, there could be an association which would be most important and valuable and which would permit the operation of a peace-keeping force. It is that kind of association we would support.

## **FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee: Tashkent, U.S.S.R., April 21-22.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs, 19th Session: Geneva, May 4-8.

United Nations Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Scientific and Technical Subcommittee Meeting: Geneva, May 11-29.

NATO Spring Ministerial Meeting: The Hague, May 12-14.

Universal Postal Union, 15th Congress: Vienna, May 29 - July 15.

International Labour Organization Conference, 48th Session: Geneva, June 17 - July 9.

United Nations Scientific Committee on the effects of Atomic Radiation Meeting: New York, June 22 - July 3.

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## **APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE**

Mr. G. R. Heasman retired from the Public Service effective January 23, 1964.

Mr. D. G. Gracey resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective January 27, 1964.

Miss J. Dove posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa. Left Paris January 29, 1964.

Miss K. Reid posted from the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam. Left Copenhagen January 29, 1964.

Mr. P. E. A. Romeril posted from the Canadian Delegation to the International Supervisory Commission for Vietnam to Ottawa. Left Saigon February 3, 1964.

Mr. G. A. Drew, High Commissioner for Canada in England, retired from the Public Service effective February 8, 1964.

Mr. L. Chevrier appointed High Commissioner for Canada in England. Left Ottawa February 12, 1964.

Mr. J. R. B. Chaput resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective February 21, 1964.

Miss M. R. Fraser, Third Secretary at the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in Malaysia, deceased accidentally on February 15, 1964.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *UN Peace-Keeping Operations in Cyprus*

*The following are notes for a speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, to the Canadian Club in Brantford, Ontario, on March 19, 1964:*

I am particularly pleased to have this opportunity to speak to the Canadian Club in Brantford this evening. Last Thursday I had occasion to speak in London and to express my concern about United Nations involvement in peace-keeping operations just as the Cyprus situation was reaching a very critical stage. This past week has been one of intense diplomatic activity — not without elements of risk — as the United Nations moved to establish an international military force in Cyprus.

A week ago this evening I met with the United Nations Secretary-General in New York to reassure him of Canada's willingness to play its full part in establishing in Cyprus an effective United Nations force to keep the peace. On the following day we were in direct touch with other countries whose participation was required to make it possible for the Secretary-General to state that a United Nations peace-keeping force had been constituted. Their response was prompt and favourable providing a solid basis for Canadian participation once Parliament had approved it. We are embarking on this new responsibility not only with the British but also contingents from Sweden, Finland and Ireland, with whom we shall be proud to serve.

## **Preparations for UN Action in Cyprus**

The Canadian Government was deeply concerned about the delays which occurred even after the Security Council had adopted a resolution on March 4 calling for the establishment of the force. We watched with anxiety the steady deterioration of the situation in and around Cyprus. We pressed vigorously for the clarification of the United Nations mandate and the operating conditions for the force, including its financing.

Canadian action in this regard was nothing less than what the complex situation required of a country with long experience of peace-keeping operations of this kind. To provide a reasonable opportunity for the success of the operation and to encourage other governments to support it actively, we believed it necessary and desirable to reach a satisfactory understanding with the Secretary-General and with the parties directly involved in the Cyprus question on the role which the United Nations would be assuming.

The course of these events has been explained fully in Parliament during the past week or so, and in my speech in London I placed these developments in the broader context of the difficulties facing the United Nations in pursuing its peace-keeping responsibilities. There is reason for gratification that the United Nations

did succeed last weekend in overcoming the obstacles to the despatch of United Nations military contingents to Cyprus. These new policemen for peace are now on the beat — following the fine tradition of their comrades in Gaza, the Congo, West New Guinea, Yemen, and indeed in Kashmir and Palestine.

### Hard Facts of the Situation

Canadians can take renewed pride in the fact that their armed services have once more responded quickly and efficiently to the urgent call of United Nations duty. We should not delude ourselves, however, about two hard facts of the contemporary situation on which I should like to comment briefly.

The first is that the United Nations job in Cyprus is not over, it is just beginning. The organization faces yet another task fraught with complication and danger. Its military servants will be required to discharge their duties with the highest degree of skill, endurance and restraint. They will be exposed to risks and provocations. They must rely largely on their presence and forbearance to bring about the much-needed conditions of calm in the relations between two communities currently in a state of severe emotional upset.

The two communities on the island are sharply divided. There is a legacy of tragic violence. There are elements in the situation which could lead to further



General Georges P. Vanier, the Governor General of Canada, bids farewell and good luck to members of the 1st Battalion, Royal 22nd Regiment, of which he is Colonel, as they board a "Cercules" transport plane of the Royal Canadian Air Force for Cyprus, where they are to form part of the United Nations force.





*Mr. Arthur Andrew, Canadian High Commissioner to Cyprus, inspects the 1st Battalion Royal 22nd Regiment, on its arrival at Camp Elizabeth, outside Nicosia.*

disturbance even if the opposing factions have the best will in the world to co-operate. The voluntary laying down of arms may be the principal requisite for the easing of basic tensions and therefore of the successful promotion of stability by the United Nations force.

Like any police body, the United Nations force is in Cyprus to assist in the establishment and preservation of order. It is not there as an army of occupation. I do not believe a military solution would be lasting even if the United Nations force were so empowered. A solution will be best pursued by a process of accommodation between the opposing factions with the assistance of a United Nations mediator. The military force is expected to contribute to this process — by demonstrating the United Nations impartiality, by setting an example of restraint and discipline, by restoring calm, by instilling confidence among the Cypriots generally that they will not be subjected to further violence and bloodshed, and by reassuring interested powers outside the island that negotiation can yield a solution, while the United Nations maintains order.

### **Mediation and Co-operation**

All this underlines two essential needs — the need for appointing a United Nations



mediator at the earliest possible date and the need for the fullest co-operation from the two communities and the parties to the treaty of guarantee. The present Security Council resolution authorizes the stationing of the peace-keeping force for only three months. No time must be lost in appointing a mediator because the opening of the mediation process must be co-terminous with the operational deployment of the peace force.

In short, the international community must seize the nettle of the crisis in Cyprus. Undue delay in improving the political situation could quickly lead to a new deterioration in security and a possible erosion of United Nations influence. There is no room for a leisurely approach to the central political dispute between the two communities.

The second main fact which has once more become glaringly apparent is that the United Nations should strengthen its capacity to engage in peace-keeping operations. I emphasized this in London. The Prime Minister re-stated well-known Canadian views in Parliament. These are reflections of the Government's conviction that United Nations preparedness in the field of peace keeping falls short of the new demands which are being made on the organization with increasing frequency.

### **Improving Peace-Keeping Methods**

I hope, and I believe, that there is a growing resolve among United Nations members that United Nations peace-keeping methods must be improved. More and



*Aerial view of the camp of the Canadian contingent near Nicosia, Cyprus. Troops of the 1st Battalion, Royal 22nd Regiment, and the Reconnaissance Squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons form up for church service on Palm Sunday.*

more countries have come to recognize that international military forces cannot be assembled and deployed without some degree of advance planning both in the United Nations headquarters and in national capitals. The policy of earmarking national contingents — which in Canada's case proved its worth at the critical stage last weekend — is now being pursued in a number of countries which, like Canada, have been called upon time after time to respond urgently to the United Nations call. I have no doubt that the example of these countries is generating practical interest in others.

The requirements of peace in our time may not wait upon gradual realization. The growing interest in improving peace-keeping methods must be stimulated. The actual United Nations experience must be kept alive. Canada is determined to draw on its own experience in this field in a way which will give leadership and encouragement to others.

We are also determined that the United Nations shall not fail in its primary responsibility for peace through lack of adequate financial arrangements. For more than five years, in all the appropriate bodies of the United Nations, Canadian spokesmen have been insisting that political decisions to promote peace must be solidly backed by suitable administrative and budgetary provisions. The only sensible basis for this backing is the principle of collective responsibility.

Like the conduct of the peace-keeping operations themselves, the task of



*The Reconnaissance Squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, patrolling the hills of Cyprus, passes a Cypriot shepherd.*



persuading the membership to share in the financial burden has been a long journey uphill. Urgent demands of the moment have obliged Canada and like-minded countries to accept temporary financing expedients which detract from the basic principle. But they have not deterred us from pursuing the goal of collective responsibility — not as a slogan but in the form of concrete proposals embodying it.

The whole problem is one of continuing examination and growing urgency. Discussion will shortly be resumed in the General Assembly's Working Group of Twenty-One on the Examination of Administrative and Budgetary Procedures. As a member of that group, Canada will pursue with vigour its efforts to reach a long-term solution which has important implications — political and financial — for the future effectiveness of the United Nations. This is why we are willing to explore every avenue for reaching the desired goal. To do less would be to deprive the courageous United Nations soldiers for peace, in Cyprus and in many other vital theatres, of the material and moral support which they so richly deserve.



## *Disarmament—Canadian Views on the Geneva Discussions*

*The following is an outline of a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva on March 26, 1964:*

Two years ago this month, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee held its first meeting in this chamber. Since then, there have been periods of disappointment — sometimes even discouragement — when progress has seemed painfully slow in the light of the urgency of the problems of peace and disarmament. But the Committee has achievements to its credit, and the world, which is watching its work, has been encouraged. Last year we saw the direct communications link established between Washington and Moscow, the decision not to station or orbit weapons of mass destruction in outer space — above all, the agreement to stop nuclear-weapons tests in the three environments. These are the first steps which have been taken since the last world war to curb the senseless arms race, and they were the result of long, and at times difficult, preparatory work here. And this demonstrates, I think, the truth of what I said at the last General Assembly, that the ENDC is the most effective forum for disarmament negotiations yet established. Canada, which has participated in disarmament negotiations since their beginning in the United Nations, will continue wholeheartedly to support the work of this Committee.

At the present time my main concern, which I am sure is shared by all members, is that the impetus created by the agreements reached last year shall not be lost. Last year we made a breakthrough; it is our responsibility to make sure that we follow up these first steps with further advances this year toward slowing and then halting the arms race.

### **Suggested Collateral Measures**

This morning I shall limit myself to discussing briefly a number of issues on which the Canadian Government believes real progress toward agreement is possible in the near future. Canada continues to regard the negotiation of a treaty of general and complete disarmament as the main task of the ENDC. But I believe that the Committee's detailed examination of the disarmament problem has convinced all members that the way to general disarmament must be prepared by agreement on what we call collateral measures.

The crucial problem of how to reduce and finally eliminate nuclear-weapon vehicles from national arsenals has been long and vigorously debated in this Committee. Unfortunately no agreement has been reached so far, but it would be wrong in my view to say that this discussion has yielded no results. The work the Committee has done on this central problem has given us all a better understand

ing of the basic difficulties involved. It has also led one of the major military powers, the U.S.S.R., to make significant amendments in its original proposals. Canada hopes that further negotiations in this Committee will serve to increase the area of common ground on this issue. But there still remain great differences in the views of the two sides as to how nuclear-weapons vehicles should be reduced in number and finally abolished. In the absence of agreement, the great military powers are adding continually to their stocks of such armaments. This, in my view, shows us very clearly that we must explore the possibility of checking the arms race in this particular field, by adopting certain collateral measures which are before the Committee.

The Canadian Government believes that the conference should select from among the following collateral measures those which, either taken singly or in combination, are most likely to lead to early agreement and concentrate its attention upon them during the next period of its work:

- 1) the freeze on strategic nuclear-weapons vehicles proposed by President Johnson;
- 2) the destruction of a number of long-range nuclear bombing aircraft proposed in different forms by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.;
- 3) the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons;
- 4) the cessation of production of fissile material for nuclear weapons and the diversion of existing stocks to peaceful uses;
- 5) the establishment of a system of observation posts to prevent surprise attack;
- 6) a comprehensive test ban;
- 7) the strengthening of the UN capacity to keep peace.

### **Problem of Nuclear-Weapons Vehicles**

First, I should like to devote special attention to the proposal which President Johnson submitted to the conference in his message at the beginning of this session, that there should be a verified freeze on the numbers and characteristics of strategic nuclear-weapons vehicles. The adoption of this proposal would, the Canadian Government believes, greatly facilitate the subsequent reduction of these, the most costly and potentially deadly of all armaments. Let us agree to halt the present upward spiral in the numbers of strategic missiles and bombers; let us agree to stop where we are now. This would help us to find an agreed method to reverse the process, to begin disarmament in this field. Canada firmly believes that the Committee should devote the most careful attention to this proposal for a freeze on these means of delivering the weapons which both sides now hold in such devastating quantities.

Although it is not formally before the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, all members know of a proposal which the Government of Poland has recently circulated for another kind of freeze, on nuclear bombs and warheads in a certain area of Central Europe. The Government of Canada will be replying to the memorandum which it has received on this subject in the near future. I shall say no more

now than that we welcome every sincere effort by any nation, and especially by any nation represented at this Conference, to find solutions to the problem of how to begin disarmament. We recognize the constructive part often played by the representatives of Poland in the disarmament discussion. We do find objections to the Polish freeze proposal, of which we shall be informing the Polish Government in our reply. I should like to say, however, that there are some elements of this proposal which are worthy of further study in this Committee, with a view to finding a combination of measures preliminary to disarmament which would be acceptable to both sides as mutually advantageous.

There are other proposals submitted by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. which, if adopted, could have an immediate effect in reducing the dangers created by the enormous aggregations of nuclear-bombing aircraft and nuclear-headed rockets. Last week the Representative of the U.S.A. presented in some detail the U.S. proposal for beginning now the destruction of certain types of bombing aircraft. There is a counter proposal by the U.S.S.R. before the Conference for the destruction of all bombers. My Government warmly welcomes this offer by both sides to begin the disarmament process with the actual physical destruction of some major armaments. One of the best features of this approach is that it would involve only the simplest sort of verification. An early agreement to send to the scrap-heap some of the major means which the great powers now have of delivering nuclear weapons to their targets would reassure a sometimes sceptical world that the great powers were really serious about disarmament. It would also ensure that these aircraft — obsolescent by super-power standards — would not be sold to the lesser powers, in whose hands they might threaten neighbouring countries.

It would be an outstanding achievement if the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee could report to the coming session of the General Assembly that the powers had agreed on the destruction of a large number of bombers. In my view this Committee should try to reach an agreement which would cover as many bombers as is feasible at the moment, but should not invite delay or even failure by trying to extend it too far. Once the process of actual physical destruction has been set in motion, we could consider the possibility of broadening the scope of this measure to include other types of nuclear-weapons carriers. We therefore hope that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee will vigorously pursue the prospects for early action which these proposals offer.

While, up to the present, neither side has been prepared to accept in the present form any of the collateral measures proposed by the other, I believe that a number of proposals could be related in a way which would assist in a reconciliation of views. For example, if the U.S.S.R. has misgivings that a freeze on strategic nuclear-weapons vehicles would not ensure halting the overall arms race, it might be convinced if an agreement on a freeze were combined with an agreement to undertake simultaneously physical destruction of certain types of bombers on the lines of the U.S. proposal.



## **Reducing Military Budgets**

Then, the U.S.S.R. has urged that there be an early agreement on a reduction of military budgets. I think that all nations would welcome a reduction of military expenditures and unilateral moves which have been made in this respect by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have received world-wide commendation. Canada, I may say, has made a reduction in defence spending this year. I think that all countries represented here certainly would be anxious, given the proper conditions, to see a reduction everywhere of military spending. In this connection I have noted that, in the view of the U.S.S.R., while stopping production of strategic nuclear-weapons carriers would immediately produce a significant savings in one sector of the military expenditures of the great powers, there is a danger that resources so liberated might be used to increase the numbers of short-range missiles and conventional weapons. This perhaps could be prevented by introducing a verified system of budgetary limitation.

## **Anti-Dissemination Measures**

Canada welcomes the importance which this Committee is giving to the vital matter of preventing the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons, that is to say, preventing an increase in the number of states with an independent capacity for waging nuclear war. We are glad that both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have included this item in their lists of collateral measures. The partial test ban is a first step to check an increase in the numbers of nuclear powers, and this Committee has been enjoined by a resolution of the eighteenth United Nations General Assembly to continue its search for a comprehensive test ban. We must now seek to agree on further guarantees against the grave dangers which the spread of nuclear weapons would present both to prospects for disarmament and to the peace of the world. Canada's basic position in this respect is governed by the terms of the Irish resolution (1665 XVI), adopted unanimously by the General Assembly in 1961. We continue to support wholeheartedly the terms of that resolution, which call for the conclusion of an agreement which would contain provisions, and I quote:

... under which nuclear states would undertake to refrain from relinquishing the control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to states not possessing such weapons, and the provisions under which states not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons.

At the same time we recognize that, even without such a universal agreement as called for in the resolution I have just cited, there are important steps which can and should be taken now to help prevent wider dissemination. The U.S.A. has among its proposals a number of specific suggestions for early action in this field. The most far-reaching of these proposals involves the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes and the transfer of agreed quantities of such materials to peaceful purposes. This measure, of course, is not only directly relevant to a solution of the non-dissemination problem. Its implementation

would mean that the first all-important step had been taken toward actual nuclear disarmament.

Canada, as one of the states with a highly-developed atomic industry, is particularly interested in another of President Johnson's proposals, which is related to non-dissemination, that is, the application of appropriate safeguards over transfers for peaceful purposes of fissile materials and related equipment. This is a question of special concern to us, since we have been actively associated in a number of important projects to assist other countries in the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We warmly welcome the progressive development of the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards system and have been greatly heartened by the growing co-operation which has taken place in the extension of an effective safeguards system. In this context, we believe that the recent proposals of the U.S.A., involving as they do the progressive acceptance by the developed nuclear powers of the safeguards, are a great step forward. The application of the safeguards would yield experience highly relevant to the problems of controlling nuclear disarmament, and is therefore a matter of concern to this Committee and deserves its close attention.

### **Question of Observation Posts**

This morning I listened with great interest to what the Representative of the United Kingdom said on the subject of observation posts. We welcome the presentation of a working paper on this subject, which should assist the Committee in focussing its discussion both on how a system of observation posts could lessen the danger of surprise attack and on the practical problems involved in establishing such a system. The Representative of Nigeria pointed out recently that measures to prevent the risk of war, although both sides have made proposals in this area, have not yet received the attention they deserve at this session of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. With the submission of the U.K. paper, the Canadian Delegation looks forward to the opening of constructive discussion on this subject, both in the Co-Chairmen's meetings and in the Conference. Since both the U.S.S.R. and the West have made suggestions with respect to observation posts in the context of measures to reduce the danger of war, this subject seems to us a promising collateral measure for discussion at this time. A system of observation posts, by providing assurance against surprise attack would, in our view, result in a significant decrease in East-West tension. Canada believes that the establishment of an appropriate system of such posts would lead to progress in the disarmament negotiations and indeed to progress on the main political problems dividing East and West.

### **Peace-keeping Machinery**

There is one other subject . . . which I feel I must mention in this statement. It is the developing of adequate peace-keeping machinery. I do not think I need to remind the members of the Committee of how important Canada considers this

subject to be. Canada, as you know, has recently been intimately associated with the problems of UN peace keeping as a result of the tragic happenings in Cyprus. I am sure the members of the Committee will understand when I say that Canada takes pride in the role we have assumed over the years in a series of situations where the UN has been called on to fulfil its Charter responsibilities to preserve peace. In the Suez crisis, in the Congo, in the Yemen, and most recently in Cyprus, my country has met what it regards as an obligation to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations to preserve international peace and security. Outside the UN context, Canada has participated together with India and Poland for nearly ten years in the International Supervisory Commissions in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; my Government places a high value on the efforts of these bodies to preserve peace and stability in Southeast Asia. As a result of these experiences, Canada has become convinced that better organization of the UN peace-keeping forces is a most important objective. At the last session of the General Assembly, the Prime Minister of Canada made specific suggestions as to what states could do to enable the UN to respond more effectively and promptly when a force was required to assist in re-establishing peaceful conditions. And as recently as last week my Prime Minister had the following to say about this matter:

For years now at the United Nations Canada has taken a lead in advocating a permanent international force which will be organized and equipped and available to move in swiftly to keep peace in these danger spots. How long are we going to have to improvise, to rely on a few members of the UN to carry the burden and do the job which should be done by the UN as a whole?

I still hope to see the day when we will have an organized, equipped and genuine international force under the national control of the members but available for use at a moment's notice.

The Canadian Government, therefore, wholeheartedly believes in the UN peace-keeping role and will support all moves to increase its ability to perform this role effectively.

I mention this question now because the development and strengthening of peace-keeping machinery and methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes have direct relation to disarmament negotiations. The longer-term relevance of peace keeping to disarmament is demonstrated by the fact that both the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. disarmament plans include provisions for the development of peace-keeping methods. As nations in the course of disarmament give up the means which they now have to preserve their national security, it is essential that alternative methods of preserving that security shall be progressively established. It is clear, therefore, that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee has a responsibility to discuss the development of adequate peace-keeping machinery in the disarmament context. But besides the long-term problem — how to solve international disputes and keep the peace in a disarmed world — we have the problems of peace keeping of yesterday and today, that is, before the process of disarmament has begun. We must be prepared to cope with the same kind of problems until that process begins. Lessons of recent experience should guide us in planning for the long-term goal. And, in planning peace-keeping methods and



machinery for the nearer future, we should have that long-term goal in mind. I believe that a study of these long-term problems in the Eighteen-Nation Committee can usefully complement continuing efforts in the broader forum of the UN to lay firmer foundations for that body's peace-keeping function.

In conclusion, I wish to reaffirm my faith in this Committee as a negotiating body which can make real progress toward a solution of disarmament problems in the months ahead. The proposals which have been submitted to us, particularly in the field of collateral measures, provide ample material for constructive negotiation at this time. I have pointed out some of the proposals which, either taken singly or in some combination, do, I believe, hold out good prospects for agreement in the near future. It is my earnest hope that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee will concentrate its efforts wherever it seems most likely an advance can be made and that, having done so, the Committee will be able to report to the next United Nations General Assembly that we have moved closer to our goal of a disarmed and peaceful world.

# *The UN Conference on Trade and Development*

*The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development opened in Geneva, Switzerland, on March 23 and will continue until mid-June. The Conference was convened by the United Nations to consider and seek solutions for the trade and development problems of the less-developed countries of the world. All members of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies have been invited, and it is estimated that some 1,500 participants and observers are attending. On March 23, the Conference was opened formally by the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant. On March 24, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, made the following statement to the Conference:*

Mr. President,

I wish to begin by congratulating you upon your election as President of this Conference. I am confident that you will guide our deliberations over the next few weeks towards constructive solutions of the many difficult complex questions before us.

We are faced today with one of the great opportunities of the twentieth century. Throughout the world, governments and peoples expect this meeting to make definite progress towards a goal which each nation shares — the greater welfare of its people. We must never lose sight, in the long and complex debate, of the urgency of our responsibilities.

All of us recognize that this is an historic conference. It is unprecedented in the breadth of participation and the nature of its objectives. The ability of our United Nations to respond to the needs of member countries is once again being tested. In recent weeks the United Nations and its member governments have been preoccupied with the organization's peace-keeping role — and specifically with the critical situation in Cyprus. During this crisis, Canadians have, as our Prime Minister has said, been proud to play their full part once again. Mr. President, Canada can also be counted on to respond in those areas which are the objectives of this conference. We recognize that prosperity and stability are indivisibly linked.

## **UN Influence on Trade Co-operation**

Since its foundation, the United Nations has played an important and constructive role in the vital sector of economic and trade co-operation among nations. Member countries have joined together to dismantle the barriers to world trade with the aim of ensuring the best use of the world's resources and raising the living standards of the world's peoples. In the interests of expanding world trade, rules have been fashioned as safeguards against the restrictive and discriminatory practices of the past. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Mone-

tary Fund, the International Bank and other United Nations institutions were set up to buttress the new framework of world trading relationships. This new and more liberal trade system has brought benefits to all the countries of the world. No country is more indebted to these accomplishments than my own, which is so vitally dependent on foreign trade. Canada supports the preservation and development of the basic trade rules and institutions which have been fashioned over the past two decades.

A great co-operative endeavour over the past two decades has been the economic development of new countries and countries seeking to reach new economic and social goals. The United Nations and its Agencies have not only aroused world support for these efforts, but have also given us many of the tools to work with. Massive resources have been transferred by way of aid directly and through international agencies to reinforce even greater efforts of the developing countries themselves. That the efforts of these countries are bound to be paramount was emphasized yesterday in your own speech, Mr. President, when you pointed out that in this "endeavour for rapid economic growth to offset the increase in population and to keep up with the development trends in advanced countries, the developing countries bear the main responsibility for their economic and social progress". The same point was made by the present Prime Minister of Canada some years ago when he was speaking of the role of external aid. He went on, however, to develop this point in the following way:

The fact that external aid may often be marginal does not, however, make it unimportant. Many a garment might unravel if it were not for the hem. In much the same way, the fabric of economic and social life in many of these countries is strengthened by the function which outside assistance performs and by the evidence which it brings of widespread interest, sympathy and support.

### **Canada's Aid Effort**

Since the war Canada has made substantial contributions to international development efforts. From the start, Canada actively encouraged the formation of United Nations programmes and we backed up our support with substantial contributions. We were among the founding members of the Colombo Plan in 1950 and since then we have annually transferred Canadian resources to countries in South and Southeast Asia, and more recently to Africa and countries in the Caribbean area. Through Canadian and United Nations programmes we have provided substantial development resources, by far the greater part of which has been on a grant basis requiring no repayment.

The Canadian aid effort is part of a broad co-operative endeavour to hasten economic and social progress throughout the world. My Government recognizes both the new sense of urgency behind this endeavour and the growing determination to achieve development goals. We have, therefore, decided to increase Canada's economic aid by more than one-half. Our expanded effort includes a new programme of long-term loans on liberal terms. We expect our aid expenditures during the next 12 months to reach \$180 to \$190 million.



### **Adding Another Dimension**

Until recently, the main emphasis in international arrangements has been to promote economic development through financial and technical assistance. We must now add another dimension to the great effort to support economic development. We must examine how trade can make a fuller contribution. The developing countries are rightly seeking through trade expansion to accelerate their economic development and to raise their living standards. World trade is still too much fettered by restrictions, high tariffs, trade discrimination and other barriers. The terms of trade have deteriorated for exporters of raw materials and foodstuffs. These basic products, moreover, are subject to sudden and unforeseen price fluctuations, which can result in serious setbacks for development plans and for the efforts of producing countries. The developing countries are rightly seeking to diversify their economies, to create soundly-based processing and manufacturing industries and to sell the products of these industries in the markets of the world. Their efforts deserve and require the encouragement of advanced countries. All of these countries represented here today stand to gain by increases in the productive capacity and prosperity of the less-developed world. As I see it, the task before this conference should be the establishment of a framework of world trade in which developing countries can achieve a satisfactory rate of economic growth and improved standards of living.

To achieve all these objectives will not be easy and will require adjustments and fresh efforts by all of us. Our task will be eased if we work together and share in the inevitable adjustments. By acting together within the United Nations, we can create in all our countries conditions and the political will necessary for progress. Indeed, the only way to move forward effectively is by joint action.

Mr. President, the issues before this conference have been ably analysed in the report presented by the Secretary-General, Dr. Raul Prebisch. His report presents us with many challenging proposals. I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the distinguished services which he has already rendered to this conference.

### **The Canadian Approach**

My Government — and I am sure each of the governments represented here — has given most serious thought to the issues facing this conference. Each of us will be making a contribution to the consideration of these problems in the days ahead. It might be helpful if I were to outline at this preliminary stage in a more specific way the Canadian approach on how these objectives can best be attained.

Canada will work with other developed countries in eliminating, wherever practicable, tariffs and other restrictions which obstruct trade in tropical foodstuffs and industrial raw materials traditionally exported by developing countries. The new round of tariff negotiations coming up in the GATT, known as the "Kennedy round", will complement this conference. These negotiations should reduce or eliminate barriers to many important exports from developing countries. To free

world trade in food and raw materials would be a major accomplishment from which all countries in the world will benefit. At present, Canada has no quantitative restrictions on imports of products of interest to developing countries and our tariffs on tropical products and raw materials are generally low or have been removed altogether; we have no internal taxes inhibiting the consumption of these products.

Canada has been a party to all major commodity agreements concluded since the end of the last war. We have always been prepared to explore with other countries the possibility of other agreements on a commodity-by-commodity basis. However, it would not be in the interest of the developing countries to encourage unduly high prices for primary commodities. High prices are likely to generate unsaleable surpluses by stimulating production and reducing consumption through the use of natural or synthetic substitutes.

Canada will work with the developing countries and others in trying to improve the conditions of world trade for temperate agricultural products. Agricultural protectionism in certain developed countries has been growing; it is tending to increase uneconomic production in these countries. It has curtailed the markets of efficient suppliers in developed and developing countries alike.

Canada had advocated that, in the forthcoming "Kennedy round" of tariff and trade negotiations, developed countries should ensure that products of interest to developing countries, including manufactured goods and semi-processed materials, are included in the scope of negotiations. As has been recognized in the GATT, this should be done without expecting full reciprocity from developing countries for benefits they may derive from these negotiations. We are hopeful also that successful negotiations of reduction of tariffs on semi-processed materials will go a long way to reducing differentials between tariffs on raw and processed commodities which have created problems for developing countries.

Canada strongly supports a general removal of quantitative restrictions now impeding imports into developed countries of manufactured goods from developing countries. It has been noted that exports of manufactures by developing countries are of limited variety and are exported in volume to only a few markets. Developing countries need the greatest possible freedom of access to the widest number of markets if they are to establish a diversified and expanding industrial structure. The likelihood of market disruption would be lessened if these exports were less unevenly distributed among developed countries through the establishment of more uniformly favourable conditions of access.

While Canada is approaching the question of preferences with caution, we would be prepared to consider proposals for the exchange of regional tariff preferences among developing countries for a limited period of time and under conditions which took reasonable account of the interests of outside countries.

Canada would be prepared, during the course of the "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations, to examine carefully any tariff preferences now enjoyed by Canada in the markets of the developing countries which may be regarded as prejudicial to the trade of other developing countries.

Canada recognizes that development plans and efforts may be prejudiced by adverse changes in the terms of trade or by other occurrences beyond the control of developing countries. Accordingly, we supported the recent decision of the International Monetary Fund to increase its help to countries suffering from temporary declines in export receipts. As regards longer-term declines, we are prepared to join with others at this conference in studying ways of improving bilateral-aid programmes and relating them more closely to the changing economic and trading circumstances of the individual developing countries.

As regards the basic question of future institutional arrangements, it is our belief that we can only see clearly what will be required when we approach the end of our deliberations. We shall then have a better idea of what is likely to emerge as a result of the conference. In general, we are not in favour of setting up a new organization of a more or less independent character. Rather we would be more inclined to adapt the existing machinery to make it more responsive to the problems of the developing countries. Indeed, encouraging progress is already being made in that direction.

This, Mr. President, is the position of the Canadian delegation at the outset of this conference.

### **Freeing of Trade Channels**

It will be clear from my presentation that we believe that much more can be done and must be done to free the channels of trade. We think that, if this were done, the developing countries would have a better opportunity of competing on terms which would bring into play their natural advantages as efficient producers of certain commodities and manufactures. The freeing of trade channels would also help to overcome the effects of undue protectionism in the developed countries and lead of itself to some of that international division of labour to which reference has already been made in this conference. But I do not want to suggest that the freeing of the channels of trade is all that requires to be done. The range of problems which we have come to consider is vast and no single or simple solution for them is likely to be possible. We are prepared, Mr. President, to join others at this conference in exploring patiently all avenues along which solutions may lie. We have come to listen to the views and preoccupations of others as much as to share with them our experiences as a young and expanding country.

The object of the conference, as we see it, will be to contribute to the solution of problems which are crucial to the well-being of a very large proportion of the human race. They are urgent problems and their solution is urgent. Many new nations have come into being over the past decade or so. Their governments are concerned, as they must be concerned, to ensure that the political independence they have achieved should find fruition in rising standards of living, in better health and improved opportunities for education, and in the greater happiness of all their people. The urgency of this task is such that they cannot accomplish it by themselves. The more-developed countries must come to their aid, recognizing that, in



a world which is becoming daily more interdependent, the conditions under which mankind lives will have to be brought into a more equitable relationship. It has been said of the people of the developing countries that they were embarked on a "revolution of rising expectations". It is to take a step forward in the direction of meeting these expectations, Mr. President, that this conference has been called, and I am glad to be able to pledge the active co-operation of the Canadian delegation in the work in which we are about to engage.

# *Role of the UN in Maintaining Peace and Security*

*The following is the text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, to a joint meeting of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the United Nations Association of Canada at London, Ontario, on March 12, 1964:*

. . . Next year, the United Nations will celebrate its twentieth anniversary. 1965 has been designated as a Year of International Co-operation. It is intended to emphasize the widespread endeavours of the United Nations to meet international demands of our time. It will mark, I hope, a new determination on the part of all members to make the organization as effective as possible in all its spheres of activity.

This is very desirable, for the United Nations is here to stay. Even if the present organization should be torn apart by dissension and difficulty, the nations of the world would quickly realize the need to recreate a new system of international co-operation. Dean Rusk sharply and soberly underlined this need in his thoughtful lecture of January 10 in the Dag Hammarskjold Memorial series. I agree with much of what he had to say at that time.

Even in the light of substantial development, the United Nations can still be regarded as being in its formative stage. It has had to respond to a variety of situations, vaguely foreseen at San Francisco but by no means envisaged in their actual significance and scope — the freezing effect of the cold war, the sudden and dramatic emergence of new states in Asia and Africa, the vast strides in science and technology.

How will the organization respond to the ever-increasing demands made in circumstances so vastly different from those in 1945? It is very easy to be pessimistic about the future, to be irritated and frustrated, as some world leaders have been, by the shortcomings and limitations of the United Nations, by the shifting opinion which frequently seemed more concerned about regional influence and national prestige than about the urgent requirements of the organization in a period of rapid change.

## **Cyprus: Challenge for UN**

Today the tragedy of Cyprus is foremost in our thinking about the United Nations. It represents a new demand, a new trial, another steep hill. There have been expressions of annoyance and criticism about the delays in starting United Nations peace-keeping machinery. There has been an unfortunate passing of time during which the actual situation in Cyprus has deteriorated. There is a potential danger of civil war and international conflict. The need for immediate action is clear.

The dilemma which the United Nations faces in Cyprus is a microcosm of the

many difficulties which have been hampering the organization for some time — the great powers are divided on how the situation should be dealt with, whether inside the United Nations framework or outside it. The parties directly concerned are widely divided on the kind of solution needed and quite obviously require outside and impartial assistance. In a sense, the situation on the island is a matter of domestic jurisdiction, normally precluding United Nations intervention, even though the international risks are great. Many members of the United Nations are either uninterested or hesitant about becoming involved. Already heavily engaged in the Middle East, the Congo and elsewhere, and beset by a financial crisis of serious proportions, the United Nations is hard pressed to find funds for a new operation. There is the question whether the Security Council, the General Assembly or the Secretary-General should have the main political control. There are issues of human rights at stake, questions of treaty interpretation and implementation, a problem of nation building from elements of diverse ethnic origin and religious belief. There may be a pressing demand for economic and social assistance if Cyprus is to have viable statehood.

These are some of the main elements of the dilemma. They go a long way to explain the delays in putting United Nations machinery to work in Cyprus. Some of them are worth examining more closely in order to illustrate the basic problems of the United Nations at the present time.

### **Political Factors**

On the political front, it seems clear that the powers concerned cannot reach sufficient agreement among themselves to bring about a solution without United Nations assistance. The fact that earlier efforts outside the United Nations led inevitably to Security Council consideration of the problem demonstrated this point. The wisdom of the move was reflected in the fact that the Council adopted a resolution giving the United Nations and specifically the Secretary-General authority to act.

Canada believes that the Security Council should exercise its primary responsibility for maintaining peace and that the General Assembly should not try to usurp that responsibility unless the Council has failed to act. The UN can no more afford to be dominated by regional majorities than by the great powers or any combination of them. This position has been held by Canada ever since San Francisco and we have consistently sought to have it accepted generally in the United Nations.

Canada believes, too, that the United Nations should be able to respond effectively in Cyprus as it has in other situations broadly similar in nature. In Lebanon in 1958, it succeeded in quelling an incipient civil war and in helping to bring about national reconciliation. In the Congo in 1960, it assumed a heavy responsibility which it could not shirk for fear that deterioration there would lead to wider conflict. The assistance rendered in Yemen during the past year was similarly motivated.



Cyprus attained independence as a consequence of an international agreement reached outside the United Nations, but under the impetus of resolutions adopted in the General Assembly. That earlier action of mobilizing opinion in favour of an agreed solution forms a background for current United Nations efforts to preserve the peace in Cyprus.

This United Nations responsibility for the security and welfare of small states is a cardinal reason for keeping the United Nations in effective being — both as a peace keeper and as a catalyst for economic, social and humanitarian causes.

### **Financing**

It is not sufficient to pay lip service to this aim. The United Nations can have no real meaning in international affairs unless the many words spoken within its halls and on other public platforms are translated into deeds. At the present time, the most pressing practical requirement is to ensure that the organization has adequate funds for its many activities. Nowhere is the need more urgent than in the field of peace keeping.

For many years, Canada has been striving to promote sound administrative and budgetary methods in the United Nations, including the Specialized Agencies. We were instrumental in recent years in bringing about the establishment of the Working Group of Twenty-one on United Nations Finances in the field of peace keeping. The Canadian position has consistently been based on a conviction that financial contribution to support United Nations action must be shared by all members, great and small. Just as peace is indivisible, so is the financial responsibility for peace keeping. Political decisions designed to preserve security and stability must be backed by sound proposals for sharing the costs.

This is a position of principle which Canada has reiterated year after year. But we have not been so rigid in our belief in that principle as to blind us to practical needs in urgent circumstances. This is why we have supported *ad hoc* arrangements for financing operations in the Middle East, in the Congo, in West New Guinea. Throughout, however, we have continued to insist that these *ad hoc* arrangements — never entirely satisfactory — must not prejudice long-term financing arrangements which can form the basis for solid planning for peace, both by the Secretariat and by contributing governments. This is the basis of our approach to the financing of a Cyprus operation. We are acutely conscious that steps taken in the emergency situation now prevalent in that island may affect the attitude of member states toward the financing of peace keeping generally. They could influence the future deliberations of the Working Group of Twenty-one. They may even be seized upon by some as a further means of avoiding the Charter responsibility for sharing expenses of the organization — a responsibility which has been reinforced by the 1962 advisory opinion of the International Court.

It is particularly important to keep these financial considerations in mind because this year Article 19, concerning the loss of vote in the Assembly, could become operative in relation to important members of the organization.

## **United Nations Preparedness**

Once again, the urgent requirements in Cyprus have illustrated the need to prepare in advance for prompt United Nations engagement in peace-keeping operations. This is a matter of contingent planning in United Nations headquarters by military and political staffs, of earmarking, training and equipping units and personnel in national defence establishments, of improving methods for processing United Nations requests for assistance, of standardizing operational procedures.

Canadian views in this regard have been stated so often that it is hardly necessary for me to do more than mention them. We have been pressing for the establishment of a military planning staff which could assist the Secretary-General and his political advisers in establishing and conducting peace-keeping operations. Canada has been exploring ways and means of making its own stand-by arrangements more effective.

Other member states share our views about earmarking and training troops for United Nations service. The Nordic countries and the Netherlands have firm policies in this regard. Recent indications are that more governments are thinking along the same lines.

Last autumn, the Prime Minister, taking note of these developments, suggested that it might be useful to pool experience and ideas for improving United Nations peace-keeping methods. Because of prevailing international political circumstances, this cannot be done at the present time through formal action by the United Nations. For the time being, interested members may have to accept that a permanent peace-keeping force cannot be established, although it has emerged as one of the ultimate goals of disarmament programmes put forward in Geneva.

Yet Cyprus and other situations already on the international horizon show that peace-keeping operations by the United Nations may be needed on very short notice. The demands are almost as varied as the situations which arise. In Greece, Kashmir and Palestine, military observers on the ground were needed. In Lebanon and Yemen, air observers played a key role. In Gaza and the Congo, an international force was essential. On many occasions, the United Nations has urgently needed mediators and conciliators.

The obvious conclusion is that the United Nations cannot stand still in its preparations for such operations. It has accumulated experience but some of the lessons have been learned the hard way. The underlying risk of escalation to war demands more effective preparedness.

## **Other Factors**

Other internal problems need to be solved — problems of representation, admission of new members, administration. Many of these have resulted from the rapid enlargement of membership. The process of adjustment has not kept pace with this significant development.

Understandably, the new states from Asia and Africa have pressed for greater representation in the various organs. In part, their demands have been met. Las

autumn, after nearly ten years of effort, the Assembly adopted resolutions containing Charter amendments for enlarging the Security Council and ECOSOC.

Ratification of those amendments is required and it remains to be seen whether Soviet opposition will be relaxed. Canada believes that these amendments should be made, but we also believe that the members should be equally concerned about improving the functioning of the Councils. We have urged that, in determining their composition as such, attention could be paid to the actual contribution which member states can make as to the factor of geographical representation.

More members means more work for the organization and longer sessions for the Assembly. Since San Francisco, Canada has pressed for improvements in its methods and procedures. This is why I support Dean Rusk's remarks about the desirability of making greater use of working groups and sub-committees, since obviously committees of 113 are cumbersome. As well, we have suggested that greater use could be made of regional groupings, like the Organization of American States and the Organization of African Unity. The Security Council could be given a greater share of the political burden; mechanical voting devices would shorten Assembly proceedings; and naturally all debates would benefit if repetitious statements could be avoided.

### **Implications for Future**

Steps like these would do much to enhance the United Nations in the public eye. They would dispel the notion that the Assembly is a noisy debating society. They would give credence to Dag Hammarskjöld's vision in his last report of an international instrument for effective co-operation.

Two years before his death and ten months before the Congo crisis, Mr. Hammarskjöld told a press conference that the United Nations must respond to those demands made of it. In his prophetic words: "It did take the very steep hill of Suez; it may take other and even steeper hills". There is no doubt in my mind that in the Cyprus situation the organization faces a long and arduous journey uphill.

This alone is not a cause for discouragement or lack of confidence. We should recall that the United Nations has successfully passed through periods of severe trial — in Korea, at Suez, in the Congo — and withstood upheavals, such as the intensive cold war debates of the early fifties and the Soviet assault on the Secretariat in the sixties.

I believe that the United Nations can and will overcome the present difficulty in Cyprus. In expressing Canada's faith in the United Nations way, I am voicing our continuing determination to follow a firm policy of support for the United Nations. Canada has always done its utmost to make the United Nations as effective as possible within the limitations imposed by the international situation. This policy has been patiently pursued notwithstanding doubts from time to time about departures from principle and the adoption of questionable methods.

Other nations have been voicing their doubts about Cyprus. Canada is not one



of them, although we are concerned to see the maximum clarification of the United Nations role there. We shall not be found wanting in this new United Nations endeavour if other nations are prepared to play their part in what must be an international effort.

In particular, we deplore that lack of financial support should become an obstacle. Just as in the past we have been prompt and generous in responding with men, material and financial contributions, Canada will do all in its power to further the cause of peace — which in essence is the cause of the United Nations and its members.

# *UN Commission on Human Rights*

TWENTIETH SESSION, NEW YORK

THE 21-member United Nations Commission on Human Rights held its twentieth session in New York from February 17 to March 18, 1964. The members are Austria, Britain, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, India, Italy, Lebanon, Liberia, the Netherlands, the Philippines, Poland, Turkey, the Ukrainian S.S.R., the U.S.S.R. and the United States of America. Membership is held by governments rather than by individuals. The governments are elected by the Economic and Social Council, and serve for three-year terms on a staggered basis.

Canada was elected to a three-year term on the Commission beginning January 1, 1963. The Commission's twentieth session was, therefore, the second attended by Canada as a member of the Commission. The Canadian representative, Miss Margaret Aitken of Toronto, was assisted by a delegation consisting of Miss V. Kasurak of Windsor, Miss E. Lorentsen, Director of the Legislation Branch, Department of Labour, Mr. J. Lagassé, Acting Director of Citizenship, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and Miss M. Ritchie, Department of Labour (alternate representatives), and Mr. E. G. Lee, United Nations Division, Department of External Affairs, and Mr. J. Robichaud, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, as advisers.

The Commission on Human Rights was established in 1946 in accordance with Article 68 of the United Nations Charter. It was given rather broad terms of reference in the field of human rights, including the submission of proposals and reports to the Economic and Social Council on such matters as an international bill of rights, international declarations and conventions on civil liberties, the status of women, freedom of information, the protection of minorities and the prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion, as well as human rights matters generally.

## **Agenda for the Twentieth Session**

In recent years the Commission has been faced with increasingly heavy agenda. Some of the matters on the agenda of the twentieth session were as follows: a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination; a draft declaration and draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance; further promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; advisory services in the field of human rights; communications concerning human rights; study of the right of everyone to be free from arbitrary arrest, detention and exile; study of the right of everyone to leave any country and return to his own; freedom of information; the question of an international code of police ethics; and a review of the human rights programme.



## Elimination of Racial Discrimination

The most important task performed by the Commission at this session was the adoption of the text of a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Practically all of the Commission's meetings were taken up with the drafting of this international legal instrument, which involved careful examination and detailed discussion of its far-reaching provisions.



*Members of the Canadian delegation to the UN Commission on Human Rights: foreground (left to right)—Miss Valerie Kasaruk, Miss Margaret Aitken (Canadian representative) and Miss Marguerite Ritchie; background— Mr. Jean Lagassé (left) and Mr. Edward G. Le (right).*



In November 1963, the United Nations General Assembly, by Resolution 1904 (XVIII), adopted a Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. In a subsequent resolution, the General Assembly referred to the need for further steps to eliminate racial discrimination in view of the fact that the Declaration, although of great persuasive value, was not a legally binding international agreement. Consequently, the General Assembly called on the Economic and Social Council to invite the Human Rights Commission to give "absolute priority" to the preparation of a draft international convention on this subject.

As a basis for its work, the Commission had been provided with a text of a draft convention consisting of a preamble and ten articles, which had been prepared earlier this year by the experts on the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. During its consideration of this agenda item, the Commission also had the benefit of relevant debates at the seventeenth and eighteenth sessions of the General Assembly, of proposals submitted earlier by member states, and of international instruments already adopted in this field such as the International Labour Organization's 1958 Convention on Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation and the Convention Against Discrimination in Education adopted in 1960 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The Commission, at its twentieth session this year, adopted a resolution which would have the Economic and Social Council submit to the General Assembly, for consideration at its nineteenth session this autumn, Articles 1 to 7 of the draft convention as adopted by the Commission.

Parts of the preamble of the draft convention state that doctrines based on racial differentiation or superiority are "scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous", and that discrimination is an obstacle to friendly relations among nations and capable of disturbing peace and security. The preamble also refers to manifestations of racial discrimination and of governmental policies based on race superiority or hatred.

The operative articles of the draft Convention would have signatories undertake not to engage in racial discrimination in public fields of activity; particularly condemn racial segregation and *apartheid*; make punishable incitement to racial discrimination by individuals, groups of persons or organizations, resulting in, or likely to cause, violence; and declare illegal organizations or their activities and organized propaganda activities promoting and inciting racial discrimination. Other provisions would ensure equality before the law and prohibit racial discrimination in the enjoyment of political, economic, social and cultural rights, and require signatories to assure effective remedies and protection against any racial discrimination described in the Convention.

The Commission further decided to transmit the text of an additional article and related amendments condemning anti-Semitism and Nazism, along with its

record of discussions on these proposals for the consideration of the General Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural).

Owing to lack of time, the Commission was also compelled to refer to the Economic and Social Council for submission to the General Assembly an article for the draft Convention on implementation measures calling for reports from signatories to the Secretary-General on legislative and other measures taken to give effect to the Convention. Other draft implementation measures forwarded envisage the creation of an 11-member Good Offices and Conciliation Committee to settle disputes among signatories arising from the Convention.

### **Elimination of Religious Intolerance**

In 1963, the Commission on Human Rights decided to consider at its twentieth session the preparation of a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance, and asked the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to forward to it a preliminary draft.

This move followed a request by the General Assembly in 1962 for the preparation of a declaration and a convention dealing with religious intolerance — the declaration to be submitted to the Assembly's eighteenth session (1963) and the convention at the nineteenth or twentieth sessions. The Human Rights Commission was able at its 1963 session to hold only a brief exchange of views on the proposed declaration.

In response to the Commission's request, the Sub-Commission discussed the proposed declaration at its session last January. While it did not produce a "preliminary draft", it agreed to forward to the Commission a draft declaration "representing its general views". This document had been prepared by the expert from India on the Sub-Commission, Arcot Krishnaswami.

The Krishnaswami draft contains a preamble and 15 articles. Its operative section would proclaim that discrimination on grounds of religion or belief is an offence against human dignity, that no state has the right to discriminate on such grounds, that all persons have the right to adhere or not to adhere to a religion or belief, and that parents have the right to decide the religion in which a child is brought up.

Sections of the draft also deal with rights affecting worship, religious communities, the teaching of religion or belief, and the observance of dietary practices.

The Commission was unable at its twentieth session to give this subject much attention because of the subsequent requirement by the General Assembly that the Commission give "absolute priority" to the drafting of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. However, a working group was established by the Commission to meet outside of the Commission's regular hours for the purpose of drafting a declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance for presentation to the Commission. The Canadian delegation was one of the 15 members of the Commission that participated in the

working group. Unfortunately, despite many meetings, the working group was unable to complete its consideration of the draft declaration prepared by Mr. Krishnaswami. During the last week of the session, the working group presented its tentative proposals on six draft articles to the Commission.

The Commission adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to transmit the report of the working group and the preliminary draft of the Declaration on Religious Intolerance to member governments for comment, and to transmit these documents and comments of governments to the Economic and Social Council with the suggestion that it presents its views on the Declaration to the General Assembly. Under this resolution, the Commission also decided to prepare at its next session a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance.

### **Periodic Reports on Human Rights**

Under a reporting system initiated in 1956 by the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General submits to the Commission on Human Rights reports on human rights developments and achievements over three-year periods as transmitted by member governments. As the Commission had been unable to examine the 1960-62 series of reports, it adopted a resolution appointing a Committee of the Commission to meet immediately prior to its 1965 session to examine the summaries of the 1960-62 periodic reports and prepare a general survey of developments in human rights during those years. The Committee was also entrusted with the tasks of recommending to the Commission a procedure to be followed with respect to future periodic reports and a procedure to be followed in relation to the comments and observations on human rights matters received from non-governmental organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council.

### **International Year for Human Rights**

At its last session, the General Assembly designated the year 1968 as International Year for Human Rights. The Commission at its twentieth session adopted a resolution appointing a Committee to meet before its 1965 session to recommend a programme of measures and activities to be undertaken by member states, the United Nations and Specialized Agencies to celebrate in 1968 the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and to study the possibility of convening an international conference on human rights in 1968. The Commission also recommended that member states be invited to sign and ratify before or during 1968 those conventions already concluded in the field of human rights.

### **Postponed Items**

Among the agenda items that the Commission was forced, because of lack of time, to postpone until its next session were advisory services in the field of



human rights, studies on the freedom of information, the freedom from arbitrary arrest, and the freedom of everyone to leave any country and to return to his own. Also postponed was the consideration of items on capital punishment and an international code of police ethics as well as draft principles on freedom and non-discrimination in matters of religious rights and practices and on political rights, and the review of the human rights programme.

### **Canadian Approach**

Canada has always had a deep interest in human rights. It is established Canadian policy to assist in the acquisition and furtherance of these rights on a universal basis. These considerations, and particularly the desire to assist in ensuring that racial and religious discrimination and intolerance are lessened in all parts of the world, continued to guide the Canadian delegation's approach during the deliberations of the twentieth session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

# *“Kennedy Round” of Tariff and Trade Negotiations*

*The following extracts of a recent announcement by the Office of the Prime Minister concern the appointment of Canadian delegates to the so-called “Kennedy round” of negotiations on tariffs and trade and some background information on the negotiations:*

The Prime Minister announced the appointment of Mr. N. A. Robertson, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, as Chief Negotiator for the Canadian Government in the forthcoming “Kennedy round” of tariff and trade negotiations, which is to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Mr. Robertson will also be responsible to the Government for preparations for Canada’s participation in these negotiations. A Tariffs and Trade Committee is being established by the Canadian Government, of which the chairman will be Mr. Robertson.

The Prime Minister also announced the appointment of Mr. Hector B. McKinnon, former Chairman of the Tariff Board, as Special Adviser on Tariffs and Trade in connection with the forthcoming negotiations, and as vice-chairman of the Canadian Tariffs and Trade Committee.

## **Aim of Conference**

It was decided last May by a meeting of trade ministers of GATT member countries in Geneva that a comprehensive trade negotiating conference should be held, beginning May 4, 1964. This major negotiation is to cover all sectors of trade, including both agricultural and fisheries products and industrial goods, and is to deal with non-tariff barriers to trade as well as customs duties. The trade ministers agreed that the basis of this comprehensive negotiation should be an across-the-board linear tariff reduction; in formulating this proposal, the GATT ministers accepted that for countries such as Canada, for which a linear tariff-reduction plan would not be appropriate because of the character of our production and trade, the objective of the negotiation should be the achievement of reciprocity by an exchange of trade and tariff concessions of equivalent value.

The Prime Minister said that Canada intends to play a full and active role in these negotiations. They will offer an opportunity to achieve an overall expansion of trade. Canada’s objective in these negotiations will be to obtain improved access to export markets so as to benefit all sectors of Canada’s economy and make possible the larger-scale production in Canada which will encourage increased economic growth.

The Prime Minister explained that, while there have been intensive discussions internationally of the detailed rules to govern the scope and conduct of the trade negotiations, these detailed rules had not yet been agreed. Canada is participating

in these discussions with a view to ensuring, as far as possible, that the negotiations will have broad coverage, will be substantial and successful, and that they will advance Canada's own trading interests.

### **Views of Interested Parties Sought**

The Prime Minister emphasized that, to assist in preparing for Canada's participation in the "Kennedy round", it would be important for the Government to have the views of Canadian industry and all other interested parties which may be affected by the outcome of the negotiations. The Canadian Tariffs and Trade Committee will conduct consultations with representatives of Canadian interests involved and will assist in carrying out the negotiations.

Submissions would be welcomed, the Prime Minister said, from Canadian industries, individual firms and associations and all others who might wish to put forward their views. Representations should take into account the negotiating proposals being discussed in the GATT, with particular attention to the reduction of tariff rates and possibilities of enlarging the access for Canadian exports to markets abroad. . . .



# Canada's International Status

## DEVELOPMENTS AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE, 1919.

*Editorial Note: The document beginning on Page 164 is a memorandum dated July 1919, prepared by Mr. L. C. Christie, adviser to the Department of External Affairs at that time. The memorandum was originally entitled "Notes on the Development at the Peace Conference of the Status of Canada as an International Person", and is an account of important developments at the Peace Conference by one who participated in it as a member of the Canadian delegation. Its printing in "External Affairs" is an innovation for this publication, which deals primarily with current affairs. It is hoped that it will be useful to those interested in Canada's external relations, and that other items of similar historical interest may be published from time to time.*

Loring C. Christie, born 1885 in Amherst, Nova Scotia, educated at Acadia and Harvard Universities, joined the Department of External Affairs as legal adviser in 1913 at the invitation of Sir Robert Borden and rapidly became the Government's chief expert on international problems. Appointed Secretary to the War Committee of the Cabinet in 1917, Mr. Christie accompanied the Prime Minister as confidential adviser to the Imperial War Cabinet and Paris Peace Conference. He also attended the International Labour Conference in Washington in 1919 and the first Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in 1920. He accompanied Prime Minister Meighen to the 1921 Inter-parliamentary Conference



*Loring C. Christie*

and acted as Sir Robert Borden's secretary when the latter represented Canada at the Conference on the Limitations of Armaments in Washington, 1921-22. He resigned in 1923, but rejoined the Department of External Affairs as Counsellor in 1935 under Prime Minister Bennett. He was appointed Canadian Minister to the United States in September 1939, and died there in 1941. Though cloaked in the anonymity of a civil servant, Mr. Christie was in a position to make a unique contribution to the development of the policies leading to the emergence of Canada as a nation.

*The Christie memorandum on this subject follows:*

## Introduction.

1. The object of these notes is to outline the development at the Paris Peace Conference of the status of Canada as an international person or entity. The main points in the sketch will be the character of the representation secured by Canada at the Conference, her position as a Signatory of the Treaties concluded there, and her status as a Member of the League of Nations and of the International Labour Organization.

## Dominion Representation. Discussions in London.

2. In the early stages of the war it had been announced in the various Parliaments of the Empire that the Dominions would be fully consulted concerning the terms of peace. (*See* United Kingdom Parliament, April 14, 1915, 71 H.C.Deb., 5s., col. 16-18; Canadian Parliament, January 31, 1917, Debates, House of Commons, Official Report, Session of 1917, vol. 1, page 300). The sessions of the Imperial War Cabinet, held in the spring of 1917 and the summer of 1918, afforded so far as they went the means for carrying out this understanding. During the negotiations leading up to the armistice there naturally presented itself the specific question of Dominion representation at the Conference of belligerent Powers which it was certain would be held to conclude the terms of peace. This question was first officially raised from Ottawa by telegraphic correspondence between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (*see* Annex A<sup>2</sup>); thereafter it was taken up immediately on the arrival of the Canadian Ministers in London in November, 1918, and the discussion continued there until their departure for Paris early in January, 1919.

## Imperial War Cabinet, London, November and December, 1918.

(a) The discussion took place in the Imperial War Cabinet and in less formal meetings between English and Dominion Ministers. At the outset the assumption was that only five places could be secured for the British Empire at the peace table (*see* I.W.C. 37, Minute 6). On this assumption various methods of

## ABBREVIATIONS<sup>(1)</sup>

I.W.C. means the printed minutes of the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet in London.

I.C. means the printed minutes of the Inter-Allied Conversations in London and Paris. (In Paris these became the meetings of the Council of Ten and the Council of Five.)

B.E.D. means the printed minutes of the meetings of the Plenipotentiary Delegates of the British Empire Delegation in Paris.

W.C.P. means one of the series of War Cabinet papers.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. The references to these minutes and War Cabinet papers have been retained, although the papers to which they refer are still classified documents with certain exceptions (*see*, for example, footnote to Page 171).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. The various Annexes referred to throughout this memorandum are not reproduced here since they are printed or available elsewhere (with the exception of Annex N). (*See* Sessional Paper No. 41J, 1919 the Borden Papers in Public Archives of Canada and J. T. Shotwell, editor, "The Origins of the International Labour Organization", New York, 1934.) Annex N was written by Loring Christie himself and entitled "Notes on international personality and the right of legation in relation to Canada". Its conclusions are implicit in his main memorandum printed herein.

meeting the case of the Dominions were canvassed, consisting mostly of variations on what was known as the panel system, under which the representation of the British Empire in the Peace Conference discussions would be selected from day to day, according to the subject, from a panel made up of representatives of the United Kingdom and the Dominions. But on consideration it became apparent that this method would not of itself be sufficient in practice to take care of the various political elements in Great Britain that were entitled to or had been promised representation and at the same time to meet the legitimate claims and aspirations of the Dominions in view of the decisive force they had exerted in the actual determination of the issues of the war. Accordingly in the end the Prime Minister of Canada proposed that we should press, not only for a British Empire representation of five involving the panel system, but also for distinctive representation for each Dominion similar to that accorded to the smaller Allied Powers; and this proposal was accepted by the Imperial War Cabinet.

Inter-Allied  
Conversations,  
London,  
December, 1918.

(b) During the first week of December preliminary conversations on the making of peace took place in London between representatives of the British Empire, France and Italy, and the proposal of the Prime Minister of Canada was put forward and accepted in principle. (*See* I.C. 98 (a), Clause 4 (c); I.W.C. 41; I.C. 100, Clause 5; I.W.C. 48, Minute 5.)

Conversations  
with President  
Wilson, London,  
December, 1918.

(c) Conversations with President Wilson took place in London during the last week of December, but this question was not considered, since at that time the President was opposed to the holding of a formal Inter-Allied Conference. (*See* I.W.C. 47, Minute 1, Page 5.)

Dominion Repre-  
sentation.  
Discussion in  
Council of Ten,  
Paris,  
January, 1919.

3. The Preliminary Peace Conference began at Paris on January 12, 1919, and the question of procedure, including that of representation, was taken up at the outset in the Council of First Delegates or Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, commonly known as the Council of Ten. The United States delegates at once objected to the proposal for distinctive representation for the British Dominions, President Wilson saying that it would not be understood by his people. Mr. Lansing, United States Secretary of State, proposed that there might be five technical delegates of the Dominions, and questioned the title of the Dominions to take part in the discussion of European arrangements (*see* I.C. 104, Minute 1). But after full discussion in the British Empire Dele-



gation, and a strong protest from the Prime Minister of Canada, the United States delegates receded at the next meeting of the Council of Ten and the proposal was carried; so that the larger Dominions were each of them accorded a representation equal to that of the more important small Powers (*see* B.E.D. 1, Minute 1; I.C. 106, Minute 1; B.E.D. 3, Minute 10).

Canadian Protest  
Respecting  
increased  
Belgian and  
Serbian represent-  
ation.

4. The Council of Ten, after reaching this agreement as to Dominion representation, gave additional representation to Belgium and Serbia (*see* I.C. 111, Minute 1). The Canadian Ministers immediately submitted a Memorandum protesting against this decision (*see* Annex B; W.C.P. 24); though it was recognized that it was too late to change it.

Dominion Repre-  
sentation under  
Peace Conference  
Rules.

5. Accordingly the Rules of the Conference as adopted at the Plenary Session of January 18, 1919, provided for a British Empire representation of five Plenipotentiary Delegates (including Dominion representatives under the panel system), and in addition for two Plenipotentiary Delegates each for Canada, Australia, South Africa and India, and one for New Zealand. Their status was made the same as that of the smaller Powers, or "belligerent Powers with special interests," as the more important of these were officially described. In addition they were entitled to bring Technical Delegates (*see* Annex C; Rules of the Conference, Annex II to Protocol No. 1 of the Preliminary Peace Conference).

As explained elsewhere, the form which the organization and proceedings of the Peace Conference actually took did not entirely accord with the scheme of the Rules adopted at this Plenary Session (*see* Annex D; Memorandum on the Organization and Proceedings of the Paris Peace Conference).

Practical  
results.

6. In the result, through this combination of the panel system for the British Empire Delegation with their own distinctive representation, the Dominions secured a peculiarly effective position.

Number of  
Delegates.

(a) At the Plenary Sessions there were sometimes three Canadian Plenipotentiary Delegates — two representing Canada and one representing the British Empire.

Access to all  
Records of  
Peace Conference.

(b) At all times throughout the Conference, the Dominion Delegates were at the heart of the machine and had access to all the papers recording the proceedings of the Conference. This enabled them effectively to watch and check the proceedings in the interest of their respective Dominions, and placed them in a position distinctly more advantageous than that of the small Powers, who did not receive the confidential papers of the Con-

ference such as the minutes of the Council of Ten and the Council of Five.

Representation  
on Commissions  
of Peace  
Conference.

(c) Dominion Ministers were nominated to and acted for the British Empire on the principal Inter-Allied Commissions of the Peace Conference, which were appointed by the Conference from time to time to consider and report upon special aspects of the conditions of peace (*see* Annex D). The Canadian Ministers acted as the principal British Empire representatives on these Commissions as follows: —

Commission on Greek Questions — Sir Robert Borden (Vice-President).

Commission on the International Control of Ports, Waterways and Railways — Hon. A. L. Sifton (Vice-President).

Economic Commission — Sir George Foster (Vice-President).

Sub-Commission on Pre War Contracts — Hon. C. J. Doherty (Chairman).

Sir George Foster (with Mr. Sifton and Mr. Doherty as alternates) was also on the panel from which the British Empire representation on the Supreme Economic Council was chosen from time to time.

Council of Ten.

(d) All the Dominion Prime Ministers took part in the Council of Ten when the disposition of the German Colonies was being discussed and decided.

Council of Five.  
Council of Four.

(e) The Prime Minister of Canada on several occasions attended as the British Empire representative on the Council of Five (*see* Annex D). He also attended the Council of Four (*see* Annex D) on several occasions to put forward the British Empire case in respect of the clauses on economic questions, on the international control of ports, waterways and railways, and on submarine cables.

British Empire  
Delegation.

(f) It is especially significant of the new status that during his last month in Paris, the Prime Minister of Canada regularly acted as chairman of the meetings of the British Empire Delegation (which was but the Imperial War Cabinet under another name), whenever the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom was unable to attend.

Dominions as  
Delegations.

7. A further development concerns the signature of the various treaties concluded at the Conference. Hitherto the practice in respect of a political treaty has been to insert an article or reservation providing for the adhesion of the Dominions sometime after its signature and ratification by the Government of the United Kingdom. It was thought that this method would be in-

appropriate on this occasion in view of the new position that had been secured and of the part played by Dominion representatives at the peace table. Accordingly the Prime Minister of Canada proposed that the assent of the King as High Contracting Party to the various treaties should in respect of the Dominions be signified by the signature of Dominion plenipotentiaries, and that the preamble and other formal parts of the treaties should be drafted accordingly. This proposal was adopted, in the form of a Memorandum, by all the Dominion Prime Ministers at a meeting summoned by the Prime Minister of Canada, and was put forward on their behalf (*see* Annex E; W.C.P. 242). The proposal was accepted by the British Empire Delegation and the Conference substantially as made; and the various treaties have been drawn up accordingly; so that the Dominions appear as Signatories, and their concurrence in the treaties, subject to ratification, is thus given in the same manner as that of all the other Powers.

Dominion  
Full Powers.

8. This development involved the issuance by the King, as High Contracting Party, of Full Powers to the various Dominion Plenipotentiary Delegates; and in order that the Full Powers issued to the Canadian Plenipotentiaries might be based upon formal action of the Canadian Government an Order in Council was passed on April 10, 1919 (P.C. 800), granting the necessary authority (*see* Annex F). At the same time the Prime Minister of Canada addressed a communication to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom requesting that some appropriate step should be taken to establish the connection between this Order in Council and the issuance of the Full Powers, so that it might formally appear of record that they were issued on the responsibility of the Government of Canada (*see* Annex G). It happens that under British practice the Letters Patent constituting a Full Power are signed by the King as Head of the State without any counter-signature; so that the formal connection between the action of the Canadian Government and the issuance of these full powers by the King can be established without anomaly.

Dominions  
as Members  
of League  
of Nations.

9. The new status of the Dominions is manifested again in the constitution of the League of Nations. Having enjoyed a status at the Peace Conference like that of the "Powers with special interests," the Dominions took the ground that they should be similarly accepted in the future international relationship contemplated by the League. The League of Nations Commission while inclined to accept this position in principle, did not at the outset accept all its implications. The first draft of the Covenant of the League made provision for Dominion membership, but i



was obscure as to the character of Dominion representation. (See Annex H; Preamble and Articles 1, 2, 3 and 7 of the draft Covenant presented to the Plenary Session of February 14, 1919, by the Commission on the League of Nations.) But the document was professedly tentative; the Dominion case was pressed; and in its final form as amended and incorporated in the Treaty of Peace with Germany, the status of the Dominions as to membership and representation in the Assembly and Council was recognized as being in all respects the same as that of other Members of the League. They are to become Members as Signatories of the Treaty; and the words of the document make no distinction between them and other Signatory Members. (See Annex J; Preamble and Articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 and Annex of Covenant as incorporated in the Treaty of Peace.) With especial reference to Article 4, the Prime Minister of Canada obtained from President Wilson and Messrs Clemenceau and Lloyd George a signed declaration "that upon the true construction of the first and second paragraphs of that Article, representatives of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire may be selected or named as members of the Council." (See Annex K.)

Dominions as  
Members of  
International  
Labour Organ-  
ization.

10. The constitution of the International Labour Organization affords a still further manifestation of the development. Questions arose here similar to those involved in the constitution of the League of Nations; for the Labour Organization is analogous to that of the League. Corresponding to the Council of the League there is a Labour Governing Body, consisting of Delegates nominated by a limited number of governments, in addition to employers' and employees' Delegates; while corresponding to the Assembly of the League there is the General Labour Conference. The draft Convention presented by the Commission on International Labour Legislation to the Plenary Session of April 11, 1919, while contemplating that Dominion Government Delegates might be sent to the General Conference, definitely excluded them from the Governing Body; for in defining that body it declared that "No High Contracting Party, together with its Dominions and Colonies, whether self-governing or not, shall be entitled to nominate more than one member" (see Annex L; Article 7, Protocol to Article 7, and Article 35 of the draft Convention presented to the Plenary Session of April 11, 1919, by the Commission on International Labour Legislation). A resolution having been moved in the same Plenary Session that the Peace Conference approve this draft Convention, the Prime Minister of

Canada immediately moved that the resolution be amended by adding the following:

"The Conference authorizes the Drafting Committee to make such amendments as may be necessary to have the Convention conform to the Covenant of the League of Nations in the character of its membership and in the method of adherence."

This amendment carried, and as a consequence the Labour Convention was finally amended so that the Dominions were placed on the same footing as other Members of the International Labour Organization, becoming eligible for selection like others to nominate Government Delegates to the Governing Body; though it was only at the last minute, and after the Prime Minister of Canada had carried the matter up to the Council of Four, that the Drafting Committee struck out the objectionable clause quoted above. (*See Annex M; Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 35 of the Labour Convention as incorporated in the Treaty of Peace with Germany.*)

Dominions'  
Participa-  
tion in  
drafting  
Conditions  
of Peace.

11. The Treaty of Peace was largely drafted in the first instance by Commissions of the Peace Conference; though many Articles were drafted by the Drafting Committee on instructions from the Council of Ten, the Council of Five or the Council of Four. (*See Annex D.*) In the case of the League of Nations Covenant and the Labour Convention and General Principles there were special Plenary Sessions to consider and adopt the proposals. For the rest, however, the participation of the Powers other than the five Principal Powers was more formal than substantial, except of course in respect of the Articles affecting them specially. It is true that the Conditions of Peace were submitted to and adopted by the secret Plenary Session of May 6th before their presentation to the Germans; but it was a highly formal proceeding.

The Dominions, however, were much better placed. As already seen the Dominions were prominently represented on the various Commissions of the Peace Conference, and at times the Prime Ministers attended the Council of Ten, while in addition the Prime Minister of Canada on a number of occasions took part in the work of the Council of Four and the Council of Five. More than that, every Commission Report, every aspect, every section of the Conditions of Peace was first considered in meetings of the British Empire Delegation (whose personnel was the same as that of the Imperial War Cabinet) before the assent of

the British Empire was given. The Dominions' participation in the making of peace has been substantial indeed.<sup>1</sup>

initiative taken  
by Canada.

12. In recalling the successive stages of the advance in status attained by the Dominions at the Peace Conference it is to be noted that in every instance the initiative was taken by Canada; and whether or not the other Dominions at all times joined in pressing these steps, nevertheless each one in the final result received the full benefit of the advance.

Conclusion.  
Canada an  
international  
person.

13. For a good many years Canada has been in a position, should the occasion warrant it or should she so desire, to affirm herself definitely as an international person or entity. The occasion arose at Paris. We had not in fact been entirely lacking in direct international relationships, but they were of an economic character and their political or constitutional implications had not been expressly defined. The settlement of the results of the war provided the first occasion on which Canada became conscious that she was directly and vitally concerned in a world political conference. The occasion was met and Canada through her representatives has definitely declared herself as in some degree an international person. Representatives of the Canadian Government sat at the peace table with those of other countries; they presented their Full Powers and they signed in the same way; Canada becomes a member of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization on the same footing as others. In all this the Dominion has appeared directly, in person, not through another; in everything that met the eye, in the method in

It should be recalled here that long before the Peace Conference convened the terms on which the British Empire might be willing to make peace had been thoroughly discussed between the Dominions and the Mother Country at the sessions of the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917 and 1918. At the first session, held in the spring of 1917, the subject was carefully explored both in the Cabinet meetings and in Sub-Committees appointed to deal with special aspects. (See Minutes of Imperial War Cabinet, 1917, Meetings 1-14, March 20 to May 2, 1917; Report of War Cabinet, 1917, Cd. 9005, pages 5-10.) The discussion continued throughout the second session, held in the summer of 1918. (See Minutes of Imperial War Cabinet, 1918, Meetings 15-33, June 11 to August 20, 1918.) The constitution and significance of the Imperial War Cabinet and the character of its discussions and work has been fully explained by the Prime Minister of Canada in a speech in the House of Commons on May 18, 1917 (see Debates, House of Commons, Official Report, Session of 1917, Volume II, pages 1525-1542), as well as in several speeches delivered in the United Kingdom in 1917 (see pamphlet "Canada at War," speeches by Sir Robert Borden, December, 1916-May, 1917; see also Debates, House of Commons, Official Report, Session of 1917, Volume I, pages 2354-2355; Volume I, pages 6, 7, 24-25, 42-45, 117, 597, 603-605).

On July 4, 1918, in the course of the second session of the Imperial War Cabinet, the Prime Ministers and other Ministers of the Dominions attended the third meeting of the fifth session of the Supreme War Council held at Versailles. In conjunction with Marshal Foch and other military advisers the Supreme War Council considered the war situation in all its aspects and came to important decisions in regard thereto.



which they appeared and entered into relationships, contractual or otherwise, in fact in all their functioning, the Canadian representatives were practically indistinguishable from the other national representatives present. All this is unmistakable evidence of a new position in the world definitely assumed.

What this will ultimately mean in its relation to the British Commonwealth lies in the realm of speculation. But as it stands at present the British Commonwealth has clearly become before the world something different from what it was. For our own purposes we had regarded ourselves as made up of distinct political units; but we had not made that clear in our relations with others. Now we have done so; the Dominions have asserted a sovereign status of some sort and have for some purposes entered the Family of Nations. There were at Paris, and will be, anomalies; but the history of international law and custom is itself full of anomalies; it is also not without material for guidance in considering what may be done with such an International Person, or combination of International Persons, however unprecedented, as the British Commonwealth has now definitely resolved itself into. (*See Annex N; Notes on International Personality and the Right of Legation in Relation to Canada, March 16, 1918.*) The development has proceeded in the direction contemplated by the Resolution on the Constitution of the Empire agreed to by the Imperial War Conference, 1917 (*see Annex O*); it remains for the special Imperial Conference contemplated therein to deal with whatever further readjustments of the constitutional relationships of the Empire are necessary, and to suggest "effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine."

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Keeping the Peace in Cyprus**

*The following are extracts of the principal statements on the United Nations peace-keeping operation for Cyprus made by members of the Canadian Government in the House of Commons during March. However, the subject was under almost daily discussion, and a full record will be found in the daily issues of Hansard.*

On March 10, asked if he was "in a position to give a statement to the House regarding what is apparently a worsening of conditions on Cyprus," the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, replied:

. . . I welcome the opportunity afforded by the question . . . to say something further about the situation on Cyprus, which I know concerns all of us; in doing that, I should like to say that we all agree that Canada takes seriously its international responsibilities to the United Nations.

This applies no less to the situation in Cyprus than to the other peace-keeping operations in which Canada has in the past, and is still participating in many disturbed areas of the world. We have repeatedly demonstrated our belief in international peace-keeping operations as the only practicable method of dealing with regional disputes which have inherent in them the possibility of escalation into war. We believe in the fullest utilization of the machinery and techniques of the United Nations for this purpose.

These underlying principles have guided us in our consideration of the proposed United Nations operation in Cyprus, to which, from the start, we have regarded ourselves, as the United Nations Secretary-General and the whole world would expect, as a responsible potential contributor.

I made clear yesterday that financing of the proposed operation, although a departure from past practice and from what is desirable, is not an obstacle to Canadian participation. Indeed, of the potential contributors, Canada, apart from the United Kingdom, is the only nation to have been prepared to pay its own way called for in the United Nations resolution and in default of a more appropriate arrangement.

I also made it clear yesterday that the duration of the assignment of the proposed force is no present obstacle. The resolution states three months, although that period would clearly have to be open to subsequent review in the light of the situation in Cyprus.

We recognized, when local and regional arrangements for order and stability in Cyprus began to break down, that the only way to preserve peace in the island was through recourse to the United Nations. And we have said so. We have been ready since that time to participate in a United Nations peace-keeping operation,

and have made military preparations which would permit us to do so quickly and efficiently. But we have also been aware that the force, when constituted, will be called upon to operate in ambiguous political circumstances, since there is no meeting of minds between the two communities within the island as to the meaning of the United Nations resolution adopted on March 4 this year, or of the purpose which the force it authorized is intended to fulfil. Moreover, the proposed force will face an operational situation in which it may face well-armed and highly-experienced guerilla forces. It is a situation in which there may be fighting.

It would have been irresponsible, as the Government sees it, for us to have failed in our obligation to try to obtain in advance clearer understanding of the role of the force and reasonable assurance of the co-operation of the communities whose welfare they are being asked to protect. Our attitude has been welcomed by the Secretary-General, who acknowledges that we have been giving a responsible lead in ensuring that the United Nations operation is practicable and effective from the outset.

Difficulties of implementation of the Security Council decision have arisen because of the limitations which have been placed upon the United Nations ability to draw the force from all those nations willing and able to make an effective contribution. It has also been caused by failure to clarify the extent to which the two communities are prepared to co-operate with the force once established.

We have been pressing those most directly concerned to remove these obstacles to the creation of an urgently needed international force under the aegis of the United Nations. We are continuing to do so and we are ready to play our part the moment these difficulties have been overcome.

Only an hour ago I again conveyed these views to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who reported to me on the nature of the progress that has been made in the negotiations that are under way with countries, other than Canada, which the Secretary-General would like to see participate in this force.

... The situation in Cyprus, where order is being maintained by Her Majesty's forces from the United Kingdom, continues to engage our attention as well as that of certain countries in the United Nations which share our view as to the need for action in this matter.

*On March 12, to a question whether "any progress has been made in connection with the Cyprus situation and the mobilization of forces for a peace-keeping operation in that country", the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, replied:*

... The conversations with the Secretary-General in New York are still going on. So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, I can say those conversations have been completed, because we have informed the Secretary-General — and the Secretary of State for External Affairs is seeing him this evening in New York — that we will be participating in a peace-keeping force for Cyprus, if and when such a force is constituted by the United Nations.



We did, as the House knows, lay down certain conditions some time ago, and I think that those conditions have been substantially fulfilled. One condition was that the force must have a United Nations association, and it is certainly going to have that. But we have been preoccupied since those conditions were laid down in trying to establish the kind of association with the United Nations that would ensure that the United Nations force would be able to do the job of peace keeping entrusted to it and would have enough authority to do that job. I emphasize that because in this particular situation it would be a peace-keeping force, not between armed forces of two countries but between armed forces inside a country, and this is a very difficult and delicate situation to meet.

This is related to the second condition which we laid down, that the force should be operating in Cyprus with the knowledge and approval, and under the authority, of the Government of that country. The Government of Cyprus includes the President, who is a Greek Cypriot, and the Vice-President, who is a Turkish Cypriot, and it has not been easy to establish the kind of co-operation with the Government of Cyprus that would ensure that all elements of the population of Cyprus would co-operate with the force.

The third condition was that satisfactory arrangements should be made for the financing of the force. So far as Canada is concerned that has not been a difficulty. Though we do not consider the proposed arrangements to be the right way to finance a United Nations force, and it is not a United Nations one in that sense, nevertheless we are willing to meet our own expenses. If there is any difficulty in that regard it is not a difficulty concerning Canada, though it has remained a difficulty in respect of other possible participants. I learned today, however, that this particular difficulty may be removed by contributions from the United States, the United Kingdom and one or two other countries. I hope the force will now be constituted at once as a United Nations force, and we have indicated to the Secretary-General that, if it is, we are willing to participate. Preparations have been made for that participation, so that a Canadian contingent of the United Nations force could get to Cyprus by air with a minimum of delay. . . .

*To a further question "whether these two discordant executives, the President and the Vice-President of Cyprus, have been able to come to an agreement on welcoming the setting up of a United Nations force", Mr. Pearson replied:*

While there may be discordancy or differences of opinion, I think it is correct to say that the Government of Cyprus as such has expressed its willingness and its desire, through the President of Cyprus, to have such a force. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has considered this satisfactory and we are therefore willing to accept the Secretary-General's statement that the force is going here with the approval of the Government of Cyprus. . . .

*A supplementary question concerning the appointment of a United Nations mediator between the parties to the Cyprus dispute elicited from the Prime Minister the following answer:*

. . . We had hoped, and expressed our hope, that the mediator would be appointed at the time the force was set up, because, as experience of peace-keeping operations has shown, sometimes the very crisis of an emergency can facilitate a political settlement. But in this particular situation, I understand, it is not likely that the mediator will be chosen and able to proceed to Cyprus until after a peace-keeping force has reached that country. We are not ourselves insisting upon the appointment of a mediator at the same time as the establishment of the force, though we would hope that the mediator would be appointed very, very soon. I understand there has been one nomination of a mediator, who was not acceptable to all parties concerned, and the Secretary-General is looking for someone else. Meanwhile I do not think this will, or should, hold up the constitution of the force and the sending of that force to Cyprus.

*On the afternoon of March 13, the Prime Minister made the following brief statement:*

. . . The Government expects to hear shortly that a United Nations force will have been constituted for peace-keeping duties in Cyprus, with at least two member states contributing forces in addition to those of the three guarantor states, Great Britain, Greece and Turkey. This development comes when the information we are receiving emphasizes the great importance of United Nations intervention at a time of deterioration in the situation.

If this announcement is received from New York before 6 p.m. I shall ask for unanimous consent for the House to consider this afternoon and this evening, if necessary, a resolution approving Canadian participation in the United Nations peace-keeping force in the manner described in the resolution. In any event, . . . the resolution will be placed on the order paper so that it can be discussed on Monday if no word is received from New York today.

It is also proposed . . . that an RCAF plane should take off this afternoon for Cyprus with a small party of officers. They will report to the United Nations military representative in Cyprus, General Gyani, and secure from him information about facilities and administrative arrangements in Cyprus for the Canadian United Nations contingent if and when one goes forward. This will be purely a reconnaissance and fact-finding mission to expedite and facilitate later moves that may have to be made.

*To a question as to the necessity "that the resolution or motion the Prime Minister will introduce should be considered and passed in the other place", Mr. Pearson replied:*

. . . Unanimous consent not being given, we could not meet this evening or tomorrow to deal with this peace-keeping situation. The Government Leader in the Senate was informed that I was to make a statement in the House and he has taken steps to acquaint other leaders in the Senate. He is to make a statement and a resolution will be put forward there at the same time. I do not think we can do

anything more at the moment because if we ask permission to interrupt the normal business, that would have to receive unanimous consent, too. Furthermore, we have not yet received final word from New York that the force is legally in being and we cannot pass a resolution authorizing participation in such a force until we have received that word. I am afraid that is all we can do in this matter at the moment. . . .

*During the evening sitting of the House, the Prime Minister made the expected motion, with a statement, as follows:*

By leave, I wish to move, seconded by my colleague the Secretary of State for External Affairs:

That it be resolved by the . . . House of Commons:

That it is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the participation of Canadian forces in the United Nations international force in Cyprus, and that this House do approve the same.

In speaking to this resolution I should like to begin by telling the House that while the situation on the island of Cyprus has deteriorated to a point at which there is grave danger of conflict. . . . I would not have ventured to ask for the leave of the House to bring forward this motion had I not been convinced by information I have received that there has been a very serious deterioration in the situation on the island of Cyprus, which constitutes a real threat to peace and security in that area. And if there is a threat to peace and security in any area of the world today there is a threat to peace and security in every area of the world.

I indicated earlier in the day that, if certain developments took place at the United Nations in New York, it would be possible, provided the House so agreed, to consider this matter in the light of those developments.

I would like, in the first place, to report to the House and put on the record a statement made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations at a meeting of the Security Council late this afternoon. The Secretary-General made this statement:

It may be recalled that in my report to the Council of yesterday, March 12, I expressed my confidence that the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus would be soon established, and indicated that I hoped shortly to be able to report some positive developments. It is with considerable gratification that I am able to inform the Council that the force now is actually being constituted.

Since late yesterday, I have received firm and official assurances from three of the governments I have approached about providing contingents that those contingents will be available. These governments are Canada, Ireland and Sweden. With regard to each of these governments, certain conditions and prerequisites were defined, which either have been met or, in my view, can be coped with.

The Secretary-General then goes on:

I may add that there are other promising prospects for troops. In these circumstances, therefore, I am now able to state to the Council that the force will be established without further delay, and that elements of it will soon be deployed in Cyprus. Indeed, a small party of Canadian officers will be en route to Cyprus tonight.

That is the part I mentioned to the House this afternoon. The Secretary-General went on:



This morning I received a communication through the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations which has since been issued as a Security Council document. I immediately requested the Permanent Representative to convey to his Government my serious concern and my urgent appeal to exercise the utmost restraint. A formal reply to this communication has also been sent.

The Council is also aware of the pledges of voluntary financial contributions which I have already received from several governments, which assure the requisite financial support for the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus. I am most grateful to all these governments for their ready and generous response.

That . . . is the statement issued only an hour or so ago by the Secretary-General and which I think indicates that a United Nations peace-keeping force has now been constituted. I think we will all agree that the sooner that force can get to Cyprus, where the situation is deteriorating, the better it will be for peace and security. It is our purpose to ask this House to approve of a contribution by Canada to this force for this high and noble purpose.

. . . Although the House has been in a general way kept informed of developments in so far as it was possible to do that while those developments were proceeding and changing so rapidly — that is, developments in the island of Cyprus — perhaps it would be helpful if I reviewed briefly some of the major factors in the situation which have led the Government to submit this resolution seeking approval for Canadian participation in a United Nations peace-keeping force for Cyprus. Events move very rapidly these days, and it is hard to realize now that it was only on March 4 that the Secretary-General of the United Nations made an official request to the Canadian Government to contribute a contingent to this force. This request came as a result of a Security Council resolution passed that same day, which recommended the creation of a force and the appointment of a mediator. The Security Council in that resolution recommended that the function of the force should be (and I quote from the resolution)

—in the interest of preserving international peace and security to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions.

It further recommended that the stationing of the force should be for a period of three months only. This means . . . that, if the force is required in Cyprus for a longer period than three months — and I do not believe we should have any illusions about the necessity of this — that could only be done if the Security Council passes another resolution. The prospect of Canada being approached had been foreseen by the Government from the outset. I think we in Canada can take some pride in the fact that, whenever the United Nations is required to intervene in a situation where peace and security are threatened, the United Nations has nearly always turned to Canada for assistance. Canada has always been proud to do its full duty in this respect. . . .

I think all of us are deeply concerned about the inherent danger of sharp conflict developing out of this Cyprus situation between two neighbouring countries who are, with Canada, members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I refer to Greece and Turkey. In addition to doing anything we can as a member of the United Nations to prevent a conflict between two members of the Atlantic

coalition, we also wish to play our part in rendering whatever assistance we can to restore peace and order to Cyprus, which is a fellow member of the Commonwealth of Nations. There is every humanitarian reason . . . for doing what we can to halt violence and bloodshed on that beautiful and once happy island. We in Canada have always regarded participation in United Nations peace-keeping operations as a fundamental obligation of United Nations membership, as our service in Korea, the Congo, the Middle East, Kashmir and Indochina testifies. So on March 6 our Permanent Representative to the United Nations, on instructions, indicated our interest as a Government in playing our full part in this operation. But he also, on instructions from the Government, raised certain questions with the Secretary-General with a view to ascertaining what were the facts of the situation in Cyprus and what would be the nature of the peace-keeping operations. We wanted to ensure that, if we took part in this operation, we would at least get whatever assurance could be secured that we would have an opportunity to discharge that duty.

Therefore, the Permanent Representative asked the Secretary-General certain questions, and these followed the lines of the statement which I made in the House on February 19. In that statement I laid down what I thought were reasonable conditions which should attach to our participation and, indeed, to the participation of other members in this United Nations operation. Among the important questions which were put to the Secretary-General at that time were those relating to the size and composition of the force and the role envisaged for the force in Cyprus.

. . . Civil war is always tragic, but is even more tragic and dangerous to general peace and security when the two parties to the civil war are backed by outside states, as is the case in Cyprus. Therefore we wanted information on that point. We wanted to be quite certain that the powers and authority which were to be allocated to the United Nations force would be sufficient to ensure that it be given the chance to do the job it was sent to do. We wanted to be sure that the force would have enough authority under its terms of reference to give itself protection, because we also had a responsibility in that regard. We were particularly concerned with these matters, and I am sure no Hon. Member would wish me to apologize for this concern which we have shown. Because we knew that this United Nations force would be asked to perform perhaps a more difficult and dangerous role than that entrusted to any United Nations operation since the formation of the world organization.

One prerequisite which we laid down for Canadian participation was that the force should be multi-national in character. We have now received from the Secretary-General, as I indicated a few moments ago, word which satisfies this requirement. In addition to Canada there will be other contingents participating in the force. There will be a Swedish contingent, an Irish contingent, and we also hope, though the Secretary-General did not mention it in his statement to the Security Council, that a Finnish contingent will be sent, along with the British,

Turkish and Greek contingents which are now on the island and will participate as representatives of the guarantor powers in the situation there.

I am sure I do not need to tell this House how complex and dangerous is the situation in Cyprus. There is a very obvious danger to peace because inter-communal strife in the island is closely related, as I have pointed out, to the interests of Greece and Turkey which have treaty rights that permit them to intervene in the island in certain circumstances. While that is true, the problem is basically inter-communal, arising out of a dispute over the constitution. Incidentally, it is interesting to recall that the Chief Justice who has the authority and the problem of interpreting that constitution is Mr. Justice Wilson, a member of the Ontario Supreme Court.

I suggest that this problem can be solved only in a climate of moderation and compromise, removed from violence and bloodshed. The need for a mediator to bring that about has been recognized, even though that mediator has not been appointed. But if the mediator is going to do his job, there has to be peace on the island. It will be the purpose of the international force to bring about, if it can, a situation of sufficient peace to enable a mediator to go to work and bring about a political settlement which will remove, to the greatest extent possible, the chances of this kind of bloodshed and disturbance in the future.

I am sorry that there has been a delay in the appointment of a mediator. I think back to the tragic days of 1956, when the United Nations intervened in Palestine to keep the peace. If the United Nations had had perhaps two or three days to move in with a mediator, who had been charged with the responsibility of trying to bring out of this crisis, this panic almost, a political settlement, that might have been done. But that opportunity passed, and, once the United Nations force moved in — and it is still there many years afterwards —, the danger of that conflict spreading was at least halted. Then the atmosphere changed, and it was very hard indeed to bring about a political settlement; and there has been very little improvement in that field ever since. So I would hope that a mediator can move into Cyprus as quickly as possible, take advantage of the present emergency situation, and out of that emergency bring about some kind of political settlement which will avoid this kind of request for action from the United Nations in the future. But that is going to be a very difficult task indeed for any mediator.

The Government, and I am sure the House too, have no illusions about the difficulty and danger of the task which will face our forces in Cyprus if the House supports this resolution. Peace-keeping operations are very rarely easy. They are usually expensive. They are uncertain in duration and they are very often subject to unfortunate incidents. Who would have thought that, when we moved into Palestine in 1956, Canadian contingents in the United Nations Emergency Force would be still there today, keeping guard on that disturbed frontier?

Therefore the responsibilities which we are asking the House to approve will not be taken lightly, I know, by the House. The force which will be stationed in Cyprus will not act as an army of occupation. It will be a reserve of impartial



strength, but its success will depend in large measure on the co-operation of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus and on the support and co-operation of the Governments of Greece and Turkey. The United Nations force there, under the blue flag of peace of our world organization, may, however, even by its very presence, bring about that easing of the atmosphere which will make some kind of solution possible. And perhaps we should not forget that, while the force will consist, so it is now anticipated, of about 7,000 members, half of those will be members of the forces of Her Majesty, Queen of the United Kingdom, who have been holding the line in Cyprus at a time of very great provocation, difficulty and danger, half of whom will be changing over from membership in the United Kingdom force to temporary membership in the United Nations force, and will be serving with British and Canadian forces, who have served together so many times. It will be a very happy circumstance indeed, and I would like to think of it as having significance beyond Cyprus, if in this partnership of British and Canadian forces in a peace-keeping operation, we can once again associate with the Irish forces,

The Canadian contingent to the peace-keeping force will consist of a self-contained battalion group augmented by a reconnaissance squadron. Administrative and logistic support elements will also be provided. The 2nd Battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment, now stationed at Valcartier and currently on stand-by duty for United Nations service (and I may say we have kept a battalion on stand-by duty for this kind of service), the 2nd Battalion of this famous and courageous regiment, and a reconnaissance squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, now in Gagetown, have been selected for this honourable and dangerous duty.

These two fine regiments, which have in the past been responsible for many creditable pages in Canadian history, will go to this new duty with the confidence and trust of the Canadian Government and the Canadian people.

The Canadian contribution, if Parliament supports a contribution, will be air-lifted by RCAF Transport Command to Nicosia with their personal arms and equipment, over a period of two weeks or so. A small fact-finding force, as I indicated to the House this afternoon, has already left for Cyprus and will be reporting to the United Nations Representative there, so that it can at once send back information as to what the arrangements will be and what the requirements will be. Her Majesty's Canadian Ship *Bonaventure*, which returned to Halifax today, may have a role in the transportation of vehicles and material to Cyprus. The Canadian contingent is expected to number approximately 1,050 officers and men, and in addition there will be an RCAF element of up to 100.

The arrangements for the financing of the United Nations force are a departure from the established practice, and from what is desirable. . . .

A voluntary fund is to be created to which the United States has pledged \$2 million, and the United Kingdom \$1 million in addition to its own contribution, and I believe other countries have already contributed to the fund.

The Canadian Government . . . has consistently held — the present Govern-

ment and its predecessors — that the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations should be the collective responsibility of the whole membership, and I do not know how we can continue satisfactorily to carry on those operations unless some arrangements of that kind are made in the United Nations. But in the rapidly deteriorating situation which we face in Cyprus, and which was made so clear to us by the messages we received today and yesterday, it seemed clear that the deployment of a United Nations force could not wait upon lengthy financial negotiations. The Government has, therefore, decided to assume all the costs of a Canadian contingent for a three-month period, as well as the costs of transporting our men and our materials to Cyprus. The estimate, and of course it is only an estimate, of the total costs for three months, including a one-way airlift, is about \$2,600,000.

I repeat . . . that this is not the way to carry on a United Nations operation, where a few members — and they are becoming increasingly fewer and are becoming concentrated among a certain circle of United Nations members — have to bear not so much the financial responsibility as the political and every other kind of responsibility in discharging the duties of the United Nations in regard to peace-keeping operations.

Perhaps I may be permitted to pay my tribute to the hard work which the Secretary of State for External Affairs has been doing in the last few days in trying not only to bring about a satisfactory solution of the problem of a Canadian contribution but to get the force itself into operation. He has been on the telephone today, I think to Turkey, Sweden, Finland, Ireland, New York, and perhaps even to Windsor. I can only say that if his predecessor were around Ottawa these days I think he would have been proud of the activities of the Secretary of State.

Yesterday, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said this, and I do not apologize for putting it on the record, because I think it will meet general agreement in the House:

Once again, the urgent requirements in Cyprus have illustrated the need to prepare in advance for prompt United Nations engagement in peace-keeping operations. This is a matter of contingent planning in United Nations headquarters, by military and political staffs, of earmarking, training and equipping units and personnel in national defence establishments, of improving methods for processing United Nations requests for assistance, of standardizing operational procedures.

Canadian views in this regard have been stated so often—  
—by the present Government and by its predecessor—

—that it is hardly necessary for me to do more than mention them. We have been pressing for the establishment of a military planning staff which could assist the Secretary-General and his political advisers in establishing and conducting peace-keeping operations. Canada has been exploring ways and means of making its own stand-by arrangements more effective.

Other member states share our views about earmarking and training troops for United Nations service. The Nordic countries and the Netherlands have firm policies in this regard. Recent indications are that more governments are thinking along the same lines.

Last autumn the Canadian Delegation to the Assembly suggested that it might be useful to pool experience and ideas for improving United Nations peace-making methods. Because of prevailing international political circumstances, this cannot be done at the present time through formal action by the United Nations. For the time being, interested members may

have to accept that a permanent peace-keeping force cannot be established, although it has emerged as one of the ultimate goals of disarmament programmes put forward in Geneva.

Yet Cyprus and other situations already on the international horizon show that peace-keeping operations by the United Nations may be needed on very short notice. The demands are almost as varied as the situations which arise. In Greece, Kashmir and Palestine, military observers on the ground were needed. In Lebanon and Yemen, air observers played a key role.

In Gaza and the Congo, an international force was essential. On many occasions, the United Nations has urgently needed mediators and conciliators.

The obvious conclusion is that the United Nations cannot stand still in its preparations for such operations. It has accumulated experience but some of the lessons have been learned the hard way. The underlying risk of escalation to war demands more effective preparedness.

. . . I am sure that Canadians will be proud to play their full part once again in a United Nations operation which is designed to restore peace and prevent conflict spreading. But I do hope we will learn the lesson of these operations so that we will not have to work out these *ad hoc* arrangements on the spur of a crisis, that somehow the United Nations will work out an arrangement by which we will be ready for this kind of thing, and that not only Canada but all members of the United Nations will play their full part in international peace and security by preventing little conflicts from spreading to become big conflicts, which is perhaps the greatest danger we face in the world today. That danger at the moment is centering on Cyprus, and goodness knows what might happen if that danger is not removed.

I believe that this United Nations force, if it can get to Cyprus quickly, will play once again an essential part in removing this kind of danger and in the re-establishment of peace and security in this part of the world, just as such action has been successful in doing, in the past, in other parts of the world. I am very proud . . . to put this resolution to the House, and, if the House accepts it, we will give Canada once again the proud privilege of sharing in this kind of international peace-keeping responsibility.

*On March 26, in answer to an inquiry whether "satisfactory conditions have been worked out in respect of the operations of the United Nations force in Cyprus", the Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable C. M. Brury, replied as follows:*

. . . In answer to the question, I might read a short statement on the current situation in Cyprus.

General Gyani, who has been designated by the Secretary-General as Commander of the United Nations peace-keeping force, has now arrived in Cyprus from Geneva. As has been reported in the press, the Secretary of State for External Affairs had an opportunity to hold detailed discussions with General Gyani

Geneva concerning the operational role which the peace-keeping force will undertake on the island. We understand that the advance party of the Swedish contingent will arrive in Cyprus today, to be followed shortly by elements of the Finnish and Irish contingents. Consequently it is expected that the Secretary-



General will inform the Security Council, possibly tomorrow, that the United Nations force has become operational.

Yesterday it was announced that the Finnish Ambassador to Sweden, Sakari Tuomioja, has been named by the Secretary-General as United Nations mediator on Cyprus. The Governments of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and Great Britain have agreed to the nomination of Mr. Tuomioja, and after consultations with the United Nations Secretariat in New York this week-end, he is expected to arrive in Cyprus the middle of next week.

With respect to the terms of reference under which Mr. Tuomioja will carry out his functions on Cyprus, these were broadly defined in the Security Council resolution adopted on March 4. The relevant portion of the resolution calling for the appointment of a mediator reads as follows:

The Security Council recommends further that the Secretary-General designate, in agreement with the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, a mediator, who shall use his best endeavours with representatives of the communities and also with the aforesaid four governments, for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem confronting Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, having in mind the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security. The mediator shall report periodically to the Secretary-General on his efforts.

Thus it is apparent that the mediator is to be directly responsible to the Secretary-General. As in the case of the United Nations force, any directives from the Secretary-General to the force Commander and additional information concerning the terms of reference for the mediator may be expected to be made known to the countries contributing to the United Nations force. However, the Secretary-General has made it clear that he does not feel it is in the best interests of law and order on the island for promoting a peaceful solution to make public details of the terms of reference.

It is apparent that the presence of the Canadian contingent as part of the United Nations peace-keeping force on Cyprus has had a calming effect on the island. It is hoped that this influence will continue after the United Nations force becomes operational and elements of this force replace certain British forces who have been keeping the peace throughout the island. With the presence of the United Nations force Commander on Cyprus and the anticipated arrival of the mediator within a few days, the task of maintaining and restoring law and order will commence which it is hoped will make it possible for discussions to begin on seeking ways and means of bringing about reconciliation between the two communities.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- Commission on Narcotic Drugs, 19th session: Geneva, May 4-8.
- Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Scientific and Technical Sub-committee Meeting: Geneva, May 11-29.
- International Law Commission: Geneva, May 11 to July 17.
- NATO Spring Ministerial Meeting: The Hague, May 12-14.
- World Health Organization, Executive Board, 23rd session: Geneva, May 25-31.
- Universal Postal Union, 15th Congress: Vienna, May 29 to July 15.
- UNICEF Executive Board Meeting, June (dates to be announced).
- 6th Committee of the General Assembly: Mexico City, June (dates to be announced).
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Executive Committee: Geneva, June 1-5.
- Governing Council of the United Nations Special Fund: New York, June 1-8.
- International Labour Organization, 48th session of the International Labour Conference: Geneva, June 17 to July 9.
- Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR): New York, June 22 to July 3.
- Inter-governmental Committee for the World Food Programme: Geneva, July 6-12.
- 7th session of the Economic and Social Council: Geneva, July 13 to August 15.
- Biennial Conference of the International Law Association: Tokyo, August 16-22.

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. G. P. Kidd, Canadian Ambassador to Cuba, appointed Minister (Economic) to the Canadian Embassy, Washington. Left Havana January 4, 1964.
- Mr. J. A. Millard posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada New Delhi. Left Ottawa January 31, 1964.
- Mr. J. P. Sigvaldason, Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Norway. Left Djakarta February 22, 1964.
- Mr. L. Mayrand, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Cuba. Left Buenos Aires February 23, 1964.
- Mr. V. G. Turner posted from the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw, to Ottawa. Left Warsaw February 24, 1964.
- Hon. M. F. Gregg appointed Canadian Commissioner in British Guiana. Left Ottawa March 1, 1964.
- Miss G. B. Sellers posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa. Left New York March 4, 1964.
- Mr. W. B. Colpitts resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective March 13, 1964.

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## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Mexico

- Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Mexican States to bring into force definitively the Air Agreement between the two countries signed at Mexico December 21, 1961.  
Ottawa, February 21, 1964.  
Entered into force February 21, 1964.

##### United States of America

- Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America terminating the Notes of December 28, 1962, for the establishment of a command and data acquisition station in Canada to serve an operational meteorological satellite system being established in the United States (Nimbus)  
Ottawa, February 4, 1964.  
Entered into force February 4, 1964.
- Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning agreement for the winter maintenance of the Haines Fairbanks Pipeline and for the associated winter use and maintenance of portions of the Haines Road.  
Ottawa, March 6, 1964.  
Entered into force March 6, 1964.



## Publication

*Canada Treaty Series 1960 No. 25. Index, 1960.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1961 No. 19. Index, 1961.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 10. Amendment to Agreement for Co-operation concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy between Canada and the United States of America. Signed at Washington May 25, 1962. Entered into force July 11, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 13. Universal Copyright Convention (with Protocol 3). Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Signed by Canada September 6, 1952. Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited May 10, 1962. Entered into force for Canada August 10, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 14. Exchange of Notes between Canada and Chile permitting Amateur Radio Stations of Canada and Chile to exchange Messages or Other Communications from or to Third Parties. Santiago October 4 and 14, 1962. Entered into force October 14, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 16. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Republic of San Marino concerning Visa Requirements for non-immigrant Travellers of the two countries. San Marino and Ottawa September 1 and October 16, 1962. Entered into force November 15, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 17. Exchange of Notes between Canada and Venezuela renewing for one year from October 11, 1962, the Commercial *Modus Vivendi* of October 11, 1950. Caracas, October 10, 1962. In force October 11, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 18. Exchange of Notes between Canada and Iceland concerning Visa Arrangements for non-immigrant Travellers of the two countries. Reykjavik October 17, 1962. Entered into force November 1, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 19. Agreement between Canada and Sweden for Co-operation in the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. Signed at Stockholm September 11, 1962. Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Stockholm December 6, 1962. Entered into force December 6, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 20. Declaration and Protocol on the Neutrality of Laos. Done at Geneva July 23, 1962. Entered into force July 23, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 1. Executive Agreement between Canada and the Netherlands. Signed at Ottawa, February 8, 1963. Entered into force February 8, 1963.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 2. Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America amending the Agreement of May 5, 1961, concerning the Co-ordination of Pilotage Services in the Waters of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River as far east as St. Regis (with a memorandum of Arrangements). Washington October 10, 1962 and February 21, 1963. Entered into force February 21, 1963. With effect as of October 15, 1962.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 3. Exchange of Notes between Canada and El Salvador constituting an Agreement permitting Amateur Radio Stations of Canada and El Salvador to Exchange Messages or Other Communications from or to Third Parties. San Jose and San Salvador February 20 and March 11, 1963. Entered into force April 9, 1963.*

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 4.* Financial Agreement between Canada and India. Signed at Ottawa May 14, 1963. Entered into force May 14, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 5.* Exchange of Notes between Canada and Bolivia constituting an Agreement permitting Amateur Radio Stations of Canada and Bolivia to Exchange Messages or Other Communications from or to Third Parties. La Paz May 31, 1963. Entered into force May 31, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 6.* Agreement between Canada and Finland on recognition of Tonnage Certificates of Merchant Ships. Signed at Helsinki June 5, 1963. Entered into force August 5, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 7.* Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery. Signed by Canada September 7, 1956. Entered into force April 30, 1957. Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited January 10, 1963. Entered into force for Canada January 10, 1963.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *Parliamentary White Paper on Defence*

*The following is a series of excerpts intended to summarize the White Paper on Defence tabled in the House of Commons on March 25, 1964, by the Honourable Paul T. Hellyer, Minister of National Defence:*

. . . The objectives of Canadian defence policy, which cannot be dissociated from foreign policy, are to preserve the peace by supporting collective defence measures to deter military aggression, to support Canadian foreign policy, including that arising out of our participation in international organizations, and to provide for the protection and surveillance of our territory, our air-space and our coastal waters.

## **POLICY SINCE 1945**

### **Post-war Developments and Canadian Policy**

Canada's foreign and defence policies have been shaped by some of the major international developments of the post-World War II period. The first in time and importance was Canada's adherence to the Charter of the United Nations, which created an obligation to support a system of international co-operation for the maintenance of peace and security.

The second was membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which joined Western Europe and North America in a common obligation for the defence of each other's territories against aggression. . . .

Of even greater significance was the 1951 decision of NATO to become more than a treaty of mutual assistance by developing a system of collective military forces. . . .

. . . The decision to continue in the post-war period Canada's close military association with the United States in the defence of North America . . . can be seen as an aspect of Canada's conviction that security lay in collective arrangements. The emerging direct threat to North America itself, in turn, led to the concept of partnership with the United States in North American air defence a relationship which was formalized by the signing of the North American Air Defence (NORAD) Agreement in 1958.

. . . A new set of tensions developed as pre-war empires were dissolved in favour of a great number of newly-independent countries. The instability inevitable in this process created a need for international peace keeping, mainly under the United Nations, to which Canada made and continues to make an important contribution.

In these circumstances, there have developed four parallel methods by which the objectives of Canadian defence policy have been pursued. They are:

- (a) *Collective measures* for maintenance of peace and security, as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, including the search for balanced and controlled disarmament;
- (b) *Collective defence* as embodied in the North Atlantic Treaty;
- (c) *Partnership with the United States* in the defence of North America;
- (d) *National measures* to discharge responsibility for the security and protection of Canada.

### **Limitations on Canadian Commitments**

Any nation must be concerned that its obligations do not outrun its capabilities. A middle power such as Canada must be particularly careful to ration its commitments. Although at the end of the war Canada could have developed the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons, it elected, as a matter of deliberate choice, not to become a nuclear power.

Also, Canada did not become a party to the inter-American defence system. And, at the conclusion of the Korean war, Canada withdrew her troops from that area. Subsequently, Canada did not assume regional defence obligations in the Pacific, such as participation in SEATO. In consequence, limits have been set to our military responsibilities.

### **The Post-War Re-organization**

. . . In the post-war re-organization . . . it was recognized that Canada could not return to its pre-war attitude to defence. Canada was then relatively strong and prosperous, at a time of Soviet expansion and Western European weakness. In addition, Canada had undertaken new responsibilities through its membership in the United Nations.

Another major lesson of the war was the inadequacy of the pre-war mobilization base. After September 1939, considerable time elapsed before Canada was in a position to take a significant share in military operations. . . . The primary aims of the post-war re-organization were to improve the mobilization base and to reduce the mobilization period.

### **Post-War Innovations**

The post-war re-organization included a number of important innovations. The RCN and the RCAF achieved a real, rather than nominal, equality with the Army. This development reflected lessons of the Second World War and, in particular, the importance of both air and sea power. . . .

A second significant innovation was that in all three services small operational components were established. This was to provide a basis for a potential military contribution to the United Nations; to enable Canada to participate in partnership with the United States in the defence of North America; to further the training of regular forces; and as an immediately available asset on mobilization. . . .

A third important innovation was the establishment of the Joint Staff and the development of machinery for some degree of joint planning and intelligence. There was also the establishment of the National Defence College and the service staff colleges and, eventually, participation in NATO and NORAD Commands, which provided Canadian officers with wider experience in national and international staff functions. As a result, Canada was in a better position to share responsibility in the planning and direction of major military programmes.

Another important change was the growth of a capability for research and development. This reflected one of the major lessons of the Second World War: that science and technology had become prime military assets equal in importance to industrial capacity and manpower. . . .

### **The Post-Korean Expansion**

. . . Decisions taken during the period 1950-53 brought about a major alteration in Canada's defence policies. The most conspicuous feature of this period was that regular manpower was increased about two-and-a-half times, while the defence budget increased almost fivefold. . . .

Canada accepted specific and quite sizable operational commitments in Korea for the defence of Northwest Europe and the Western Atlantic; and for the air defence of North America. These obligations involved forces-in-being, rather than mobilization potential — in strategic terms, the equivalent of a transference from credit to cash. Canada also instituted, as part of defence policy, substantial Mutual Aid and air-training programmes to assist its Western European partners.

From a military point of view, the principal result was to introduce the new principle of specialization of missions. With comparatively minor exceptions Canada's defence programmes now were specific in nature and made sense only in relation to the total capabilities of the entire group of NATO nations and the alliance objectives of creating balanced collective forces.

Following the withdrawal of Canadian forces from Korea in 1954, there were no major changes in Canada's defence programmes or commitments until 1959 when the decision was taken to convert the RCAF Air Division in Europe from the air-defence role to the strike and reconnaissance roles, and to re-equip with the CF-104 . . . and the Army was also assigned a role in national survival. The policy was adopted of equipping to war scales only the brigade group in Germany. Troops in Canada were in future to be equipped only to training scales.

## **CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING FUTURE POLICY**

### **International Outlook**

Despite the evident hazards of prediction, some attempt to estimate the future evolution of world power relationships is an essential prerequisite of defence planning. Major equipment programmes initiated in the near future will have to



meet the requirements throughout the 70's and into the 80's. . . . Military technology must be expected to go on changing rapidly. As long as the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union both possess the ability to inflict unacceptable damage on the other, regardless of quantitative disparities in striking power, calculated all-out thermonuclear war would be irrational and is, therefore, improbable. However, in the absence of a settlement of major East-West political problems, the maintenance by the West of the capacity to deter such thermonuclear war will remain an essential military and political necessity, with the main responsibility resting on the strategic resources of the U.S.A.

It is probable that Communist China will grow in power and, unless its national objectives change, it may also grow in menace. The production of some nuclear weapons by Communist China during the next decade cannot be discounted, but it is not likely to acquire an effective nuclear arsenal with means of delivery, which could compare with that of the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., during this period.

. . . Failing the adoption of a self-denying ordinance by international accord, a number of additional countries may be tempted to develop an independent nuclear capability. Failure to achieve a solution to this problem, while it is still of manageable proportions, could fundamentally and dangerously alter the world security situation and render invalid many current defence assumptions.

. . . Within the Communist world, the present trend away from a monolithic structure towards increasing diversity and individuality seems likely to continue, accompanied by a relaxation of some of the rigidities of totalitarianism and the possible adoption of less militant external policies on the part of the more affluent European Communist states. Similarly, within the Western alliance, the resurgence of the economic strength and political influence of Europe will require some adjustment of the relationships which have characterized the post-war period.

The possession of effective deterrent forces, including nuclear weapons, by both major military groupings will probably continue to discourage military adventures and to encourage the continued search for means of reducing the possibility of war by accident, miscalculation or surprise attack. On the main East-West issues, increasing importance will probably be attached to the quest for security through negotiations of the type now being undertaken by the eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva and in bilateral discussions between the two dominant powers.

However, the Communist countries can be expected to continue to promote expansionist aims by measures short of all-out war. Tensions will persist. . . . Communist pressure, including the active fomenting and support of so-called "wars of liberation" in less-developed areas, may well continue and intensify. . . . The peace-keeping responsibilities devolving upon the United Nations can be expected to grow correspondingly.

This does not mean that the Canadian Government considers a genuine relaxation in international affairs impossible. On the contrary, the prospects of

a *détente* in relations between the free world and the Soviet Union exist and must be encouraged in every possible way. Certainly the signing of a limited nuclear test ban agreement was a forward step in co-operation and better understanding between East and West.

There are also trends within the U.S.S.R. and other East European countries which give different and potentially more lasting motives for *détente* and accommodation with the non-Communist world. Most important among these are the rising expectations and demands for a better and freer life. . . .

It would, however, be naive not to recognize that many Communist leaders frankly regard the policy of *détente* as essentially tactical and designed to buy time.

Whether the more relaxed atmosphere will prove lasting, and can be developed into a reliable basis for mutual accommodation and peace therefore remains to be seen. Undue pessimism would be as unfounded as facile optimism. The evolution inside the Communist world will depend in part on Western policies, and our willingness to meet half-way any genuine proposals towards accommodation.

In circumstances both of cold war and of potential *détente*, foreign policy and diplomatic negotiation are of great importance, being vital instruments in encouraging such opportunities as may exist for accommodation and relaxation. But it is essential that a nation's diplomacy be backed up by adequate and flexible military forces to permit participation in collective security and peace-keeping, and to be ready for crises should they arise.

### **The Range of Conflict**

The range of potential conflict extends from the possibility of all-out thermo-nuclear war, through large-scale limited war, to insurrection, guerrilla activity and political upheaval. Of these, in the scale of probability, nuclear and major non-nuclear war are the least likely, provided the balance of deterrence is maintained.

As the spectrum of conflict varies, so does the method of counter-action. At the high end of the scale — the deterrence of nuclear and major non-nuclear war — the method of proven record is the association of free nations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In respect of lesser conflict, the United Nations has shown itself to be a valuable stabilizing and peace-keeping influence. National forces also have been used in some circumstances.

### **Canada and the Deterrence to Major War**

The contribution Canada can make to the deterrence of war is limited by the size of our human and material resources. Nevertheless, what we can contribute is far from negligible. We have an obligation to make that contribution.

### **NATO Strategy**

. . . In the belief that adequate force through a wide spectrum is essential to

the deterrence of war, it is the policy of the Government, in determining Canada's force structure for the balance of the decade, to build in maximum flexibility. This will permit the disposition of the majority of our forces in Canada where they will be available for deployment in a variety of peace-keeping activities.

### **Nuclear and Non-Nuclear**

. . . The question of nuclear weapons for the Canadian armed forces is subordinate to that of Canada's political responsibility as a member of a nuclear-armed alliance. NATO is a nuclear-armed defensive alliance, which dare not be otherwise as long as it is confronted by a nuclear-armed potential opponent. NATO may become less dependent upon nuclear weapons, but the alliance must continue to possess nuclear weapons in the absence of controlled disarmament and as long as hostile forces have them. Its policies must envisage that, in certain circumstances, such weapons would be used against aggression. A share in the responsibility for these policies is a necessary concomitant of Canada's membership in NATO. One cannot be a member of a military alliance and at the same time avoid some share of responsibility for its strategic policies. . . .

### **Defence of Canada**

. . . The minimum requirements for the defence of Canada are: the ability to maintain surveillance of Canadian territory, air-space and territorial waters; the ability to deal with military incidents on Canadian territory; the ability to deal with incidents in the ocean areas off the Canadian coasts; and the ability to contribute, within the limit of our resources, to the defence of Canadian air-space.

There are, in addition, certain national tasks of a military or quasi-military nature for which the Department of National Defence has some responsibility. These include: survival operations; search and rescue; communications; and aid to the civil power.

### **North American Defence**

The major threat to North America at this time is from the air, and it is in the field of continental air defence that co-operation with the United States has assumed the largest proportions. . . .

The future of North American air defence involves a number of questions which will be of continuing concern to Canada, including the maintenance of radar and active defence components commensurate with agreed estimates of the bomber threat; possible replacement of radars and active defence systems owing to obsolescence; measures to increase the survivability of the air-defence system under nuclear attack; and the implications for Canada of the possible introduction of a defence against intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Of these, the most significant is the anti-ICBM, on which the United States has devoted a considerable effort in research, with consequent heavy expenditures.



While some progress has been made, it has not yet been decided to deploy such a system and any such deployment could not be expected for some time. . . . So far as this present paper is concerned, the point is that there are no major questions of policy in this area which are ready for resolution at this time.

It seems probable, however, that, failing the wide-scale deployment of the anti-ICBM, the proportion of Canada's resources directed to air defence will gradually decline through the balance of the decade.

### **Maritime Forces**

Since 1939, Canadian maritime programmes have been heavily concentrated upon the defence of North Atlantic sea communications against submarine attack. This concentration has been based on the importance of these communications to the entire North Atlantic Community. . . . At the same time, an adequate anti-submarine warfare capability is being maintained on the Pacific coast. . . .

In order to get the maximum effectiveness for our investment in the anti-submarine force, we are conducting a major study to determine the best combination of weapons systems for this task. We have the active co-operation of our allies in this research.

### **Peace Keeping**

Since the war, Canada's armed forces have been increasingly engaged in peace-keeping operations, mostly under the auspices of the United Nations but also under other international arrangements, as in Indochina. These operations have varied in size and scope. One broad category has involved the use of mixed military observer teams such as those employed in Kashmir, Palestine, Lebanon and Yemen. Another has called for the deployment of substantial national contingents under United Nations command, such as those in Korea, the United Nations Emergency Force in Sinai, the United Nations operation in the Congo and, more recently, the United Nations Force in Cyprus. Canadian military personnel have participated in virtually all of the operations conducted by the United Nations.

The development of this United Nations peace-keeping role has been pragmatic, depending largely on specific conditions and prevailing political circumstances. The failure of the great powers to agree on the enforcement measures provided for in the Charter has led to improvisations as the practical demands for United Nations assistance arose. This situation, combined with the resistance of some other member states, has rendered impracticable for the time being the establishment of a standing United Nations force. In addition, experience has taught the need for flexibility in the organization, composition and mandate of United Nations military forces.

Canada's own experience in this field points to the need for a high degree of versatility in preparing for possible United Nations service. . . . The fact that Canada is one of a small number of powers capable of and eligible for United

Nations service, with a highly trained and diversified military establishment, qualifies it for varied roles in United Nations operations.

. . . There is a need for mobility as regards deployment, method of operation and logistic support. In most situations which can be foreseen, there is likely to be a need for highly mobile forces for ground observation, air surveillance, rapid transportation and reliable communications. These are among the United Nations requirements which Canadian forces have helped to meet in the past.

Preparations for United Nations service on the part of Canadian military personnel must be varied, with an emphasis on mobility. While the training and equipment of such forces may be of a special nature, the best results can be accomplished through the establishment of regular military formations, which need not be earmarked exclusively for United Nations service and which can be used for other roles as required.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DEFENCE FORCES

### Background

As in other Western countries, the defence forces of Canada have followed the historical division into three separate services, reflecting the traditional distinction drawn between the sea battle, the land battle, and, in more modern times, the strategy of air power. . . .

### Integrated Forces

. . . The fundamental considerations [now] are operational control and effectiveness, the streamlining of procedures and, in particular, the decision-making process, and the reduction of overhead. To the extent that operational control is exercised by Canada, it is the view of the Government that it can be most effectively exercised by a single command. . . .

Following the most careful and thoughtful consideration, the Government has decided that there is only one adequate solution. It is the integration of the Armed Forces of Canada under a single Chief of Defence Staff and a single Defence Staff. This will be the first step toward a single unified defence force for Canada. The integrated control of all aspects of planning and operations should not only produce a more effective and co-ordinated defence posture for Canada, but should also result in considerable savings. Thus, integration will result in a substantial reduction of manpower strengths in headquarters, training and related establishments, along with other operating and maintenance costs. . . .

### The Organizational Method

. . . The Government accepts and will implement the recommendation of the Glassco] Commission "that the Deputy Minister be given greater responsibility or keeping under review the organization and administrative methods of the

Canadian defence establishment, and assisting the Minister in the discharge of his responsibility for the control and management of the Armed Forces”.

\* \* \*

## **THE SHAPE OF CANADIAN FORCES 1964-1974**

. . . It is impossible to state in categorical terms exactly where and how our forces will be required and allocated in the decades ahead. However, our major defence contribution for some time will continue to be participation in collective defensive arrangements, mainly the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

### **NATO Europe**

Our present contribution to NATO in Europe is one brigade group stationed in Germany and one air division, consisting of eight squadrons, stationed in France and in Germany. Two brigades in Canada are intended primarily for deployment to the European theatre in the event of hostilities. . . .

### **A Mobile Force in Canada**

It is in respect of the two brigades kept in reserve in Canada and earmarked primarily for the European theatre that a change is proposed.

These two brigades will be re-equipped and re-trained as a mobile force as well as for rotational service with the NATO brigade. Although stationed in Canada, they will be available for use where and when required. In order to achieve maximum flexibility, these two brigades will be equipped to permit their effective deployment in circumstances ranging from service in the European theatre to United Nations peace-keeping operations.

In order to achieve a more effective use of available manpower, it is proposed to undertake a gradual conversion of the fourth brigade into a special service force. This force will be smaller than the conventional brigades and will be provided with air-portable and air-droppable equipment. It will be trained to perform a variety of military tasks.

### **A Mobile Force for NATO**

The Supreme Allied Commander Europe has asked Canada to make available one battalion for use as part of his mobile force. This can be done without difficulty by simply drawing on one of the Canadian-based brigades and the air transport that will be available for its deployment. When employed in the mobile role, only light equipment is required for the battalion.

### **Air Forces**

As already announced, we are readjusting our air division in order to have the existing eight squadrons in Europe deployed as follows: six squadrons in Ger



many in the strike role and two squadrons in France in the reconnaissance role.

All eight squadrons are also being equipped for a non-nuclear attack role. This non-nuclear capacity will be phased in as quickly as possible and will give our air division maximum flexibility under varied circumstances. . . .

The plan calls for the squadrons stationed in Europe to be associated, ultimately, more directly with the army brigade group. It is recognized, however, that this kind of association on a national basis may not be practical without some adjustment in the present NATO military organization in Europe. Such an adjustment, if necessary, will be the subject of consultation with NATO. . . .

### **North American Air Defence**

It is planned to continue to operate the three squadrons of CF-101's now assigned to NORAD during the life of the aircraft. Beyond this, units from the combat squadrons previously mentioned will be available if required. The two "Bomarc" squadrons will be operated as long as they form an integral and essential part of the NORAD system. . . .

### **Air Transport**

As the emphasis in our force structure is on greatly increased mobility, it will be necessary to substantially augment our existing air transport capability. . . .

In order to have the flexibility in circumstances where improved air-strips are not available, and in order to carry large quantities of stores and equipment, considerable augmentation of the "air-truck" component of the air-transport fleet is being undertaken. This fleet will be available for United Nations and other requirements. It has the capability of landing both troops and equipment on improved or semi-improved air-strips. This versatility will contribute much to our ability to respond to varied demands.

### **NATO Maritime**

It is planned to continue in the anti-submarine role. Canada has a large capital investment in this capacity and special skills and training as well. Current developments give promise of considerable effectiveness from a "mixed" force of modest size. Studies are continuing to determine, in so far as is possible, the most effective "mix" of weapons systems. . . . The question is to determine as precisely as is possible the proportion of weapons systems which will provide the maximum intensity of surveillance and maximum defence potential for the least cost. . . .

### **Canada and UN Requirements**

... Sizable land, air and naval forces will normally be deployed in and around Canadian territory. Additional requirements are limited fairly well to special tasks and United Nations peace-keeping operations. Canadian forces will be trained and equipped in a way which will permit immediate and effective response to United Nations requirements. . . .

The combined land, sea and air forces normally stationed in Canada and at Canadian ports will be sufficiently flexible to satisfy almost any conceivable requirements for UN or other operations.

### **Priorities**

The choice of priorities is based on the following assessment:

- (1) Forces for the direct protection of Canada which can be deployed as required.
- (2) Forces-in-being as part of the deterrent in the European theatre.
- (3) Maritime forces-in-being as a contribution to the deterrent.
- (4) Forces-in-being for UN peace-keeping operations which would be included also in (1) above.
- (5) Reserve forces and mobilization potential.

On the basis of this assessment, major expenditures in the next few years will be designed to:

- (a) re-equip the Army as a mobile force;
- (b) provide an adequate air and sea lift for its immediate deployment in an emergency;
- (c) acquire tactical aircraft;
- (d) maintain a relatively constant improvement of maritime anti-submarine capability.

\* \* \*

### **Civil Defence**

... The future priority to be assigned to civil defence measures will be influenced greatly by the decision to deploy or not to deploy an anti-ICBM system. Until this major decision has been taken it is not possible to resolve a large number of lesser policy matters in the civil defence field. In the meantime, approved projects will be completed and maintained.

### **Mutual Aid and Military Training Assistance**

... No major new programmes of Canadian Mutual Aid are foreseen. Canada will, however, be prepared to continue to consider reasonable requests for assistance in military training and possibly in the provision of equipment to NATO nations which require such assistance and where it can be given by Canada with advantage to the alliance as a whole.

Canada has extended military training assistance to a number of Commonwealth countries to help them in their efforts to create armed forces sufficient to maintain stability and national independence. Canada will continue to give careful consideration to modest requests of this nature from newly-independent countries.

\* \* \*

## CONCLUSION

In this paper no attempt has been made to set down hard and fast rules for future policy and development. Flexibility, not rigidity, has been the keynote. The paper is a charter, a guide, not a detailed and final blueprint. The policy outlined in it is not immutable. It can be altered or adapted to meet the requirements of changing circumstances, national and international.

What those circumstances will be in the future no one can foretell. It is certain, however, that force is not the solution to the problems of peace and security in the world. Force alone, as all history shows, is not able to establish an enduring and creative peace.

Nevertheless, and regrettably, it is essential to maintain force on our side as a deterrent against attack from potential foes who are themselves heavily armed, as a means of removing the greatest temptation to an aggressor, the assurance of easy victory.

The maintenance of adequate force for the above purpose gives us the time in which men of wisdom, persistence and goodwill can work together to build a world where peace will be secured by stronger means than force.

If we fail to take advantage of the opportunity that time gives us, then peace, and with it civilization, may be lost.

If we spare no effort in seeking for peaceful solutions to the problems that divide and embitter men, then true peace may be established and all mankind gain the victory.

In the realization of this objective, Canada, through diplomacy and defence, must continue to play a worthy part.



# *Disarmament: Report on the Negotiations In Geneva*

THE LATEST session of the conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament convened in Geneva on January 21, 1964. The conclusion of three agreements in the field of arms control during the latter part of last year raised hopes that in 1964 further steps to halt and then terminate the arms race could be negotiated. The most important of the 1963 agreements was, of course, the treaty to ban nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, initialled on July 25 by the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Britain. This treaty was subsequently signed by over 100 other states. The two other agreements reached in 1963 were the establishment of a direct communications link between Moscow and Washington, and the decision of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. not to station weapons of mass destruction in outer space, which was formalized in Resolution 1884 (XVIII) adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on October 17.

After two weeks of general debate, the ENDC decided to divide its time evenly between discussion of the U.S. and Soviet proposals for general and complete disarmament and discussion of "collateral measures", i.e. initial or partial measures designed to reduce international tension, lessen the possibility of war and facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament. At the meetings on general and complete disarmament, discussion has centred on how to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear-weapons vehicles. Although it has not been possible to agree on a formal agenda for the meetings devoted to collateral measures, views have been exchanged about the different proposals in the five-point message submitted by President Johnson to the ENDC on January 21, and the nine-point memorandum of the Soviet Government circulated to the Conference on January 28.

## **General and Complete Disarmament**

One of the principal obstacles to progress in the negotiations on general and complete disarmament has been the disagreement between East and West with respect to the crucial problem of reducing and finally eliminating the means of delivering nuclear bombs and warheads to their targets (bombers, missiles, etc.) and the means of verifying execution of the measures for this purpose. Under the U.S. disarmament plan, it is proposed that all major armaments be reduced by 30 per cent in the three-year period covered by Stage I of the disarmament process and 35 per cent in each of the following stages. Verification must ensure that no weapons would be retained in excess of levels agreed on. The Soviet proposals, on the other hand, originally envisaged the complete elimination of

all nuclear-weapons vehicles in Stage I, which, in the Soviet plan, is one and a half years.

The Western nations at the ENDC criticized the original Soviet proposals on the grounds that they would upset the military balance, could not be adequately verified, and left open the possibility of delivery of nuclear weapons by improvised means after specialized nuclear-weapons vehicles had been destroyed. The U.S.S.R. then modified its position. The latest Soviet proposal, presented by Foreign Minister Gromyko at the eighteenth session of the UN General Assembly, is that all nuclear-weapons vehicles should be destroyed in Stage I with the exception of a "strictly limited number" of anti-missile missiles, anti-aircraft and intercontinental ballistic missiles to be retained on the territories of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. until the end of the disarmament programme. The Soviet Union has agreed that the actual destruction of weapons should be verified and that from the beginning of Stage II control could be exercised at their launching pads over the vehicles retained.

Despite repeated Western requests for further details and explanation of the Gromyko proposals, the Soviet representative in Geneva has provided no further information about them. The West has asked questions about the size of the minimum deterrent to be retained, the rate at which nuclear weapons would be destroyed, and how states could be assured that no weapons in excess of agreed



*The Canadian representative, Lieutenant-General E. L. M. Burns (second from left), in the chair at the conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. The United States and the Soviet Union are the permanent co-chairmen of the conference, but the chair is rotated among all the members of the Committee.*



levels were hidden. Western representatives have also pointed out that the amended Soviet proposals would destroy the existing balance between the major military powers, which at present acts as a deterrent against major war. Furthermore, the balance would be upset without creating the improved international peace-keeping arrangements that would be essential in a disarmed world. So far the Soviet representative has not given adequate answers to these vital questions and objections. Instead, he has taken the unacceptable stand that a discussion of details must be preceded by Western acceptance of the Soviet proposals "in principle". Nevertheless, the Western delegations continue to stress the objections cited above, in the hope that the Soviet delegation will change its position, and that a common basis may then be found on which constructive negotiations for a programme of general disarmament can proceed.

A feature of the latest session of the ENDC has been the increased emphasis on measures which might be put into effect before agreement on general disarmament. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have proposed a number of such measures.

### **Freeze on Strategic Nuclear-Weapons Vehicles**

The aim of this United States proposal is to halt the continuing upward spiral in the number and destructive capability of the most deadly weapons held by the major military powers. In the view of the Western members of the conference, if the development and production of long-range nuclear-weapons vehicles were stopped, it would be easier to negotiate their subsequent reduction. An important aspect of the proposal is that its verification would be less onerous than that which would be required for a programme of general disarmament since, to ensure compliance with the freeze, control would be applied only to declared production and testing facilities, plus an agreed number of spot checks to provide assurance that there were no undeclared facilities.

Thus far, the Soviet response to this constructive proposal has been negative. The Soviet representative has charged that it would involve "control without disarmament" and would result in an increase in the arms race in the field not affected by the freeze, namely, intermediate-range and tactical nuclear-weapon vehicles. It is to be hoped, however, that further discussion may result in a change in the Soviet Union's attitude. In any case, it is not likely that any agreement will be reached except after rather lengthy and somewhat difficult negotiations.

### **Non-dissemination of Nuclear Weapons**

A number of proposals before the Committee are designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to countries that do not now possess them. The point of departure for discussion of this matter remains the so-called Irish Resolution adopted unanimously at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This resolution called on states to use their best endeavours to



reach an agreement under which nuclear powers would "refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to states not possessing such weapons" and under which "states not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons".

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have proposed in the conference the conclusion of an agreement as envisaged in the Irish Resolution. The United States representative has affirmed that the policy of his country is to take no action that would be inconsistent with the terms of the Irish Resolution. There is, however, disagreement on what constitutes dissemination of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union contends that the West must abandon the project for a multilateral force before a universal non-dissemination agreement is possible. The United States, on the other hand, has argued that there is no inconsistency between a non-dissemination agreement based on the terms of the Irish Resolution and a multilateral nuclear force, since the latter would not involve the transfer of nuclear weapons to the independent national control of states not now possessing them.

Other measures to deal with the problem of the wider spread of nuclear weapons are proposed in President Johnson's message and have been discussed during the current session. These include the cessation of the production of fissile material for weapons use and the transfer of agreed quantities of such material to peaceful purposes. The United States, in making this proposal, has announced a unilateral reduction of 25 per cent in its production of weapons-grade fissile material. It has also proposed that appropriate international safeguards, on the lines of the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards system, should be applied to all transfers of fissile material and related equipment for peaceful purposes. The United States has further announced the acceptance of Agency safeguards over the operation of a large power reactor at Rowe, Massachusetts, and has stated its willingness to accept international inspection of other peaceful atomic installations in the United States, provided the Soviet Union reciprocates by accepting safeguards over similar installations in its country.

### **Observation Posts**

Proposals calling for the establishment of observation posts to reduce the risk of war by surprise attack, accident, or miscalculation are included in both the United States and Soviet lists of collateral measures. In presenting this proposal, the West has pointed out the value the establishment of a system of observation posts would have in itself as a measure to reduce the risk of war, thereby decreasing international tension and opening the way to further progress in disarmament. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has insisted that observation posts would be useful only if they were linked to other measures, such as the denuclearization of Germany and the withdrawal or reduction of foreign troops in Europe. The Soviet representative has contended that a system of observation

posts in isolation, unaccompanied by measures of disengagement, could be exploited for espionage purposes.

In an effort to stimulate an examination of a system of observation posts on its merits, Britain tabled a working paper on this subject in the conference on March 26 to serve as a basis for discussion. The presentation of this paper has been welcomed by other Western members, including Canada.

### **Physical Destruction of Armaments**

An important development at this session of the ENDC has been the presentation by both the United States and the Soviet Union of proposals for the physical destruction of some armaments as a collateral measure in advance of agreement on a programme of general and complete disarmament. The United States proposed that agreement be reached to destroy equal numbers of U.S. B47 bombers and Soviet TU16 bombers. The rate of destruction would be 20 a month, over a period of two years, of these aircraft drawn from operational inventories. Western representatives on the Committee have pointed out the advantages of this proposal for a "bomber bonfire", emphasizing that it would be very easy to verify and would have an important effect in removing from the arsenals of the major military powers armaments that, if not the most modern, are nevertheless formidable means of delivering nuclear weapons.

The Soviet Union has made a counter proposal for the destruction of all bombing aircraft. Western representatives have pointed out the difficulties of getting agreement on such a sweeping measure and have urged that a more modest programme of bomber destruction would be easier to negotiate and, if successfully carried out, might be extended later.

### **Military Budgets**

The Soviet Union in the current session has laid great emphasis on its proposal for an agreement that the military budgets of states be reduced by 10 per cent to 15 per cent. The Soviet representative has also urged that the conference issue an appeal to states to adopt a policy of "mutual example" in reducing their military budgets. In making these proposals, he has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that both the United States and the Soviet Union have announced decreases in the level of their military spending during the current financial year, and has urged the desirability of further reductions in the military budgets of all states.

A number of non-aligned countries have expressed their interest in another aspect of the problem of military expenditures — the use of resources liberated through disarmament for the purpose of developing the economies of the less-fortunate nations. The representative of Brazil presented a proposal that 20 per cent of all resources freed through disarmament should be placed in a development fund for this purpose.

Western representatives at the conference have pointed out that the most

effective way to reduce military expenditures is to agree on measures of actual disarmament. They have pointed out that it would be difficult to verify reductions in military budgets because of differences in the accounting practices and pricing methods followed by the states involved. They have asked how, under an agreement such as the Soviet Union has proposed, parties would be assured that reductions announced in their military budgets really meant reductions in the military activities of other parties to the agreement. A number of members of the Committee, including Canada, have suggested that preliminary studies by experts are required to establish the feasibility of budgetary limitations by agreement.

In addition to the reduction of military budgets, the Soviet representative and his Eastern European colleagues have emphasized Soviet proposals for the abolition of "foreign bases", the reduction or withdrawal of "foreign troops" from Europe and the desirability of concluding a pact of non-aggression between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries.

The eight non-aligned members of the ENDC have continued to play a valuable role in the negotiations. By asking questions about the proposals submitted to the conference by the two sides, and by suggesting ways in which compromises might be struck between opposing positions, they have sought to promote constructive negotiations.

## Conclusion

At the time of writing this article, the current session of ENDC is still going on, though it is generally expected that the conference will decide upon a spring or summer recess to allow participants an opportunity to consult with their governments on how best the work of the conference can be advanced. Although thus far it has not been possible to reach agreement on any of the proposals which were submitted to the ENDC when it resumed work last January<sup>1</sup>, it is encouraging that, by and large, the atmosphere of the negotiations has remained good. Speaking in the Committee on March 26, the Secretary of State for External Affairs summed up the Canadian attitude to the ENDC's work at present when he said:

The proposals which have been submitted, particularly in the field of collateral measures, provide ample material for constructive negotiation at this time. . . . It is my earnest hope that the ENDC will concentrate its efforts wherever it seems most likely that advance can be made and that, having done so, the Committee will be able to report to the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations that we have moved closer to our goal of a disarmed and peaceful world.

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<sup>1</sup> Since this report was written, President Johnson and Premier Khrushchov made their important parallel announcements, on April 20, of the intention of the United States and the Soviet Union to reduce the production of fissionable materials for military purposes.



# *Satellite Communications*

**I**N A FEW YEARS the nations of the world will be using earth satellites as a primary means of carrying their long-distance telecommunications traffic. Experimental satellites such as "Telstar" and "Relay" launched by the United States have established beyond much doubt that the technique is feasible; the "state of the art" has therefore reached a point at which it is reasonable to think of satellite communications as just another — and extremely promising — method of exchanging telephone, telegraph and television traffic between the continents. Larger countries such as Canada may eventually use satellites for domestic traffic as well.

The present stage is one of transition from experimental work to active planning for the establishment of a global system. For several years, and in various forums, Canadian government representatives have been participating in international discussion of the complex problems involved in bringing such a system into being. There are now good prospects that an interim agreement among a group of the major traffic-generating countries can be signed this year and that a commercial system capable of global coverage will be operating by 1967.

A satellite communications system offers certain inherent advantages over traditional systems such as cables and high-frequency radio. The most striking of these advantages is flexibility. Unlike a submarine cable, which can only connect a limited number of points, a communications-satellite system is theoretically available to any nation possessing, or having access to, a ground station equipped to work with it. Not unnaturally, the establishment of a system as revolutionary as this, which counts most of the world as its "market", poses political and diplomatic problems which loom as large as or larger than the purely technical problems remaining to be solved.

## **Technical Description**

In the experimental stage of the last few years, the satellites have been of two basic types, passive and active. The passive type, such as the U.S.-sponsored "Echo" series, merely reflects a signal onward to its destination. Passive satellites are cheap, simple and reliable, but the transmitter working with them must be extremely powerful in order to ensure that a satisfactory signal will reach the receiver. For this reason the commercial communications satellite system of the future will almost certainly use active satellites which carry radio equipment for receiving and re-transmitting the signal. By this means a very weak signal from an earth station can be made to reach its destination with its quality unimpaired. The fact that an active satellite must carry its own source of power and other intricate equipment poses, however, a reliability problem; it must operate for a good span of years without any possibility of routine maintenance or repair.

A typical satellite communications system may be thought of as composed of a space segment and an earth segment. The space segment comprises the satellites themselves and the launchers required to put them into orbit. The earth segment consists of ground stations in various countries or regions of the world. International discussions looking to the establishment of a global system have envisaged the space segment as owned and managed on an international basis, whereas ground stations would be owned and operated by the countries or groups of countries on whose territory they were located.

Communications between any two ground stations may take place whenever a satellite is visible to both. The length of this period of mutual visibility depends on the altitude of the satellite, so that it follows that the lower the orbital altitude the more satellites there must be in order to ensure that two stations in communication with one another will always have a "bird" in view. Medium-altitude systems at a height of a few thousand miles require upwards of 18 satellites in orbit at any one time in order to provide continuous global communications. On the other hand, if the satellites are placed into so-called synchronous orbit at an altitude of 22,300 miles, their speed is exactly equal to the earth's rotation and they appear to remain stationary over the same spot on the earth's surface. Only three satellites of the synchronous type are required for near-global coverage. Both the medium-altitude and the synchronous systems are technically feasible, and the choice between them is a key decision to be taken in the course of establishing the global system now being planned.

### **Organizational Problems**

The United States has been in the forefront of the technology of satellite communications. Under legislation passed by Congress in 1962, the Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT) was established as the principal U.S. entity in this field, with a mandate to bring a commercial system into operation "at the earliest possible date". Britain and the Western European countries have joined in a European Conference on Satellite Communications in order to negotiate as a unit on the questions that must be settled internationally before the system can be established. Canada, as a major provider and user of international communications, has followed developments with keen interest and Canadian delegations have participated this year, with those from Europe and the United States, in discussions held in Rome and London.

These discussions involve the creation, over the next few years, of a single global system of satellite communications, of which the space segment would be owned and managed internationally. In keeping with various United Nations resolutions on the peaceful uses of outer space, Canada and the other participants have consistently recognized that satellite communications cannot be the exclusive preserve of a group of industrially-advanced nations, but rather that all nations should have access to ownership and use of the system on a non-discriminatory basis. Over the short term, it is, of course, obvious that only the United States

and a few other countries can contribute effectively to the task of getting the system "off the ground". Over the longer term, it seems equally clear that a communications system of such world-wide impact and application will require the establishment of a world organization.

The cost of an initial system is usually estimated to be approximately \$200 million for the space segment alone. The discussions looking to the establishment of the system, therefore, encompass such questions as the distribution of this cost among the countries prepared to invest in the system, arrangements to ensure that investing states have an appropriate voice in the control and management of the system, questions relating to the supply of equipment and components, and the form an interim agreement should take.

### **Canada's Interests**

The growth of telecommunications traffic, particularly over the North Atlantic, has been so rapid that the capacity of existing cable systems will be overtaken in a very few years. Canada's primary interest is, therefore, to obtain new facilities when they are needed, and it appears that participation in a satellite system may be the most economical method of acquiring those facilities. In any case, there is now a disposition on the part of interested nations to postpone the planning of any more large submarine cables until the satellite method has been given a fair trial.

The technical competence of Canadian industry in the construction of satellites and related areas has developed rapidly. For example, the principle electronic components of the "Relay" series of experimental satellites were made in Canada. Although the highly successful "Alouette" is a scientific rather than a communications satellite, many of the techniques are the same, and Canada can reasonably expect to participate actively and successfully in the supply of components for the international system.

As a matter of policy, Canada has generally retained direct control of most of its overseas telecommunications, rather than routing its traffic through another country. As the responsible agency in this field, the Canadian Overseas Telecommunications Corporation is a part owner of all submarine cables linking Canada with other countries, and it is reasonable to expect that the Corporation will have a similarly prominent role in the age of space communications. The Government is constructing a ground station near Liverpool, Nova Scotia, to work with the international system; this station would logically become a COTC facility when the system starts to operate on a commercial basis.



## *Visit of Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago*

THE RIGHT Honourable Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, paid an official visit to Ottawa from April 20 to 22. During his stay in the capital, Dr. Williams had talks with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and attended a meeting of the Federal Cabinet, a privilege accorded from time to time to visiting Commonwealth prime ministers. On April 21, Dr. Williams also visited the Speaker's Gallery of the House of Commons, where he received expressions of welcome from the leaders of the five parties.



*The Right Honourable Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, in conversation with the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada (left), and the Honourable Paul Martin, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs (right).*

# *UNRWA Training Centre at Homs, Syria*

A "WORLD REFUGEE YEAR" donation of wheat flour from the Government of Canada is enabling young Palestine refugees in the Syrian Arab Republic to build the foundations of a brighter future.

The special donation of \$1-million worth of flour was made to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). This agency provides assistance to the victims of the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948 — the Arabs, and their children, who fled from Palestine as a result of the hostilities. Today, there are more than 1,000,000 refugees registered with UNRWA in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic and the Gaza Strip. Many of them rely on UNRWA assistance (food rations, shelter, medical care, welfare services and education) for their existence. UNRWA is supported by voluntary contributions from governments, groups and individuals.

UNRWA distributed the Canadian flour as part of the basic rations it provides for most of the refugees, and used the funds thus saved to establish two training centres for young refugees — one in Lebanon at Siblin near Sidon and the other near the central Syrian town of Homs.

## **Description of New School**

The Homs Training Centre, built and equipped at a total cost of about \$300,000, admitted its first trainees late in 1962. The centre is residential; in addition to classrooms, its facilities include a large dormitory block, a refectory, kitchens, a common room and staff accommodation. A marble plaque pays tribute, in English and Arabic, to the Canadian Government and to the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic, which donated the land on which the centre is built.

The Homs centre is one of ten training centres established by UNRWA to give training to some of the 30,000 refugee boys and girls who reach adulthood every year. The training offered in these centres gives young refugees the opportunity of developing their talents so that they may lead useful and productive lives, regardless of where they may live in the future. UNRWA operates both vocational and teacher-training centres, for skilled craftsmen and trained teachers are in great demand in the developing Middle East.

## **Curricula of Centres**

The curricula of the training centres are flexible. They are adapted to suit the requirements of the area, both as regards employment opportunities and the type of education and training sought by the young refugees. The training offered at Homs has, accordingly, been modified since the original plans for the centre were made, with a view to making the best use of the facilities.

Since its opening, the Homs school has been operating mainly as a teacher-





Marble plaque at the recently-opened Homs Training Centre in Syria pays tribute in English and Arabic to the contributions of the Canadian Government and the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic.

training centre for young men, although it was planned originally as a vocational-training centre. In addition to teacher training, the centre at present offers two one-year courses, in which a small number of young men are being trained as laboratory technicians and assistant pharmacists.

There is an urgent need for qualified teachers throughout the Arab world, especially within UNRWA's own school programme, which includes 80 schools in Syria with a total enrolment of 20,000 children. This need, coupled with the demand on the part of young refugees in Syria for this type of training, prompted the Agency to institute a one-year teacher-training course at the centre, leaving vocational-training needs to be catered for by UNRWA's training centre in Damascus. The course, established in agreement with the Syrian Government, follows in the main the pattern of the one-year course offered in government teacher-training institutions in Syria. The curriculum includes the psychology of education, English, academic subjects such as history, science and mathematics, and practice teaching in a nearby UNRWA school. The one-year course was established as a "crash" programme to provide teachers to fill the immediate need. However, the Syrian Government has plans for a longer teacher-training course which, in due time, UNRWA would like to follow. On graduation, the young refugees are awarded a diploma qualifying them to teach in primary schools.



# *Impressions of Paraguay*

*Paraguay, which is slightly smaller than the combined areas of Newfoundland (including Labrador) and Nova Scotia, is a land-locked country situated about the upper reaches of the Parana-Paraguay river complex. These rivers provide the most important means of internal communication for the country, and also serve as the principal commercial route to the outside world. East of the Paraguay River, which divides the country roughly in half, lies rich agricultural land where the capital, Asuncion, is located and almost the entire population of 1,700,000 is concentrated. This region also has dense forests, which produce a drink called yerba maté, quebracho extract for tannin, and a variety of hardwoods. West of the river, cattle country gradually yields to the vast empty region of the Gran Chaco. This wide expanse, which is thought to contain oil, was fought over and gained by Paraguay during the furious Chaco War (1932-35) with Bolivia.*

*Its long and exciting history (the founding of Asuncion antedates permanent settlement on the Argentine littoral), its extensive and variegated territory, small population and remote location combine to augment the fascination of Paraguay.*

*Mr. Léon Mayrand, until recently Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, visited Paraguay several times. The following extracts from his accounts of these tours provide an interesting introduction to this little-known country.*

## **The Land and the People**

Travelling by boat on an earlier occasion, I had noted the sudden appearance of tropical vegetation near the confluence of the Parana and Paraguay Rivers. After the dusty wastes of the Argentine provinces of Chaco and Formosa, I seemed to be returning to the Promised Land when, from the flat, barren little port of Pilcomayo, I caught sight, across the river, of the green hills south of Asuncion. The vegetation suddenly took on a tropical luxuriance, and animal life became more abundant. . . . The two great rivers and the range of hills to the northeast that marks the border with Brazil make Eastern Paraguay a well-defined natural unit, which has certainly contributed to the development of national consciousness in Paraguay.

Asuncion was founded on August 15, 1537, by Juan de Salazar. The town was intended as a stage on the road to Peru, which the Spaniards were then trying to reach overland. The gold rush was at its height. Little precious metal was found, but such were the geographical and climatic advantages offered by the district, as well as the character of the natives, that the small settlement of Asuncion rapidly gained importance. . . .

The Guaranis, who inhabited Paraguay, differed entirely from the savage

tribes nearer to the sea. They were maize-growers, generally settled, and not only milder in temperament but also more adaptable to the customs of the newcomers from Europe. There was no need to conquer them. Later, thanks to the "Jesuit Reductions" system, they escaped the hard lot of the other Indians, which amounted to forced labour. The Guaranis and the Europeans in Paraguay mixed with one another gradually and peaceably. It is not easy to see how a racial problem could ever arise in this country. . . .

Today the Guaranis are everywhere and nowhere. Everywhere, in as much as most Paraguayans have Guarani blood in their veins, and nowhere in the sense that there do not seem to be any purely Guarani communities left in the country. . . . The old Spanish-Guarani stock, as a human type, is dominant among the people I have visited.

## History

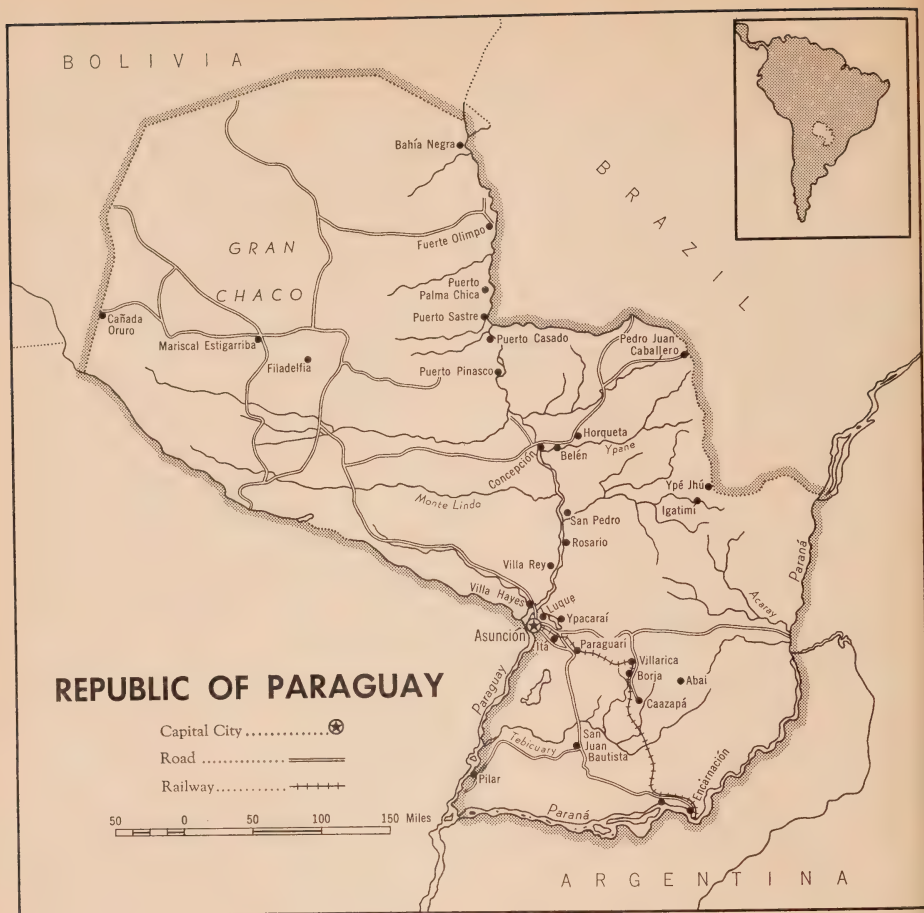
A distinct country by virtue of its geography and population, Paraguay has become even more so by virtue of its history. I mentioned earlier the saving factor represented by the Jesuit evangelization and colonization centres during the period when the Guaranis were under the worst threat from the "encomenderos". This system, established by the Spanish kings, lasted from 1608 until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The Guaranis were left with sufficient training to hold their own against white competition. From the Spanish and Guarani bloods was born a new race. As early as 1811, they were together able to repulse the Argentine army of General Belgrano, who was hastening to bring them the Buenos Aires revolution. Their own independence was obtained in that year.

The first President of Paraguay, Gaspar Rodriguez Francia, who held the post for 29 years (1811-40), followed a policy of isolation, while attending to the well-being of the people. He was given the appellation of "El Supremo". He was succeeded by a nephew, Carlos Lopez, who also governed despotically but wisely, from 1840 to 1862. It was he who, in 1845, wrote to the Argentine dictator Rosas: "Paraguay cannot be conquered." For a full half-century, therefore, after obtaining its independence, the small Paraguayan nation was able to assert its own personality.

This it did with even greater vehemence at the time of trial, during the terrible War of the Triple Alliance (1865-70), which brought about the destruction of practically the entire male population. The President at that time was Marshal Francisco Solano Lopez, the son of Carlos Lopez, who fell with his son in the final battle. The vanquished hero of the Cerro Corra occupies the first place today in the national Pantheon in Asuncion.

Another very cruel conflict, but a victorious one, the Gran Chaco War (1932-35), enhanced Paraguay's pride and determination, which are the most characteristic features of the nation.

Such is the fear of smuggling on the part of the Argentine and Paraguayan authorities that there seems to be nothing they would not do to discourage auto-



mobile traffic between the two countries. The entry of cars is subject to so many formalities and control procedures that only diplomats can afford to cross the border, not without difficulty, and diplomats seldom leave the paved roadways. This will explain why my car was the only one that day aboard the Argentine ferry-boat that makes two crossings daily between Puerto Pilcomayo and Ita Enramada. On the Paraguayan side, police and customs facilities were excellent. At this point on the border, one would think that the larger country was Paraguay.

### **The Capital and the Countryside**

For several days, wet weather prevented me seeing the place as I should have liked. Asunción in the rain is nothing more than a city of some 200,000 people, with very few paved streets, whose fine buildings (most of them dating back to the time of Carlos Antonio Lopez) are few in number. When the sun returns, its magic effect on the luxuriant vegetation transforms the whole scene. Arriving from Buenos Aires, one has an enchanting view of the hills. West of the Paraguay River, the Chaco stretches away like a sea of greenery; east of it, rolling country



offers a variety of pleasant and easily-reached points of interest. I made visits to Lake San Bernardino, where the parish priest is a Canadian, and to Yaguaron, whose delightful baroque church dates from the time of the Jesuit Reductions.

I soon found that not every part of the country is so pleasant as the capital city and its surroundings. Along the road to Puerto Stroessner, I saw settlers struggling against the forest, a spectacle that reminded me of the colonization of north-western Quebec in the 1920s, though the trees in Paraguay are larger and the equipment in use is even more rudimentary. In the southeastern departments, in contrast, I saw depleted land, impoverished meadows where cattle were few and lean. The people live in want. One scene in particular has remained vivid among my memories: under a flowering *lapacho*, a thatched shanty; an aged Paraguayan woman, alone with her dog, preparing her distaff; her belongings a mean bed, a chair and a few hens.

As in the neighbouring Argentine provinces, most Paraguayan highways are dirt roads. . . . Several of them, however, are now being paved. The largest road project was the Trans-Chaco, scheduled to be completed late in 1963. Although the Paraguayan Chaco has hitherto been accessible only by the Paraguay River and by overland paths, it will now be possible to reach Bolivia by driving across the centre of the wilderness. This road, which will provide a link to a few Mennonite colonies from Canada, is sure to revolutionize the economy of the entire region.

### Canada's Other Embassy

I spent one Sunday with the Canadian priests and nuns of Asuncion: four diocesan priests of the parish of San Cristobal, six Sisters of Mercy and four Sisters of Charity, who co-operate as a group in the same suburban district. President Stroessner himself attended the inauguration of the clinic of the Sisters of Mercy, with the Archbishop of Quebec, about a month ago. Two years after arriving, our priests are building their second church, and the Sisters of Charity are about to build a school. They devote themselves unstintingly to their work for the love of God and their neighbour, and find joy therein.

At high mass, they had prepared a special *prie-dieu* for me. The Sisters formed a choir to sing the Gregorian chant, and the hymns were sung by Paraguayans. Both groups were excellent. What I had before me resembled the famous Jesuit Reductions. As Louis Baudin wrote:

Treated with justice and charity, astonished by the scientific and general knowledge of the Fathers, fully trusting masters like these who always kept their given word, they looked on the priests as divine beings and submitted to them willingly.

The evening that followed was purely Canadian. Rocking-chairs were brought out onto the patio. Father Lebel took out his harmonium. With only the light of the stars above, they gave me a recital of songs from back home — not a makeshift popular recital but a real concert. I believe we are not fully aware of all that Canada owes to her missionaries. Their behaviour abroad is our best, our genuine, publicity.

## *Programme of Cultural Relations with Countries Entirely or Partly of French Expression*

*The Department of External Affairs issued the following release on April 17, 1964:*

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, announced today that, under the Government's new programme of cultural relations with countries entirely or partially of French expression, the Canada Council has been authorized to undertake the following two projects in the field of the arts:

- (1) the acquisition of three studios at the Cité internationale des arts in Paris for the use of Canadian artists of renown;
- (2) the awarding of a \$3,500 grant to the Société dramatique de l'Université d'Ottawa to attend the International Festival of University Theatre Groups to be held in Nancy, France, from April 18 to 26, 1964. This theatre group has been delegated by the Executive Committee of the Association of Canadian University Theatre Companies to perform Ionesco's work "La cantatrice chauve" at the Festival.

It will be recalled that the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the Prime Minister's visit to France January 15-17 noted that the French and Canadian Governments had agreed to further the development of cultural exchanges. The Canadian programme will involve the granting on a reciprocal basis of scholarships and fellowships, and the presentation in French-language countries of Canadian arts both performing and visual. In its operation, the Government will have the advice and assistance of the Canada Council, which has accepted the responsibility for administration of the programme. It is hoped that the programme will encourage the development of academic and artistic exchanges and manifestations between Canada and other countries entirely or partly of French expression.

An appropriation of \$250,000 is envisaged for the programme in 1964-65. The greater part of this amount will be expended in the form of scholarships, fellowships, teaching-fellowships, study grants, travel grants, etc. to bring to Canada professors, scholars, scientists and artists of renown from countries of French expression. Detailed arrangements regarding the operation of the academic aspects of the project will shortly be the subject of consultations with the governments concerned.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **The United Nations in Cyprus**

*On April 1, during the debate on the estimates of the Department of External Affairs, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, was asked to bring the House of Commons "up to date on events in Cyprus", and, in particular, to comment on "the hopes of mediation . . . on that island". Mr. Martin replied as follows:*

. . . When I was in Geneva a few days ago attending the United Nations Trade and Development Conference, I took advantage of the presence there of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, to discuss the participation of Canada in the International Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus. There was also an opportunity to discuss this question with Mr. Spinelli, Head of the United Nations in Europe and the Secretary-General's representative in Cyprus, and with Lieutenant-General Gyani, the distinguished Indian soldier to whom has been entrusted the command of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force. There was an opportunity, during these discussions, of conferring on matters inevitably involved in an operation of this kind. The discussions had to do with the establishment of the terms of reference to be extended to the forces by the United Nations, the directives to the Force Commander and the role that the United Nations Force would play in this whole operation.

The Secretary-General will be reporting one of these days to the Security Council. It is not possible for me, in the interests of the assignment that has been given to Canada and to other participating members in the United Nations Force, to reveal the full directives. However, I am satisfied, and so are my colleagues and the other participating governments, that the arrangements thus far established for the operation of the Force are designed to make effective the functions of the Force in Cyprus. At the same time, they take into account the understandable interests of the participating countries, which at the present time include the United Kingdom, Canada, Sweden, and the forces from Finland and Ireland. In the case of Sweden, Ireland and Finland, the full complement of participating forces has not reached the island, but forces are coming every day from these countries. As they join the Canadian and United Kingdom forces, there is, in accordance with the Security Council resolution, a withdrawal of British forces, which will reduce to a total of 3,500 as compared with the total of 7,000 British forces in Cyprus when the Force became operational last Thursday.

I saw the Secretary-General a week ago Sunday night. I discussed with him, not only the matters to which I have referred in a general way, but also the desirability of a Mediator being appointed at the earliest possible moment. Under



the terms of the resolution passed by the Security Council on March 13, the full authority for the appointment of a Mediator resided with the Secretary-General, but he consulted with a number of countries, including Canada. We made known our views to him, since he asked for our advice. While our concurrence in the appointment of the distinguished Finnish diplomat, a former Prime Minister of Finland, was not essential, his well-known qualities in the field of diplomacy and mediation seemed to us, as they did to others concerned with the island of Cyprus, to indicate that he would be the kind of man to whom this very difficult task could be entrusted.

The arrival of Canada as a member of the Force was greeted with gratitude by all sections of the island of Cyprus, notwithstanding some stories in the paper only yesterday that some criticism was made. There was general relief on all sides about the establishment of the Force. Because we were the first to arrive, great satisfaction was expressed at the decision of Canada to participate in the Force, and to do so on terms which did not demand any financing of our participation out of the resources supplied voluntarily by a number of countries, notably the United States and the United Kingdom.

The other day Archbishop Makarios welcomed the United Nations Commander and spoke with gratitude of the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. It is significant that a Vice-President who represents one of the other communities on the island also expressed directly to the Commander — as indeed he did directly to the Canadians — his satisfaction at their presence and his assurance of co-operation. This is . . . a difficult operation, and we were wise to anticipate that the difficulties may be greater than they now seem to be. However I hope this anticipation will not be justified. We are ready, as we indicated when we joined together in supporting the decision for Canadian participation, to face the dangers which it is anticipated may lie ahead.

I am satisfied that the Force went to Cyprus at a crucial time. We decided to participate in this Force the day after Turkey indicated her dissatisfaction at the conditions prevailing on the island. I had an opportunity when in Geneva to discuss this matter in greater detail with Mr. Erkin, the Foreign Minister of Turkey. He expressed his country's satisfaction that the Force had been established and that Canada was participating in it. I also had an opportunity when in Geneva to discuss with one of the ministers of the Government of Greece matters involved in our participation. I need only report to the Committee that the same satisfaction and gratitude was expressed by the Government of Greece. So that we have all of the official bodies on the island, in Greece and in Turkey which have an interest in the preservation of order supporting our participation in this United Nations Force.

Just to make my story complete, I should add that when the Minister of Industry was in Athens the other day attending the funeral of the King, at my suggestion he discussed this matter with the Foreign Minister of Greece. This was before the establishment of the Force. I am grateful to him for doing so,

and as a result of this discussion we were able to take some steps which led to a decision.

I realize . . . that many in Canada are interested in the operation of this Force. At no time would I take umbrage at questions related to the directives or the terms of reference given to the United Nations Force, not by Canada but the United Nations. Once we joined the Force, we recognized that we belonged to a United Nations body. My first meeting with General Gyani impressed on me that this Commander of the United Nations Force was, obviously and from his record, a very distinguished soldier. I am sure he is also a wise man who understands the delicate command which has been assigned to him. I know that he will discharge his responsibilities in a way which will assist the United Nations Force in its endeavour to maintain peace on the island.

The functions of the Force are different from the functions of the Mediator. Under the terms of the Security Council resolution, there is no relationship between the two except the obvious one, which would be non-legalistic. The United Nations Force is a police body sent to Cyprus by the United Nations for the purpose of preserving order. It will be the function of a Mediator to do what he can to unravel the regrettable and tragic differences which prevail between the two communities. We still have problems. I will not be expected to reveal the nature of these. What we all want is to see a Force which will preserve order, and I would not want to add to the problems of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in any way as a result of any comments or responses I might make. I simply remind the Committee that, both with regard to the terms of reference and the directives which have been issued, we are satisfied that they should enable the Force to discharge its obligations as effectively as circumstances on the island will permit; and thus far they have permitted the fullest and most effective operation of the Force.

With regard to the status-of-forces agreement, that has not yet been finalized but the Attorney-General of the Government of Cyprus has given the Secretary-General an assurance that we may count on the kind of status-of-forces agreement which existed for the United Nations Force in the Congo. It took some three and a half months before that status-of-forces agreement was concluded.

Finally . . . may I say that the United Nations presence through this Peace-Keeping force is essential. I am also satisfied, from all I know about this matter, that the participation of Canada is essential. I am satisfied that, if Canada had not taken the decision which it did, we might have been faced with a situation which would have been much more serious — and I will not elaborate on that. I conclude by saying that this operation continues to be in the tradition of Canada under all governments so far as peace-keeping obligations to the United Nations are concerned.

The method of financing this operation is by no means satisfactory. . . . As a result of the *ad hoc* financing arrangement in this particular situation, we may have established an undesirable precedent. I hope not. I believe there was a

precedent before, in the financing arrangement for the less important but very desirable observation mission which is now operating in the Yemen, in which Canada plays a part.

The three-months duration of the term of this Force in Cyprus will come to an end three months from the day when the Force became operational, and that was a week ago tomorrow. At that time, under the terms of the Security Council resolution, the Force must come to an end unless in the interval the Security Council has renewed the authority of the Secretary-General.

I should like to think that the situation in Cyprus would improve by that time. I have no reason to believe it can or will improve sufficiently to warrant the withdrawal of the Force. At that time, regrettably, the United Nations may be face to face with a situation similar to that which existed when this Force was being considered prior to March 13. I hope that this whole experience in Cyprus, more particularly in Cyprus than in other similar situations, will cause the nations of the world to recognize that, if there is a *détente* at this time in the relations between East and West, that can only be furthered by giving the United Nations, which is the only available body for this purpose, the opportunity of providing for the kind of police forces that are essential in situations such as Cyprus.

I conclude by saying that this country need not have any second thoughts, in my judgment, about the wisdom of the course it took in the establishment of this United Nations peace-keeping operation. Our participation was essential and we are honoured to discharge this function alongside countries like Sweden, Finland, Ireland and the United Kingdom and the forces of Cyprus, both communities. All this is designed for the purpose, not of imposing a political solution upon the people, but of preserving the peace in that very important and strategic area until a solution is found.

*To an inquiry on April 2 as to "the circumstances under which Canadians will serve in the Force in Cyprus", Mr. Martin replied in the following words:*

. . . It seems to me . . . we must keep before us three documents; first of all, the terms of reference of the Force, the directives given by the United Nations to the Force Commander and by the Force Commander to those under his command in Cyprus; and then there is the status-of-forces agreement.

With regard to the directives, I must say that these are in their very nature private and cannot, for the reasons I stated yesterday and on other occasions when this matter was discussed, be made public. In every operation of the United Nations this has been the practice, no less so in the case of the Congo than for other peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. I suppose those with much greater military experience than I have had would say that this is true in any military operation, whether it be fully military or, as in this case, partly military.

With regard to the terms of reference of the United Nations Force, and so we will have a complete record of this whole aspect of the problem, I should like to set out the terms of reference as provided in the resolution passed by



the Security Council on March 4. They are in the following general words:

Recommends that the function of the Force should be, in the interests of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and return to normal conditions.

At first glance those words may seem to be far too general to offer an adequate basis for the activities of the United Nations Force. I have compared these terms of reference with the terms of reference in other such basic documents of the United Nations, and I find that the language, while differing in some particulars, is basically the same. These particular terms of reference were carefully chosen and will remain the source of authority for the directives which will be issued to the Force from time to time.

These directives are not immutable in character. They may be changed, and as situations arise will undoubtedly be varied by new directives. It is obvious that in the discharge of the function of the Force, these directives, if made public, would not assist the very purpose for which the Force was established and sent to Cyprus. This is particularly so in this situation which . . . involves a rivalry between two communities on the island and an interest on the part of two neighbouring states.

It will be seen that the terms of reference and functions of the Force empowers the Force, first, to prevent a recurrence of fighting; second, to contribute as necessary to the maintenance and restoration of law and order; and third, to promote a return to normal conditions. These terms of reference are sufficiently broad to cover an infinite variety of situations and activities in which the Force may become involved without unnecessarily tying the hands of the Force and of the Force Commander as to how he is to discharge his heavy responsibilities. I believe that the United Nations Command will be in a position to deal with almost any situation, and that the directives which will flow from the terms of reference will be sufficiently elastic to allow the Canadian and other forces both to protect themselves and to take effective peace-keeping action.

. . . There is no doubt that we have the right, and we have asserted that right, to see to it that the Canadians as well as other members of the United Nations Force are able to take measures to protect themselves fully. Those measures will be taken in a manner calculated not to add to the difficulty involved in the assignment which has been given them.

I may say to the House quite frankly that on a number of occasions when I discussed matters involved in this question with the Secretary-General, both in New York and in Geneva, I told him about the interrogations that had been made in the House. He understood perfectly the concern of members of this House, a concern which he himself shares, to make sure that the opportunity of self defence is provided and that . . . the Force is not hamstrung in the activities which it pursues. I communicated again last night with the Secretary-General to make sure there would be no misunderstanding. As a result, he has issued an

*aide mémoire* which I believe has been circulated to all member states, certainly to those interested in this particular operation, in the following words:

The terms of reference of the Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus are set forth in Paragraph 5 of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on March 4, 1964. The Secretary-General has instructed the Commander of the Force that the activities of the Force which are exclusively under UN command are to be kept at all times within the framework of the Security Council terms of reference and no action not entirely consistent with them is ever to be undertaken.

In addition, the Commander of the Force does receive from the Secretary-General from time to time as a matter of course both general and detailed directions relating always to the terms of reference for his guidance in the discharge of his command. This being in accordance with usual practice in a military force has been the rule scrupulously followed with regard to all other UN peace-keeping operations. Naturally, those directives are entirely internal and cannot be made available for any public use.

In the interests of the successful discharge of the heavy responsibility which has been placed on the shoulders of the Secretary-General, I believe he had no alternative but to take the same position as was taken by his predecessors. It is the same rule which has obtained in respect of United Nations operations in Korea and in the Congo, and I am sure it will be applied in any future peace-keeping operations.

The role of the United Nations in Cyprus is that of a policeman, just as it is in UNEF, just as it is in the Congo. Like any policeman, his function is public knowledge and the manner in which he discharges that function takes place in the full glare of publicity. His mere presence discourages lawbreaking, but where that in itself is not enough he may apply the minimum degree of force to discharge his responsibility. He is authorized, in addition, to defend himself as necessary.

All these things we take for granted as part of the police function in an ordered society; yet we do not insist on publication of the instructions that the policeman receives from his chief every day, nor would it be conducive to the fulfilment of his responsibilities if his every movement and intention were broadcast for the benefit of potential wrong-doers. These conditions are identical with those under which the Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus must operate.

I recognize that I have a responsibility as Secretary of State for External Affairs. It is not an easy one but I accept it. My duty, within the limitations laid down by the United Nations, has been and will continue to be consistent with the assignment given to the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force. It is to see to it that the Canadian and other members of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force are not prejudiced in any unjustified way.

Now, what I have said with regard to disclosure does not apply to the status-of-forces agreement. Yesterday I mentioned that there were consultations under way in New York between the Foreign Minister of Cyprus and the United Nations with regard to the status-of-forces agreement. I am happy to say that agreement was concluded late last night. . . .

. . . The status-of-forces agreement establishes explicitly that the Force and

its members, together with its vehicles, vessels, aircraft and equipment, shall enjoy freedom of movement throughout Cyprus. The status-of-forces agreement is in the main . . . somewhat similar to the status-of-forces agreement for the Congo. I may say that, because of the Congo experience, it was possible for the Secretary-General and his colleagues to prepare an agreement more quickly in this particular instance than in the other to which I referred.

*On April 8, the Secretary of State for External Affairs was asked whether, "in view of the fact that the situation in Cyprus has been further complicated by the repudiation by President Makarios of the treaty with Turkey", he would, "directly or through the Secretary-General, make representations to Archbishop Makarios to make it perfectly clear that this Parliament authorized Canadian forces as part of the United Nations Force to maintain peace in Cyprus but not to protect the Government of Cyprus against the consequences of its unilateral repudiation of an existing treaty". Mr. Martin made the following reply:*

. . . The British Government, the Government of Turkey and the Government of Greece are parties to the 1960 agreement. I would call . . . attention to the attitude taken by the British Government in this matter; that Government would have a treaty qualification to complain about any act that would involve the abrogation of treaty rights. The course this Government must follow, based on the information before us, must be dictated by our view of the effect this will have on the fulfilment of the mission for which the Force was established. Our representative in Nicosia is in contact with the Government of Cyprus, and with the head of that Government, Archbishop Makarios. In my judgment it is not in the public interest for me to say anything further at this time.

*To an inquiry on April 13 as to whether a final decision had been made by the Government "to send a brigade headquarters staff to Cyprus" and, if so, "how many Canadian personnel are involved", Mr. Martin replied:*

. . . In answer to a question on Friday I said we were considering a request from the United Nations Secretary-General to provide a brigade headquarters staff for the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force, and a few staff officers for General Gyani's headquarters. The Government has now decided to meet these requests and my colleague, the Associate Minister of National Defence, has the details.

*Mr. Lucien Cardin, Associate Minister of National Defence, then made the following statement:*

. . . I can say that the Department of National Defence has received two formal requests from United Nations headquarters, through the Department of External Affairs. The first is for the provision of five Canadian staff officers for General Gyani's United Nations Force headquarters. The second had to do with the provision of a brigade headquarters, a signal squadron and a headquarters



company, the latter for local domestic support of the brigade headquarters and the United Nations headquarters.

It is clear that some of the appointments in the brigade headquarters will be filled by personnel from the other participating nations. The role of the brigade headquarters will be to take over command of the Nicosia Zone which is at present commanded by the British 16th Parabrigade Group headquarters. The headquarters will be responsible for the domestic support of the United Nations Force headquarters and may be responsible for the administration of part of the Swedish contingent in the northwest portion of Cyprus. It will have under command the Canadian contingent, two British units of battalion size and the Finnish contingent, as well as a number of logistic units.

I am sure Hon. Members can appreciate how difficult it is to establish exactly how many personnel are required, and in order to be able to determine this Brigadier Tedlie will depart from Trenton on Thursday, April 16, with an advance party of approximately 20 people. The Thursday flight is the normal weekly maintenance flight to Cyprus. On arrival, Brigadier Tedlie will confirm the establishment required and call forward the balance of his headquarters, the signal unit and the headquarters company of domestic and administrative personnel.

Although it has been difficult to come to an exact figure as to the number of additional personnel, it is estimated that the additional number of personnel to be sent to Cyprus, including the five officers in General Gyani's headquarters and the brigade headquarters, will total approximately 156. This would make the total number of Canadian forces in Cyprus 1,088. Hon. Members will notice that this is well under the ceiling established in the Order in Council, which provided for 1,200 Canadian personnel in Cyprus.

*The text follows of a report by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Security Council concerning the operations of the UN Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus (this report was tabled in the House of Commons on April 30 and appeared as an appendix to Hansard for that date):*

1. The UN Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, on the date of issuance of this report, will have been operational for about one month, that is to say, for one-third of the time foreseen in the Security Council resolution of March 4. This initial period has been devoted to the deployment of the Force, to intensive efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and to contributing to the maintenance and restoration of law and order in accordance with the mandate given to the Force by the Security Council. The Commander of the Force and his staff, during this period, have had the opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the nature and complexity of their tasks and the situation in Cyprus, and to establish contacts with all the parties concerned on the island. In this period, at least until last week-end, there had been a relative improvement in the situation in Cyprus, in the sense that, except for some sporadic fighting in the Kyrenia Range area, no

major military clash had occurred and situations which might lead to such major clashes were being contained. For such developments the UN operation in Cyprus may claim no small credit. The outbreak on April 26 of serious fighting in the area of the Pentadaktylos Range (Kyrenia Mountains) is, of course, a setback.

2. The ultimate responsibility for a return to normal conditions in Cyprus must, obviously, rest primarily with the authorities and people of Cyprus themselves, since normality can come about only as a result of a determination by the two communities, so many of whose members on both sides are now armed and active as a sort of loosely-organized militia, to lay down their arms and seek to live again in peace. The relationship and the tension between the two main groups of the population continue to be a cause for gravest anxiety. Since the UN Force became operational in Cyprus, there have been a number of isolated incidents of shooting in which innocent civilians have been the victims, incidents which have been utterly senseless and are disturbing in their indication of an attitude of irresponsibility and callousness toward human life on the part of those doing the shooting. UNFICYP received reports of a large number of persons missing before the UN operation began, and since then further reports have been received that cases are still occurring of persons missing, whose whereabouts are unknown.

3. The UN cannot be indifferent to savage acts of this kind and I appeal in the strongest terms to all concerned to take immediate steps to bring an end to them.

4. UNFICYP, on its part, has the duty to take all possible steps available to it which might facilitate the resumption of normal life in Cyprus. It must seek always to prevent a recurrence of fighting, while also taking reasonable initiatives designed to lead to a return to conditions in Cyprus under which an ordinary man may move about freely and carry on with his day's work without fear or hindrance. Only slight progress has been made so far toward implementing this third aspect of UNFICYP's mandate. But much careful thought has been given to this aspect of the task and the conclusion has been reached that there are initiatives which can be taken by the operation holding out at least a hope for success, and that these must be undertaken without delay by means of intensive discussion and negotiation with the parties concerned. Toward this end, the mission in Cyprus needs urgently to be strengthened by the addition of a top-level political officer, who, on behalf of the Secretary-General, could conduct negotiations for the implementation of the programme mentioned in Paragraph 10 below and outlined in Annex I to this report. This need has been underscored by General Gyani, who for too long now has been carrying, with devotion and distinction, the dual load of commanding the Force and conducting negotiations on a variety of essentially non-military matters. Nothing in this sphere, of course, has been done or will be done which would in any way impinge upon the efforts of the Mediator to find solutions to the basic problems. I wish to reiterate my full confidence in both General Gyani and Ambassador Tuomioja as Mediator. As Com-

mander of the Force, General Gyani, with great ability and complete impartiality, has sought to make the Force effective in the discharge of its mandates from the Security Council.

5. General Gyani, in pursuance of my instructions and, indeed, in accordance with his own views, has consistently sought to achieve the desired and defined objectives of the Force in Cyprus by peaceful means, that is without resort to armed force, the arms of the Force being carried only for clear purposes of self defence. Despite concerted effort by General Gyani and the Force, and my own earlier appeals, fighting persists in Cyprus, with lives of Cypriots — Greek and Turk alike — being needlessly and pointlessly sacrificed. I wish here to emphasize my view that the UN Force was despatched to Cyprus to try to save lives by preventing a recurrence of fighting. It would be incongruous, even a little insane, for that force to set about killing Cypriots, whether Greek or Turkish, to prevent them from killing each other. Yet, that is exactly the dilemma which is almost confronting General Gyani in Cyprus today.

6. On the other hand, the Force cannot stand idly by and see an undeclared war deliberately pursued, or see innocent civilians of all ages ruthlessly struck down by snipers' bullets. In view of the Security Council's objective of ending fighting, the action at St. Hilarion of the past few days is especially serious, since it clearly was a planned and organized military effort.

7. Both sides have given to General Gyani their versions of the present fighting situation and their reasons for it. Greek Cypriot authorities assert that the action was urgently necessary because armed Turkish Cypriots occupying positions in the hills of the sector were harassing Greek villages by firing against them, endangering the lives of the inhabitants and preventing them from cultivating their fields and grazing their animals; because of the building by the Turkish Cypriots of an air-strip at the bottom of the Range, and the blocking by them of the Kyrenia Road, the only access to Kyrenia. The Turkish Cypriots, on the other hand, justify their holding on to this area militarily because to the south of the range there are three main Turkish villages and in the north one, which, they assert, would be endangered and harassed if Greek Cypriots controlled the Range.

8. Moreover, General Gyani had no notice or knowledge of the action in advance, and therefore he could take no steps to prevent it. He immediately took up this question with the Cypriot authorities, pointing out the implications of a military action of this kind for the future status and effectiveness of the UN Force in Cyprus. Ever since the fighting began, General Gyani has been exerting every effort to stop the fighting and toward this end has been seeing top officials on both sides. On April 28, he received assurances of peaceful intent from both the President and Vice-President of Cyprus. The two statements in connection with these matters issued by General Gyani in Nicosia on April 28 are appended as Annex II. As of April 29, the fighting has stopped and quiet prevails. There was no interposition of the UN Force in this situation because the fighting broke



out unexpectedly and an interposition under heavy fire would be neither feasible nor helpful. The effort of the Commander, therefore, has concentrated on bringing an end to the active fighting, which now seems to have been achieved.

9. The UN Force, in view of its mandate to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of war, must do all that it possibly can to stop fighting. It has been seeking to do this by all means short of bullets, and it should be solidly backed in this endeavour by all members of the UN. In this it has my fullest support. In this context, I also call attention to Paragraph 1 of the Security Council resolution of March 4 (U/5575).

10. The Force was deployed in Cyprus because the Government of Cyprus, the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the U.K., and all of the members of the Security Council, had reached the conclusion that there had been too much fighting, bloodshed and destruction in Cyprus and it should now come to an end. There was no assessment of blame for what had happened and none is made now. But there must be an end to the fighting and it will surely become necessary to determine responsibility if it continues.

11. It is the parties themselves who alone can remedy the critical situation of Cyprus. The authorities of the Government of Cyprus and the leaders of the Turkish community must, with a high sense of responsibility, act urgently to bring completely to an end the fighting in Cyprus, if that island country is to avoid utter disaster. This can mean only that high officials of the Government and the Turkish Cypriot leaders will voluntarily and immediately renounce recourse to force as the way to a solution of the problems of Cyprus. That is the critical and decisive need at this juncture. Because it is so, I feel bound to appeal most strongly to President Makarios and Vice-President Kuchuk to announce publicly, without delay, that, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Security Council resolution of March 4 and in view of the operational presence of the UN Force in Cyprus, there is no reason for further fighting in Cyprus and therefore they renounce it, calling upon their respective adherents throughout the island to heed their call. Then, the UN Force in Cyprus could begin to function effectively, for it could underwrite security for all, for both Turk and Greek Cypriot, and help to restore normal conditions of life for all Cypriots.

12. The mere presence of the UN Peace-Keeping Force in the island and its day-to-day efforts at the military level to prevent or stop armed clashes and to help in the maintenance of law and order are not . . . alone enough to effect the kind of improvement in the over-all situation which can really bring about a basic relaxation of tension and a fundamental betterment of the deplorable conditions of fear, insecurity and distress in which very many of the inhabitants of Cyprus now live. Such an improvement is also vital if the efforts of the Mediator to promote a peaceful solution of the problem are to bear fruit. On the other hand, in the prevailing climate of mistrust and hostility, the communities concerned in the Cyprus problem are themselves often inhibited from taking the kinds of initiative which might lead to a substantial reduction of tension and

conflict, and when proposals are put forth they are likely to be rejected — less on their merit than on the fact of their origin in one group or the other.

13. Taking such factors as the above into account, and in particular having in mind the urgent necessity of making progress in order to avoid having the operation in Cyprus stand still and eventually bog down, I have formulated, with the assistance of the Force Commander, based upon his experience of the past four weeks, a programme of steps and objectives toward the implementation of which, I believe, the UN peace-keeping operation should now concentrate its efforts. This programme, about which, as a matter of course, the several parties and governments concerned have been informed, will require the co-operation of all those involved, as well as their good faith and their confidence in the UN peace-keeping operation, if it is to be effective in producing the improvements which all desire. I believe, however, that the Security Council resolution demands no less than earnest co-operation from all concerned, in the interest of the people of Cyprus and of the maintenance of international peace and security. The programme which I have in mind, and which is annexed hereto, is by no means exhaustive, but it can serve as a yardstick against which the governments and peoples concerned, and the members of the Security Council, may measure the progress that is being made towards the objectives outlined in the Security Council resolution of March 4, and reaffirmed on March 13.

14. In situations as complex as that now prevailing in Cyprus, the worst enemies are suspicion, fear and lack of confidence, breeding, as they so often do, hatred and violence. I believe that it may be useful, therefore, for the Secretary-General of the UN to make public at this particular time a programme of reasonable objectives which all parties should readily find it possible to support. I earnestly hope that, on the basis of the practical goals set forth in this programme, Cyprus, with the assistance of UNFICYP, may be able to move significantly toward peace and normality.

## ANNEX I

Objectives and interim aims of a comprehensive programme of action for UNFICYP:

1. The task of the UN Force, as given in the Security Council resolution of March 4, is to use its best efforts toward the following objectives: (A) to prevent a recurrence of fighting; (B) to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order; (C) to contribute to a return to normal conditions.

Efforts in any of these directions must, to have their maximum effect and durability, be made in a concerted manner, bearing in mind that (A) and (B) above are decisive steps leading to the over-all objective of the restoration of normal conditions in the daily life of the people.

2. The following is a suggested list of some of the objectives that could be defined as part of the comprehensive programme of action for UNFICYP:

(A) Achievement of freedom of movement on all roads in Cyprus, including the Kyrenia Road.

(B) Achievement of freedom of movement for all communities within the whole town of Nicosia and other cities under conditions of security.

(C) Progressive evacuation and removal of all fortified positions held by Greek and Turkish Cypriots, with priority given to Nicosia.

(D) Examination of the problem arising from the division that has taken place in the Cyprus police between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriot members and the negotiation of necessary measures for their progressive reintegration.

(E) The progressive disarming of all civilians other than the regular police *gendarmarie* and the Cyprus Army by the Cypriot Government and the Turkish community. UNFICYP, if requested, would assist in facilitating and verifying the disarming and the storage of arms under conditions of security.

(F) The control of extremists on both sides.

(G) The formulation of appropriate general amnesty arrangements.

(H) The arrangement of security measures and other necessary conditions to facilitate return to normal conditions and particularly of economic activity.

(I) The facilitation of the return of Turkish Cypriot civil servants and government officials to their duties, including the public services, such as postal, telecommunications, etc.

(J) The normal functioning of the judiciary.

The process of consultation and negotiation on these aims would continue side by side with the day-to-day efforts of the Force to carry out its mandate.

3. While efforts to make progress on the above points continue, certain interim aims should also be established and pressed in selected localities and on particular problems. The following are suggested:

(A) The removal of emplacements, fortifications and trenches in selected areas of Nicosia, with a view to repeating this measure subsequently in other areas.

(B) A determined effort in selected areas of Nicosia to re-establish normality by returning to their homes, under UN security guarantee, refugees, as, for example, those from Hamed Mandres to Omorphita, who would not carry arms, and attention to the development of a programme for the rehabilitation of their dwellings.

(C) A careful formulation of ways in which UNFICYP might be helpful in meeting the problem of the excesses by individual policemen in the course of searching and seizing civilians which at present causes much tension. Such a plan, which would largely depend on the use of UNFICYP police, would require a reliable system of reporting of abuses and a regular follow-through by UNFICYP in every case, and would also require a high degree of liaison and confidence with all Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot members of the Cyprus police.

(D) The institution of procedures for inquiry into every serious instance of shooting, especially when casualties occur, so that a full record of such incidents,



the reasons and responsibilities for them, can be determined and maintained.

(E) The elaboration of a plan for the reintegration, with UNFICYP assistance and guarantee, of the Turkish Cypriot policemen into the Cyprus police force, perhaps starting in one or two carefully-selected Turkish Cypriot communities.

(F) The use of UNFICYP good offices with both sides to improve the existing unacceptable living conditions through resuming essential public utilities and services and finally to ensure normal living conditions for the Turkish Cypriot community in tense areas, such as Ktima and Polis.

(G) Initial efforts to facilitate the return of Turkish Cypriot officials and civil servants to their positions in government service.

(H) An appraisal of the possibility of establishing in certain areas Cypriot Greek-Turkish-UNFICYP joint patrols as a means of restoring confidence and promoting a return to normality.

(I) Efforts, with UNFICYP if necessary providing security, to revive meetings of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, both official and non-official, and at all levels.

## ANNEX II

Statements issued on April 28, by Lieutenant-General P. S. Gyani, Commander of the UN Force in Cyprus:

1. The scale of and the manner in which the operations have been carried out by forces under the authority of the Government of Cyprus in the areas of the Pentadaktylos Range (Kyrenia Mountains) on April 26 and 27 indicate that these operations had been pre-planned. They were a complete surprise to UNFICYP, as there had been no sudden developments in that area in the last three or four days, and more particularly because I had put forward proposals for a cease-fire on the eastern side of the pass.

As such action can have serious implications regarding the obligations of the Government and the role of UNFICYP *vis-à-vis* the Security Council resolution and the task given to UNFICYP, I discussed the matter with the President and have also sent a full report to the Secretary-General.

2. His Beatitude the President has told me that he wants a political solution to the problem of Cyprus under peaceful conditions and he wants peace and normality immediately in the country and that he is prepared to assist the UNFICYP in every way to achieve this aim.

Similarly, his Excellency the Vice-President has reassured me that peace and normal conditions to the maximum possible extent is his aim and he is convinced that peaceful conditions in Cyprus are essential to negotiate a political solution.

It is my firm belief now that peaceful conditions can be restored and maintained in Cyprus and we in the UNFICYP will work relentlessly to bring about active measures to reduce tension and eliminate fear and assist in every way possible toward achieving quiet and peace in the island. I appeal to all the citizens to refrain from any action that would disturb the peace and to do everything possible to promote goodwill.



*A member of the 1st Battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment takes up a sand-bagged position on the "Green Line" separating Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot areas in Nicosia, Cyprus. The unit is on peace-keeping duty as part of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.*

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: March 23 to June 15.

International Law Commission: Geneva, May 11 to July 17.

Universal Postal Union, 15th Congress: Vienna, May 29 to July 15.

UNICEF Executive Board Meeting: New York, June 15-19.

Sixth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly: Mexico City (dates to be announced).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Executive Committee: Geneva, June 1-5.

Governing Council of the United Nations Special Fund: New York, June 1-8.

International Labour Organization, 48th session of the International Labour Conference: Geneva, June 17 to July 9.

Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR): Geneva, June 22 to July 3.

Inter-governmental Committee for the World Food Programme: Geneva, July 6 to 12.

37th session of the Economic and Social Council: Geneva, July 13 to August 15.

Biennial Conference of the International Law Association: Tokyo, August 16-22.

Third United Nations Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, August 31 to September 9.

Opening of IAEA General Conference: Vienna, September 14.



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. W. R. Campbell posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, to Ottawa. Left Dar-es-Salaam February 9, 1964.
- Miss O. E. Hobbs posted from the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, to the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown. Left The Hague March 1, 1964.
- Mr. J. George, High Commissioner for Canada, Colombo, posted to Ottawa. Left Colombo March 6, 1964.
- Mr. A. E. Gotlieb posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, to Ottawa. Left Geneva March 9, 1964.
- Mr. G. K. Grande appointed High Commissioner for Canada in Ceylon. Left Ottawa March 10, 1964.
- Mr. J. A. Beesley posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva. Left Ottawa March 17, 1964.
- Mr. S. W. Hubble posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston, to the Office of the Commissioner for Canada, Georgetown. Left Kingston March 19, 1964.
- Mr. W. G. Graham posted from the Canadian Embassy, Berne, to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo. Left Berne March 20, 1964.
- Mr. G. E. Shannon posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington. Left Ottawa March 26, 1964.
- Mr. G. E. Logan resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective March 31, 1964.
- Mr. J. L. P. De Salaberry appointed to the Department of External Affairs (Canadian Embassy, Bonn) as Foreign Service Officer 2 effective April 1, 1964.
- Mr. D. W. Munro posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Supervisory Commission for Laos. Left Ottawa April 5, 1964.
- Mr. A. L. Morantz posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris. Left Ottawa April 6, 1964.
- Mr. A. P. Sherwood posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw. Left Ottawa April 6, 1964.
- Mr. J. A. Whittleton posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam. Left Ottawa April 7, 1964.
- Mr. J. S. Stanford posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kingston. Left Paris April 9, 1964.
- Mr. J. E. M. Hanna appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 3 effective April 13, 1964.
- Mr. R. G. Hughes appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective April 15, 1964.

## **TREATY INFORMATION**

### **Current Action**

#### **Bilateral**

##### **Czechoslovakia**

Long-term wheat agreement between Canada and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Signed at Ottawa October 29, 1963.

Entered into force provisionally October 29, 1963.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Prague March 25, 1964.

Entered into force definitively March 25, 1964.

##### **United Kingdom**

Exchange of Letters between Canada and the United Kingdom providing for the establishment of minimum prices for cereals imported into the United Kingdom from Canada.

London April 15, 1964.

Entered into force April 15, 1964.

##### **United States of America**

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America providing for the continuation in force, beyond April 1, 1964, of the agreement recorded in the Exchange of Notes of July 3 and 13, 1962, in relation to the Welland Canal.

Ottawa March 31, 1964.

Entered into force March 31, 1964.

#### **Multilateral**

Protocol to the International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries.

Done at Washington July 15, 1963.

Signed by Canada July 15, 1963.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited January 23, 1964.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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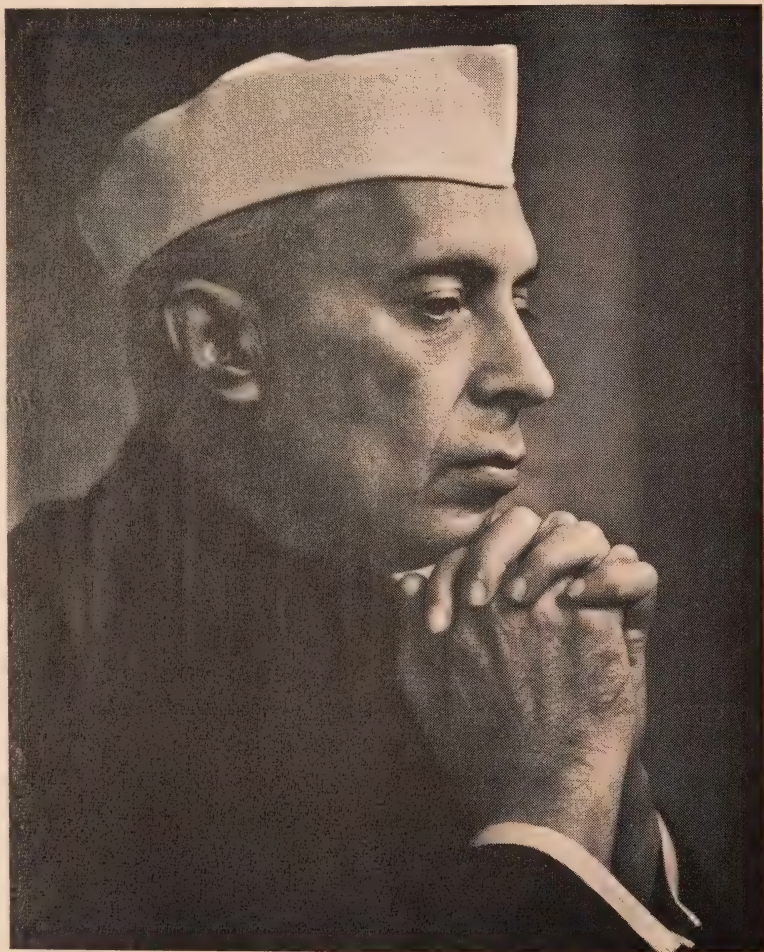
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- KARSH

## **Canada's Tribute to Prime Minister Nehru**

**Prime Minister's Statement in the House of Commons**

**27 May 1964**

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members of the House will have heard with regret of the death of the Prime Minister of India, a sister member of the Commonwealth of Nations. The death of Mr. Nehru is a loss not only to India and her people, who knew him best, but a loss to all mankind. Among the leaders of this century no one had made a greater impact on his time. No one has been more dedicated to the proposition that peace should prevail among nations and freedom should exist among men than the Prime Minister of India.

His talents and his energies were long devoted to the cause of India's independence, and when that was achieved he became a strong supporter of India's association in the Commonwealth of nations. As the leader of his country, his aim was to bring social justice and dignity to India's common man. He inspired respect amongst his adversaries, affection in his friends and confidence in his followers and the admiration of all men.

Our sympathy, Mr. Speaker, goes out to his countrymen in their loss, to his colleagues in the Government of India, and especially to his family.

# *Keeping the Peace*

NOTES FOR A LECTURE BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LESTER B. PEARSON,  
PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, IN THE DAG HAMMARSKJOLD MEMORIAL  
SERIES, AT CARLETON COLLEGE, OTTAWA, ON MAY 7, 1964.

WHEN I RECEIVED the invitation to speak in this Dag Hammarskjold Memorial Series of lectures, I considered it a privilege to be included among those close collaborators and friends of the late Secretary-General who would be paying tribute to his memory, and to his work, in this way. It is most fitting that in Canada this lecture should be given at Carleton University, from which Dag Hammarskjold received the first honorary degree given by this university and the first offered to him by any Canadian university.

I have chosen the subject "Keeping the Peace" because Mr. Hammarskjold gave so much of himself to the task of developing the peace-keeping work of the United Nations. Indeed, he was on active service for peace when his life so tragically and so prematurely ended.

Dag Hammarskjold died, as he would have wished, in the service both of peace and the United Nations. I had the privilege of knowing him well and of working with him at the United Nations during some difficult years. I admired and respected the high character of the man and the great qualities of the statesman. He was tireless and selfless and wise. He was as sure and as resolute in carrying out instructions from the United Nations for international action in the cause of peace as he was skilful and objective in seeking to establish a basis for that action in the Charter.

His life was a triumph of service and achievement and his passing at the very height of his career was a tragic loss. His death must continue to inspire us all to do what we can to secure the triumph of the cause for which he died, peace and security in the world, through the United Nations.

At a press conference early in 1959, Dag Hammarskjold said this:

The basic policy line for this organization is that the United Nations simply must respond to those demands which may be made of it. If we feel that those demands go beyond the present capacity, that in itself, from my point of view, is not a reason why the organization should refuse to respond, because I do not know the exact capacity of this machine. It did take the very steep hill of Suez; it may take other and even steeper hills. I would not object beforehand unless I could say, and had to say in all sincerity, that I knew what was asked of the United Nations could not be done. So far, I am not aware of any question which has been raised which would cause me to give a negative or discouraging reply. For that reason, my policy attitude remains that the United Nations should respond and should have confidence in its strength and capacity to respond.



In this lecture, I am concerned with ways and means of increasing that “strength and capacity to respond”.

To this end I wish to review developments in the field of United Nations peace keeping in order to illustrate the various demands which have been made on the organization and its response to them. I hope, as well, to suggest ways in which the capacity to respond can be strengthened, as it must be strengthened if the United Nations is to fulfill its primary purpose of maintaining peace and security in future.

### **Intervention for War**

As the nineteenth century came to an end, governments were beginning to think about international organization to prevent war. But in the main they continued to rely for security on their own power, supplemented by military alliances which had replaced Metternich's earlier “Concert of Europe”. Like the little old lady in *Punch* of 1914, they consoled themselves with the thought that, if threats to the peace occurred, such as the assassination of an Archduke in a Serbian town, “the powers are sure to intervene”. After the shot at Sarejevo they did so — against each other and for national ends. The war to end war was on.

After World War I, experts on international affairs debated whether it could happen again. They hoped that it could be avoided by strengthening collective security. They looked to the new League of Nations for this. But most governments still showed a preference for arms and military pacts. When collective security and sanctions under the Covenant *were* advocated, it was primarily with a view to possible use against Germany. Later, in Italy's attacks on Ethiopia, the League rejected effective international action for peace. In consequence, we lost the race with rearmament, while Hitler and Mussolini scorned the treaties intended to maintain the balance of power. “Intervention”, a dirty word in the case of Ethiopia, Spain and Czechoslovakia, became a necessity in Poland. Peace in our time dissolved in the global devastation of the Second World War.

Again there was a kind of peace, this time soon followed by “cold war”, which had become so intense by the fifties that great-power deadlock was in danger of destroying or rendering impotent the improved League which we now called the United Nations. Yet the world organization, in spite of limitations, and with varying success, tried to keep the peace on the periphery of potential war — in Greece and Kashmir, in Palestine and Indonesia. Its method was one of persuasion and “watchdog” presence. It seemed a frail basis for collective security in the face of Soviet aggressiveness — and in the shadow of the Bomb.

Since the main Communist challenge at that time was in Europe, the North Atlantic states responded to the weakness of the United Nations by exercising their right of collective self-defence under the Charter. They formed NATO to ward off the threat of military attack in the treaty area and, in essence, to safeguard peace by deterring aggression. NATO was not an alternative to the United Nations but a practical and regional means of cementing cracks which had appeared in the Charter security system.

In some ways, the situation in 1950 was unpleasantly like that of 1935. The international peace-keeping machinery was virtually stalled; the powers were once more turning to defence pacts. Tension in Europe remained explosive. A single incident from this tension could, and more than once almost did, result in general disaster.

But the flash of fighting actually occurred on a distant horizon — in Korea. This was no mere incident with possible alarming repercussions. This was an armed aggression, carefully calculated and prepared, and bolstered by the conventional military weapons of the Communist arsenal. It was a direct challenge which had to be met squarely by the Western powers if there was to be any hope of containing Communist military expansion. They were able to use the United Nations for this purpose because, luckily, the Russians stayed away from the Security Council when the Korean resolution was passed. It was an absence not likely to be repeated.

If the great powers had intervened in the manner of earlier times, Korea could have been the spark which ignited nuclear world war. Instead, the conflict was localized by improvising a collective response from the United Nations, by carefully defining the objectives of the United Nations military action and by making effective but limited use of United States military strength. In his thoughtful lecture in this series, Mr. Adlai Stevenson suggested that “perhaps Korea was the end of the road for classical armed aggression against one’s next door neighbour”. It may also have signified the end of Communist gambling on *direct* aggression in areas of great-power interest.

### **Intervention for Peace**

In any event, Korea was the beginning of a new development in international affairs — the deployment of armed military force under the control and the flag of the United Nations. At San Francisco, this possibility had been provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. But the international security force of that Chapter — intended to be the strong arm of an effectively functioning Security Council and to include all its permanent members — withered in the angry cold war debates of the late forties.

With the Security Council “frozen in futility”, the General Assembly, under the stimulus of the Korean emergency, took its own action to give sinew to the United Nations peace-keeping arm.

It adopted certain recommendations under the heading “Uniting for Peace”, including one to the effect that each member should maintain within its national armed forces elements so trained, organized and equipped that they could promptly be made available for service as a United Nations unit or units upon recommendation by the Security Council or the General Assembly. The same resolution provided for the General Assembly to act on short notice when there was a threat to the peace and the Security Council had failed to act because of the exercise of the veto.

Neither the procedure nor the collective measures proposed were pursued with any vigour in the next few years. The fighting in Korea died down. The wave of that crisis receded and with it the urge to be ready next time. The Soviet bloc was naturally opposed to the “Uniting-for-Peace” resolution and violently denounced it as a violation of the Charter. In any event, East-West tension had eased after the “summit” meeting at Geneva, and the West lost interest in the matter. In short, great-power deadlock destroyed the hope of establishing the United Nations Security Council force envisaged in the Charter. Inertia and wishful thinking, among members generally, postponed any significant action on the 1950 resolution calling for the alternative of stand-by units. The world community was to wait for another crisis.

It came in 1956, mounting with increasing menace in the Middle East. In late October, Israeli armed forces raced to the Suez Canal. Britain and France delivered their ultimatum and moved in. The Soviet Union and later Communist China issued threats. War seemed imminent and the United Nations was called upon to intervene for peace.

The main demand was to end the fighting and bring about the withdrawal of the British and French forces. What was needed to accomplish this was an impartial military force to secure a cease-fire and withdrawal and to supervise a buffer zone, first near the Canal and later along the line dividing Israel and Egypt. Some security had to be restored after the shock of fighting, the humiliation of defeat, and the frustrations of withdrawal. But the United Nations force to be organized for this purpose would do no fighting except in self-defence and would rely mainly on its presence as representing the United Nations to accomplish its aims. “Intervention” by the United Nations was to acquire new meaning.

### **Problems of Ad Hoc Peace Keeping**

The “Uniting-for-Peace” procedure had made it possible for the Assembly to meet in emergency special session to deal with the Suez crisis. It was able quickly to adopt broad directives governing the establishment and functioning of UNEF. But the Secretariat found little on their files concerning collective measures which might give a lead on how to proceed. It was a new course on new ground. Some experience could be drawn from the earlier activities of the military observer groups but no real precedent existed for a major, genuinely United Nations military operation which had to be carried out with speed, efficiency and even daring if it were to succeed.

The Secretary-General and the participating governments had to start virtually from zero. There was no time for detailed planning, either in New York or in national capitals. An international command staff had to be gathered in the Canal Zone, and an *ad hoc* team of military advisers assembled overnight in United Nations headquarters. Contingents, selected from the offers made, had to be moved to Palestine within a few days after the adoption of the Assembly resolution.



That UNEF did succeed in its initial tasks can largely be attributed to the ingenuity, skill and energy of Dag Hammarskjöld; to the solid core of support which existed in the Assembly; and to the prompt response of the ten governments which provided the original contingents; finally, to the fact that the parties directly concerned with the Suez conflict consented to the stationing and functioning of the force in the area.

There were many anxious days in the long weeks from November 1956 to March 1957, when the withdrawal from Egyptian territory was completed and the United Nations force was fully deployed. There was noisy and acrimonious debate. There was also quiet and earnest consultation. At times it looked as though the UNEF experiment might fail, mainly because of political objections but also because of practical difficulties of establishing, organizing and directing an international force which was the first of its kind in history.

A major question for Canada was the nature of its own participation. Our experience was revealing. To support our political initiative in the Assembly, the Government offered to provide a self-contained infantry battalion group. But after these troops had begun to move to the port of embarkation, it emerged that, of some two dozen offers of military assistance to the United Nations, most were infantry units and practically none included the supporting and technical services which the force would need — including an air component. Since the great powers were not participating in the force, Canada was one of a very few countries which was able, because of its military know-how and experience, to provide administrative and logistic specialists. In the end, the Canadian contingent included reconnaissance, transport, maintenance and supply units of the Canadian Army, and an observation and transport squadron of the RCAF. They were sneered at by some in the heat of partisan debate as a typewriter army, but they were indispensable to the success of UNEF. They played, and are still playing, a courageous and essential role.

This last-minute need to re-organize the Canadian contingent was not only a source of political embarrassment but a cause of delay in getting Canadian troops to Palestine. Both could have been avoided if there had been advance United Nations planning for such peace-keeping operations and co-ordinated preparations in the military establishments of the contributing countries.

Similar problems — the political problem of achieving balanced composition and the practical problem of finding qualified units and personnel for maintaining a mixed force — arose when the Congo crisis broke in 1960 and the United Nations was again asked to provide a peace-keeping force. There was no lack of infantry contingents and it was very desirable that the countries of Africa should provide most of them. Technical units and specialists were also needed, however, and national establishments had to be combed for suitable personnel.

The UNEF experience was available because the Secretary-General had produced a very useful study in 1958. But the United Nations faced a very

different situation in the Congo and the demands on its military force were much more complicated. Quite apart from the political difficulties, which multiplied as the operation progressed, once again, as in the case of UNEF, there were technical delays and administrative and other difficulties.

Again our own experience can be cited. For both UNEF and ONUC, mainly because of the nature of our participation, it was necessary to organize new Canadian units to form the contingent. This caused some disruption in our armed services, for specialists had to be drawn from units and formations already committed to other tasks. While the personnel were well trained in their technical duties, they had been taught, as part of their regular training, to think and act as fighting soldiers. In a peace-keeping role, largely passive and supervisory in nature, the troops were called upon to perform unaccustomed and difficult duties, often without clear directions.

I do not wish to leave the impression that the Canadian armed services in both the Suez and the Congo did not respond to United Nations needs with speed, efficiency, tact and inventiveness. The opposite is true. They were magnificent. What I do suggest is that the launching of these two vital peace-keeping operations — from the point of view both of the United Nations and of participating countries — would have been accomplished more easily and effectively if steps had been taken in advance to ensure technical and other forms of preparation for this kind of peace keeping.

Now I am aware that earlier conditions are not likely to be duplicated when the United Nations embarks on a peace-keeping mission. The political circumstances vary; the composition of the force usually has to be adjusted to suit them; the climate and terrain in the area of operations may be quite different.

We also have to recognize that the kind of United Nations presence required may vary greatly from situation to situation. Mr. Hammarskjöld spoke about the “uniqueness of the UNEF setting”. He maintained that such a force could not have been deployed in Lebanon or in Jordan in 1958, although there was a need for other forms of United Nations presence on these occasions in which unarmed military observers were able to play a significant part in restoring stability. Similar operations — but with local variations — were carried out more recently in West New Guinea and in Yemen.

The method of operation has to be adapted to each situation. The truce-supervision teams in Kashmir and Palestine investigate complaints about incidents; the observers in Lebanon, moving about in jeeps and helicopters, sought to check the illegal entry of arms and infiltrations. In Gaza, UNEF had been stationed at fixed posts. In the buffer zone and in Sinai it has engaged in mobile reconnaissance on the ground and in the air. In the Congo, the force has occupied key points in the main centres of the country. In some areas, the task has been one of patrolling demilitarized zones; in others, of calming and controlling local populations; and, in still others, of persuading opposing factions to refrain from hostile acts.

The very fact that forces are composed of national contingents with their own military traditions and methods and disciplines adds to the complexity of the operation. Language can be a barrier, and problems of supply a difficulty. The many variations which occur require careful organization, through training and standardization of procedure.

But, in spite of all the difficulties and differences, the shocks and surprises, the United Nations has shown itself capable of brilliant improvisation and has succeeded in making its peace-keeping presence effective. Its record of achievement has been good; all the more so because it was never permitted to be prepared.

### **Cyprus Dilemma**

How can we be complacent about this chronic state of unpreparedness, this necessity of improvising during a crisis when failure could mean war? Today in Cyprus, the United Nations is facing another severe test of its capacity to respond, without preparation, to a challenge to peace. On tomorrow's horizon, there may be other sudden and equally exacting demands. The halting response which the organization made, after the Cyprus issue had been raised in the Security Council, reflected the deep-seated political dilemma which handicaps the United Nations peace-keeping role. It also served to remind us again that the protection of international peace should not be left to preparations made on the brink, to *ad hoc* arrangements and hasty organization.

Hesitations and difficulties over Cyprus were increased by division among the great powers. But this was a normal situation in the United Nations and outside it. More disturbing was the widespread disinterest or suspicion on the part of many middle and small powers. Some were too preoccupied with national and regional interests, which dulled their sense of danger at tensions smouldering in other parts of the world. Others had grown weary of the burden of international crises, and of finance, which, in recent years, has fallen heavily on the shoulders of a few states. All-pervading also was the suspicion that the Cyprus conflict was just too difficult and too domestic for United Nations treatment. It was too small a local tail to wag such a big international dog.

But, as in the Suez and the Congo, the United Nations, while hesitant and unprepared, did not abandon its peace-keeping responsibilities, thanks to the initiative taken by certain of its members.

So we can take comfort from the fact that in the Cyprus crisis, occurring even before the liquidation of the Congo problem, the Security Council decided to establish a force in that troubled island; that five member governments agreed to provide contingents and ten to make contributions to the voluntary fund for financing the operation; that the force became quickly operational and that a mediator was chosen who took up his difficult assignment without delay.

While this result gives cause for satisfaction, it should not blind us to the need, demonstrated once more, to organize, plan and prepare in advance for



prompt United Nations engagement in peace-keeping operations. It has become glaringly apparent that the organization and its individual members must improve their capability to act quickly. I believe that there is a growing resolve to do this, reflecting a conviction that United Nations preparedness in the field of peace keeping falls far short of the urgent demands being made on the organization with increasing frequency.

The requirements of peace preservation in the future may not always be satisfied by skilful improvisation and by the willingness of a few to do their duty. The growing interest in improving peace-keeping methods must be broadly stimulated into advance planning and preparation. Canada, I know, is resolved to draw on its own experience in a way which will give leadership and encouragement in this effort.

### **Preparedness for Peace-keeping Operations**

What can be done, then, to prepare the United Nations for the kind of peace-keeping operations which we have seen in the past and others which we can expect in future? Ideally, the organization should have its own permanent international force in being, under its orders, for peace-keeping duties. But this is not now feasible for political reasons.

As a next best, all member governments should have elements in their armed services earmarked, trained and equipped for United Nations service, ready for call to such service. There should be a military planning staff in United Nations headquarters to co-ordinate the national preparations and to improve the operating procedures of the organization.

It has become apparent in the past ten years, however, that formal action by and in the United Nations to achieve even these limited ends is not immediately feasible because of political and practical difficulties. The most recent occasion when the United Nations showed some disposition to deal with the question of stand-by arrangements was in 1958. Dag Hammarskjöld had made his report on the experience derived from the establishment and functioning of UNEF. A number of countries, including the United States, wished to take action in the General Assembly, based on that report. Political circumstances, however, were not favourable. United States support roused all the worst Soviet suspicions. So the matter was dropped. The report was not even discussed by the Assembly.

The Soviet bloc remained firmly opposed to any international security or peace-keeping force or any plan for such a force. The West were not willing to force the issue. The Arab world had been rocked by disturbances in Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. Some non-aligned countries, suspicious of Western motives and not wishing to become involved in East-West argument, were unwilling to authorize the United Nations to put force behind international decisions and organize for the purpose.

They failed to appreciate that, by strengthening the United Nations capacity to meet threats to the peace, they would be strengthening as well their own

security and creating conditions favourable to the economic and social development which they so badly needed.

Since that time — 1958 — there has been some shift in the attitude of member states but not sufficient to ensure the kind of support needed if formal UN stand-by arrangements are to succeed. Nevertheless, the need continues and increases.

A few members have recognized this. Like Canada, they have earmarked units for United Nations service. Following an announcement last year, the Nordic countries — Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden — have introduced legislation setting up contingents which are designed for United Nations service and each of which may be used in conjunction with those established in the other Nordic countries.

This is an encouraging development. The Netherlands has followed suit by earmarking troops. There have been indications that other states, representing other geographical areas, have begun to think along those lines.

This is why I proposed recently that, if the United Nations itself remains unable to agree on permanent arrangements for a stand-by peace force, members who believe that stand-by arrangements should be made could discharge their own responsibility, individually and collectively, by organizing such a force for use by the United Nations.

I do not wish to be misunderstood on this point. The stand-by arrangements made by the interested countries, because of existing circumstances in the United Nations, would have to be made outside its constitutional framework. But those arrangements would be squarely within the context of United Nations purposes within the Charter.

The stand-by contingents which resulted from such an arrangement would not be used unless and until they had been requested by the United Nations to engage in one of its duly authorized peace-keeping operations. In some situations this stand-by force might not necessarily serve as an entity; only some of its national contingents might be selected to serve. Parts might be used alone or be combined with contingents from other United Nations members not included in the stand-by arrangements. Political requirements would determine its role.

I emphasize this because there has been some disposition to interpret my proposal as an intention to turn away from the United Nations. The whole point of it was to strengthen the capability of the members concerned to serve and support the United Nations.

When I suggested that at first the stand-by arrangements might be confined to half a dozen or so middle powers, I had in mind, of course, the countries which have already earmarked contingents for United Nations service. They would be ready — and willing. Soon, I hope, others would be added, until all the continents would be represented.

Co-ordination would be a first requirement. This could be achieved in several ways. The governments concerned could consult closely about the kind of unit

and personnel which might be needed in future operations. They could perhaps agree to some allocation of responsibility for organizing and training their earmarked contingents. Exchanges of ideas, experience and key personnel could be arranged on a regular basis.

An international staff would be needed to co-ordinate the training and other activities of the earmarked contingents; to analyze and correlate with future needs the experience of past operations; to prepare contingency plans and operating procedures for a variety of situations. No stand-by arrangements would be complete without making provision for such a staff — at least in embryo.

It would be even better if a compact military planning staff could be set up in the office of the Secretary-General, one which could co-operate with the member states who have decided to work together in the United Nations peace-keeping field. It is a matter of some satisfaction that the Secretariat now includes a Military Adviser. He should have a supporting staff to assist him in advising the Secretary-General on the establishment and conduct of military operations. The same staff could be planning ahead for possible peace-keeping missions.

I believe that, if a group of middle and small powers could be persuaded to work together along the lines indicated above, an effective stand-by arrangement could be brought into being.

I do not expect that even the most modest of such arrangements could be accomplished quickly. Nevertheless, the Canadian Government is determined to push ahead toward this goal. We have been considering plans for confidential discussions with certain other governments, primarily of military problems arising out of past and current peace-keeping operations. As a first stage, such discussions would be confined to countries which have taken steps to establish stand-by units for United Nations service. Later they might be extended.

Out of these discussions may come suggestions for improving the United Nations ability to conduct peace-keeping operations and for strengthening and co-ordinating arrangements for national participation in these operations. That is what I intended when I suggested at the eighteenth General Assembly that there should be a "pooling of available resources and the development in a co-ordinated way of trained and equipped collective forces for United Nations service".

We shall be following up these exploratory talks with a more formal approach to the other governments concerned. We have reason to hope that they share Canadian views on the need to improve on the present improvised and haphazard approach to peace keeping.

My concentration so far on the organization and employment of military force reflects my deep concern about the present operation in Cyprus, as well as a conviction which I have held for many years.

However, just as the United Nations is not the only instrument for keeping the peace in today's world, international military force is not the only peace-keeping United Nations machinery which should be readily available. There



remains a growing need for unarmed supervisory teams, for experienced mediators and conciliators. This need should also be planned for.

Arising out of past operations, the United Nations has been able to compile an impressive list of individual soldiers and civilians who have demonstrated their qualification for serving as impartial international servants. Some member governments are aware of the need to keep this list up-to-date and up to strength. They have been proposing additional names to it. They know that there will be more situations requiring the prompt dispatch of observers and mediators ready and able to serve the organization.

In many cases, the functions performed by an international force more closely resemble those of the police than the military. This is especially true in a country experiencing the breakdown of internal order or torn by civil disturbance.

Police training is not usually a part of military training but it should be, under any stand-by arrangement for an international peace force. I would go further. If the United Nations, as such, cannot now organize its own peace-keeping force, it should at least recruit a small professional international police force specifically trained for such duties as traffic and crowd control, property protection, escort duty and crime investigation. Cyprus is showing the importance of having such a police force to supplement the soldiers.

Mr. Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General, had this kind of force in mind when he put forth his proposal for a United Nations Guard in 1948. His proposal, like many others at that time, was a casualty of the cold war. But it had great merit then, as it has even greater merit today, in the light of recent experience of the United Nations in the field of peace keeping.

Whatever may be the role of United Nations representatives in the field, it will always call for special qualities, in civilians and soldiers alike. They must make a quick transition from being a loyal citizen of one nationality to being a member of an international team with loyalty to the organization and the Charter.

This means that training for UN service is of particular importance. Such training — military or para-military or civilian — should have a certain uniformity in all countries likely to participate in peace-keeping operations. It should take into account the training requirements of individual units. It should include a substantial content of United Nations philosophy. Personnel of all categories should be educated in the aims and purposes of the United Nations, in its political methods and administrative procedures, in the significance of the peace-keeping role.

This is particularly true for the soldiers of all ranks, who have been trained to be non-political and to owe one allegiance. It is a tribute to the character and discipline of United Nations troops that there have been very few instances in which they have broken the code of international service.

In the tasks of separating armies, supervising truce lines or calming hostile factions, the United Nations soldier will be frequently called upon to exert a

mediatory rather than a military influence. He will be required to display unusual self-restraint, often under severe provocation. In many cases, an explosive situation can be brought under control through coolness, good humour and commonsense. And this applies not only to high-ranking officers but to NCO's and other ranks.

Behind this self-restraint and commonsense there must, however, be force. The problem of the use of such force in United Nations peace-keeping operations can be a complicated and difficult business, especially for the commander on the spot. But the basic principles are clear enough and follow logically from the initial premise: that a UN force is a peace force and there is no enemy to be defeated. Therefore, the UN does not mount offensive actions and may never take the initiative in the use of armed force.

This means the use of arms by a United Nations force is permissible only in self-defence and when all peaceful means of persuasion have failed. It is important to appreciate, however, what is involved in this right of self-defence. Thus, when forcible attempts are made to compel UN soldiers to withdraw from positions which they occupy under orders from their commanders, or to disarm them, or to prevent them from carrying out their responsibilities, UN troops should be and have been authorized to use force.

What can be done in any situation depends on the mandate given the force. It is always open to the Security Council or the General Assembly as the case may be to enlarge this mandate and authorize the use of the necessary amount of force to achieve specified objectives. This was done during the Congo operation as the developing situation required, and with the aim of preventing civil war clashes and apprehending mercenaries. The mandate thus determines the extent to which any UN peace-keeping force can employ arms for the discharge of responsibilities which have been clearly assigned to it.

In this lecture I have put forward some modest proposals whereby the United Nations could be better prepared for keeping the peace. There are, however, two large and related issues which make such proposals difficult to carry out. The first is financial. The second, and more important, is political.

We know that for the past few years the United Nations has been teetering on the edge of bankruptcy. There have been heavy burdens assumed in the Middle East and the Congo. A number of member states — including two great powers — with full capacity to pay have failed to assume their share of these burdens and pay their share of the costs. Others have been slow in paying, even when reductions were granted to take into account their relative incapacity to pay.

This is a deplorable, indeed an intolerable situation, for a world organization established to maintain peace and security. It is especially urgent in view of the growing demands for peace-keeping operations, which have demonstrated not only their worth but their cost. The situation is moving toward a climax this year because a number of states, including the Soviet bloc, now have accumulated arrears of payment which make them subject to Article 19 of the Char-

ter, which provides for the loss of vote in the General Assembly. When it next meets, the Assembly will have to deal with this critical situation, which has far-reaching political and financial implications, unless steps have been taken in the meantime by those in default to liquidate their arrears.

Canada is convinced that the principle of collective responsibility is the only sensible basis for financing peace-keeping operations. We believe that Article 19 was intended to provide, and should provide, the sanction for that principle. We do not seek to force this issue but we are ready to face it if the delinquent states are not prepared to join in a search for a constructive solution. The financial dilemma must be solved.

Even more important is the political conflict which underlies finance and everything else. This conflict has made it all the more necessary to re-define the political basis for United Nations action in the field of peace preservation. It has also made such re-definition more difficult to bring about. The powers and function of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General have to be clarified in an agreed manner. In particular, the Security Council needs to reassert its authority in a way which will be effective when the peace is threatened.

To exert its proper influence, the Council should be enlarged to permit a balanced composition in its membership with equitable representation for all geographical areas. It must be made more capable of preserving the peace. For this, its functions may have to be modified to meet the changing situation in the world.

The United Nations must put its house in order so that it can exercise to the full its responsibility for maintaining peace and security. Stand-by arrangements for peace forces and for the other forms of United Nations presence are part of that process. But this does not embrace the whole responsibility for keeping the peace in our nuclear age.

The world organization, as such, plays its part but the individual members cannot escape their own responsibility for maintaining peace, for refraining from the use of force in the pursuit of national policy; for leaving aside short-sighted and debilitating manoeuvring, designed for national, regional, or ideological purposes.

The great powers have a special responsibility in this regard. The Charter gives them a position of privilege but it also imposes a corresponding obligation to co-operate and show the way in preventing war and securing peace; to strive to avoid major clashes among themselves and to keep clear of minor ones.

The middle powers also have their own position of responsibility. They are and will remain the backbone of the collective effort to keep the peace as long as there is fear and suspicion between the great-power blocs. They have a special capacity in this regard which they should be proud to exercise.

Finally, there is the particular responsibility of the parties themselves to a dispute. U Thant, the courageous and worthy successor to the Secretary-General-



ship, underlined this in his report to the Security Council last week on Cyprus:

It is the parties themselves who alone can remedy the critical situation of Cyprus. The authorities . . . must, with a high sense of responsibility, act urgently to bring completely to an end the fighting in Cyprus, if that island is to avoid utter disaster. This meant, he added, a voluntary and immediate renunciation of force as the first essential to finding a peaceful solution of the problems of Cyprus.

The United Nations can and will assist the process of peace making whenever it is given the chance. Its peace forces can restore and have restored the conditions necessary to a peaceful solution of a dispute when they are permitted to operate effectively.

I know that for this purpose and in the long run the political conflicts, and above all the East-West conflict, inside the United Nations must be resolved or at least reduced.

But there is also a growing necessity for planning and preparation so that the machinery for peace making can operate swiftly and effectively even under present conditions and when required.

To this end, we must do what we can now, and hope that we will soon be able to do more.

In this effort Canada has played and I know will continue to play a good and worthy role.

## *NATO Spring Ministerial Meeting*

*The 1964 spring meeting of NATO foreign ministers was held in The Hague from May 12 to 14. The Canadian delegation was led by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs. The following is the text of the communiqué issued at the conclusion of the meeting:*

The North Atlantic Council held its spring ministerial meeting at The Hague from May 12 to 14, 1964.

Ministers reviewed the international situation. They discussed the annual political appraisal of the state of the alliance presented by the Secretary-General. They emphasized the role of the Atlantic alliance as the indispensable guardian of security and peace, and thus as the prerequisite for social and economic progress.

Ministers reaffirmed their determination to achieve a genuine relaxation of tension in international relations. Although in recent months no serious crises have arisen in Europe, the U.S.S.R. has nevertheless continued to try to exert differing forms of pressure. The Communist countries continue their various efforts to extend their system to the whole world. The fundamental causes of tension in the world therefore persist.

In particular, no solution has yet been found for the problems of Germany and Berlin. The Council reaffirmed that a just and peaceful solution to the problem of Germany can be reached only on the basis of the right of self-determination, and agreed that every suitable opportunity should be taken to bring nearer to realisation the wish of the German people for reunification in freedom, and thereby ensure an enduring peace in Central Europe. This problem will continue to be examined. The Council also reaffirmed that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people in international affairs. With regard to Berlin, the alliance stands by the terms of its Declaration of December 16, 1958.

Ministers noted with satisfaction that limited steps had recently been taken toward arresting the arms race. They reiterated their desire to bring about a settlement of the basic problems of disarmament, but noted that such a prospect would remain remote as long as the Soviet Union refused to accept effective measures of control and inspection.

In present circumstances, the members of the alliance are in duty bound to improve their overall defensive capability. They will strengthen their unity by extending and deepening their political consultation. They will intensify their economic effort in order to raise living standards, whether of their own peoples or in developing countries.

Ministers, referring to the previous resolution concerning the study of the

military and economic problems of the defence of the Southeastern region of NATO, expressed the wish that the conclusions of this study be submitted at the next ministerial meeting.

Ministers expressed their concern at the situation in this region arising from the continuing disorders in Cyprus. They reaffirmed the full support of their governments for the action decided on by the United Nations organization with a view to restoring law and order, and for the efforts of the mediator appointed by the United Nations to seek an agreed solution of the problem.

Ministers expressed their deep regret at the impending departure of Mr. Dirk U. Stikker, who had announced his intention of retiring from the Secretary-Generalship of the Organization. In their tributes to Mr. Stikker, who was one of those who signed the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, ministers expressed their profound appreciation of his outstanding services to the alliance.

The Council invited Signor Manlio Brosio, former Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister in the Italian Government and at present Italian Ambassador in Paris, to become Secretary-General of the Organization in succession to Mr. Stikker as from August 1, 1964. Signor Brosio has informed the Council of his acceptance of this invitation.

The next ministerial meeting will be held in Paris in December 1964.



## *Mr. Martin Visits West Germany*

*At the invitation of the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, visited Bonn on May 15 after the annual spring meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers in The Hague. Marking the first official visit of a Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs to Germany since before the Second World War, Mr. Martin's visit served to underline the many areas of fruitful co-operation between Canada and Germany. Following his talks in Bonn on a wide range of current international issues, Mr. Martin paid a brief visit to West Berlin, where he was received by Acting Mayor Albertz, signed the Golden Book in a special ceremony at the Schoeneberger Rathaus, and toured the city, including the Berlin Wall. In response to the Mayor's address of welcome, Mr. Martin paid tribute to the courage and determination with which the West Berliners had met successive challenges to their tragically divided city.*

*The following communiqué, issued at the close of the Bonn visit, summarizes the results of the discussions in which Mr. Martin took part, and underlines the warm and friendly atmosphere which characterized his reception in West Germany:*

Following the meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, visited Bonn on May 15. He intends to visit Berlin on May 16.

Mr. Martin had talks with the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, in which senior officials of both foreign ministries took part. In the absence of Herr von Hassel because of illness, Mr. Martin called on the State Secretary of the Defence Ministry, Mr. Hopf. The talks, which were conducted in a very friendly atmosphere, dealt with a wide range of problems of mutual interest.

The two foreign ministers took note with satisfaction of the steady development of bilateral relations in many fields. They were agreed that this fruitful co-operation shall be further extended.

Both parties agreed that there had been a pause in the East-West confrontation during the past year. They expressed their satisfaction with this development, which both countries will continue to encourage. They agreed, however, that the underlying sources of tension continued to exist. In this connection, Dr. Schroeder explained the reunification policy of the Federal Government. Mr. Martin showed full understanding and reaffirmed his conviction that a just and peaceful solution to the problem of Germany and of Berlin will have to be found on the basis of self-determination in freedom.

The two foreign ministers agreed on the continuing need for a strong and united Atlantic alliance. They expressed satisfaction that, at the recent NATO meeting in The Hague, the Cyprus problem, which affects the cohesion of the

alliance, had been discussed, with the result that every member had undertaken to use its influence to help the United Nations re-establish peaceful conditions in Cyprus.

The ministers also discussed current developments and future prospects in the field of European unity. They affirmed their belief that there was no contradiction between European and Atlantic objectives and that further progress towards European unity would strengthen the Atlantic community. They reasserted their governments' determination to contribute towards greater liberalization of world trade. Both parties agreed that it was essential, both for political and for economic reasons, that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the "Kennedy round" should be successful.

Following their review of other current international problems, Mr. Martin stressed the peace-keeping achievements of the United Nations. He outlined Canadian plans to hold a preparatory conference with a view to examining ways of improving the effectiveness of peace-keeping activities.

The discussions have served to reinforce mutual understanding between the two countries and to confirm the desirability of more frequent contacts and closer co-operation between the two governments and their peoples. In this connection, the forthcoming visit to Ottawa of Chancellor Erhard and Foreign Minister Schroeder in the month of June will be of special significance.

# *Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World*

A STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON MAY 22, 1964, BY THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE  
PAUL MARTIN

ON NOVEMBER 28 last I made a full statement to the House on Canadian policy concerning a wide range of major international issues. Today I propose to concentrate on the most important developments that have taken place in the meantime in areas of primary concern to our country.

Since last November I have attended a number of important conferences and meetings, including two ministerial meetings of the North Atlantic Council, one in December of last year and one last week, the United Nations Trade and Development Conference in Geneva in March, and a session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. I also accompanied the Prime Minister on visits to France and the United States in January, and we received here in Ottawa in February the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom.

## **Three Main Developments**

In one way or another, all these meetings had to do with the three main developments which have characterized the last decade in international affairs: the continuing contest between the Communist and non-Communist world in both a military and an economic sense; the changing relationships which are taking place within both the Communist and non-Communist camps, and finally the adjustments which both groupings have been making in their relations within the so-called third world, the less-developed and often non-aligned nations which now comprise more than two-thirds of the United Nations.

These three main tides of development have brought with them such a host of new and unfamiliar problems that there has been an understandable, and perhaps inevitable, tendency to try to deal with them piecemeal and in separate compartments. Yet the obvious interrelationship of these major political trends should convince one that at some stage — and I do not pretend to know how or when — the means whereby we are endeavouring to cope with some of the major unresolved problems must be brought together. It is clear to me that, when we in NATO decide on a particular size and structure of defence arrangements to cover a given future period, we must not only consider whether that structure is adequate to ensure our physical security but what impact it will have on what we are simultaneously trying to accomplish in the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, and how it might affect prospects for a settlement of



European security problems. Again, when we contemplate the rash of local conflicts which have broken out in the Middle East, Africa and Southeast Asia, we should not, in our anxiety to contain them, overlook what we are trying to achieve in the United Nations and in the Disarmament Committee by way of more orderly and lasting international peace-keeping machinery. In piecing together the parts of this complex puzzle, I believe we are, during the next months and years, going to have to rethink a great deal of what has been our traditional policy.

#### **Four-Way Relation**

I have just returned from the NATO ministerial meeting in The Hague, followed by a short visit to Germany. Together, these two visits were concerned with most of the fundamental issues in our contemporary international life, our relations with the Communist world or worlds still being the dominant preoccupation. For years, in NATO and in all the Western capitals we have been speaking rather loosely about East-West relations. I think it is time we admitted that this shorthand phrase is no longer adequate. When we say "East-West relations" we imply that we are thinking in terms of a bipolar world, the Communists and the rest of us. In fact, today there is no longer one Communist world and it is quite misleading to equate "East" with "Communism". It is equally misleading to equate "West" with "the rest of us" or even with "NATO". What is actually happening is a more complicated form of competition than our old terminology suggests, a competition in which the Chinese Communists are making a determined takeover bid for the Communist leadership in Asia and Africa. We must think more of a four-way relationship among the West, the Soviet Communists, the Chinese Communists and the non-aligned countries, instead of the old "East-West" terms.

If there is a pause or a *détente* in our relations with the Soviet Union, based on what is really a common appreciation, since the Cuban confrontation, of the unacceptability of nuclear warfare — if this is true, we cannot pass the same verdict on our relations with the other Communist world. For the Chinese, nuclear war is certainly unwanted but not unthinkable. Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that, after the First World War, there were 200 million Communists and after the second, 900 million; so he predicts that, after the third, Communism will take over what remains of the world.

I know that, apart from the Chinese Communist invasions of Tibet and India and the troubles to which they are a party in Southeast Asia, there is no reason to believe that the Chinese Communists would deliberately allow their theories to push them over the brink. Their bark may, as we must hope, be worse than their bite. We have had experience before — bitter experience — of madmen whose theories were explicit and public, but we were too rationalistic to believe that they meant what they said. I am not prone to believe that we face the same situation now, but there are similar dangers. It does not appear at present

that the West's *détente* with Moscow extends to Peking, but we must continue to test the intentions of the Chinese Communists, intentions little affected by Soviet views or aims, by all means at our disposal. In the meantime it would be premature and irresponsible to dismantle our defences, either materially or psychologically, even though for the time being we think that with the Soviet world Western relations are showing some real, though limited, improvement.

This is the first time that, as External Minister, I have tried in this House to analyze our relations with the Communists in this way. When the differences between Moscow and Peking first became apparent, there was a natural reluctance on the part of the West to attach too much importance to them lest the cleavage be short-lived. While this was a prudent reaction at the time, we can now begin to draw a new balance-sheet and get away from too exclusive a preoccupation with only one of the Communist giants. They are clearly at odds with each other on national, historical and racial grounds, though, as Communists, their differences find expression in ideological terminology. These differences, which have been coming into the open for perhaps four years, are obviously not a transient phenomenon.

### **Soviet-Bloc Changes**

It is impossible to say how deep the *détente* or the pause with the Soviet Union will go, or how penetrating it really is. In the meantime I think it should clearly be our intention to encourage this pause or *détente* while remembering that Soviet positions have not changed on most of the central issues which divide us, including the division of Germany, the cruel, special case of Berlin, and the fomenting of unrest throughout the non-Communist world under the guise of liberation. Moreover, as we have recently noted in Ottawa as well as in other parts of the world, Communist efforts to subvert individuals and groups in free countries, and to expand their power and influence by other means than war, have continued unabated despite the *détente*.

This kind of situation, of course, requires the most careful examination. Each week brings some new evidence that it is possible to modify the word "satellites" in describing the relationship between the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. This trend, of course, should not be exaggerated, but it is evident that, apart from foreign policy, and within certain limits, the Eastern European countries are being allowed, much more than ever before, to develop a brand of Communism more in conformity with local conditions and the national characteristics of their peoples. Simultaneously, the process of de-Stalinization has led to a considerable reduction in the physical control over the populations in these countries. Such trends are not easily reversed.

A final element to be kept in mind is that the Communist countries are faced with substantial economic difficulties. Agriculture is clearly inefficient, and the planning and organization techniques of Communist industry are passing through a period of revision. These developments present possibilities to the West for trade and for the opening of channels of communication which may help us to

break down some of the barriers between the Soviet world and our own. Yet, even if we should be able to make some really substantial progress toward an understanding, a *modus vivendi*, with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, there would still remain the ominous question-mark of Communist China.

### **Communist China a Question-Mark**

The Prime Minister and I had the opportunity for a frank discussion about Communist China with President de Gaulle and M. Couve de Murville, the French Foreign Minister, during our visit to Paris shortly before the French act of recognition. While we would have preferred that France had consulted her allies, it was apparent to us that her decision was taken after a careful weighing of all the circumstances as the Government of that country saw them. I hope the decision of France to establish diplomatic relations with Peking will help to reduce Communist China's continuing isolation. The isolation of the Soviet Union between 1917 and the early 1930's is now recognized as having brought little benefit either to the West or to the Soviet Union.

I do not wish to leave the impression that it is the West which is mainly responsible for Chinese isolation. In fact, since the Communist Chinese took control of the mainland, they have often appeared to be pursuing a deliberate policy of severing contacts with the West. They have also sought to impose conditions upon those who were otherwise prepared to enter into relations with them. It must be frankly admitted that the experiences of some governments which extended recognition and sought to establish diplomatic relations were not as happy as those countries might have hoped.

Realizing the dangers inherent in Chinese isolation, Canada has, like a number of other Western nations, encouraged increased contacts in the commercial and cultural fields with China; and I think this policy has been wise and has met with success. Canadian trade with China continues at a relatively high level, and there are increased dealings between Canadian businessmen and the appropriate Chinese agencies. With a relaxation in the Chinese attitude, one Canadian newspaperman is now in Mainland China, and there is the possibility of other correspondents being admitted. This could give our public greater first-hand coverage of events and developments on the Chinese Mainland.

As part of this new development, we would be willing to receive an equivalent number of Chinese correspondents in Canada for the purpose of reporting — and I emphasize the word reporting — on the Canadian scene to their home audience. It is our hope that such reciprocal arrangements could, in the long run, help to reduce the distortions which in the past have proved so dangerous to relations between Peking and the Western countries.

### **International Position of Communist China**

As far as the international position of Communist China is concerned, there are no simple solutions in sight. At the United Nations . . . Canada has opposed



resolutions calling for the expulsion of Nationalist Chinese representatives and their replacement by representatives from Peking, on the grounds that such resolutions make no provision for the right of the inhabitants of Formosa to self-determination and appropriate international status. Canadian representatives at the United Nations have made clear the Canadian desire for an equitable solution which would deal adequately with the Formosa problem and at the same time bring Mainland China into the mainstream of international affairs. This was the position taken by the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, the present Leader of the Opposition in the other place, when he acted as Head of the Canadian Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1961. I also agree with what the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition said in the House of Commons on July 25, 1963:

I think a major challenge is presented to the nations of the Western world today. Canada, the United States and other nations will have to take another look at our policy regarding Communist China. We will have to review our thinking. We will have to consider the problem, and it is a tremendous one, in the perspective of changing events, and particularly in view of this agreement; because unless it includes Communist China — and I do not want to mention France in the same paragraph — and we are able to secure the adherence of Communist China, the threat of nuclear war will hang over us to a degree that we can only anticipate with foreboding, horror and overwhelming fear. . . .

Recent developments have revived interest in what could be described as a one-China, one-Formosa solution. To achieve such a solution would require above all the co-operation of the parties immediately concerned; but a practical and equitable solution along these lines has not so far proved acceptable either to Peking or to Taipei.

### **Future Possibilities**

During the recent NATO meeting, questions were asked in this House concerning my references in my statement before the Council in The Hague to the realities we might face at the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly which might require some modification of the policy I have just described. The Prime Minister . . . has already referred to one such reality, the possibility of a vote favourable to the seating of Mainland China irrespective of Canada's stand on that issue.

Another possibility is that Communist China might come so close to being seated by vote at this Assembly as to foreshadow a decisive trend in that direction at the following Assembly.

In that event, as I told the NATO Council, the chances of a solution which would make provision in the United Nations for the future of Formosa and its inhabitants on a basis of self-determination might disappear if we do not move from the present static position. We must remember that, if Communist China were seated, it would occupy not only the General Assembly seat now held by Nationalist China but the Security Council seat as well, a privilege which carries with it the right of veto over the admission of new members. A third

issue we might face, if Communist China were seated and Formosa automatically excluded, would be whether to recognize the Peking Government or do as we did some years ago in the case of Outer Mongolia, sit beside them in the United Nations without according recognition to the regime.

These examples will make it clear . . . that the extent, if any, of modifications in our position which we might wish to consider will not become apparent until we see what developments occur at the next United Nations General Assembly; but surely there can be no excuse for our failing to consider this matter in good time when important changes in the tactical position at the United Nations have taken place.

### **Need For Prior Consultation**

In saying that Canada has no intention of doing anything that would add to the difficulties of our friends, as I said at NATO, I was simply recognizing the need for prior consultation with our friends before policy decisions are taken on important questions. Indeed, there is a NATO requirement for such consultation, and that is why I concluded my statement at The Hague on the China issue by urging close consultation in New York among NATO delegations on this matter before and during the forthcoming General Assembly.

We are watching the situation closely and Canadian policy will be predicated on a number of factors. For example, the effect on the stability of countries in Southeast Asia must be assessed with care, and particularly in the light of the current critical situation in Indochina. I shall refer to this new crisis in that area in a few minutes. Canada shares with other Western countries the same basic interest in helping the developing countries of Southeast Asia to maintain their independence and national identity. In addition we have a special interest in this area through our role in the International Control Commissions in Indochina.

### **Healthy Evolution**

It is against this background of our relations with the Communist world that I would like to report on the NATO ministerial meeting which I attended in The Hague last week. The foreign ministers of the NATO countries have an opportunity each spring to review the international situation and the state of the alliance. We all realize that it is necessary to keep the nature of the threat under constant review so that the Western response may be appropriate, not only in a military sense but, equally important, in ideas and policies. Therefore I firmly believe that it is not a sign of "disarray", as it is sometimes called, but of progress and sensible evolution that there are any thoughts in the Western alliance as to how our countries should react to the new opportunities as well as to the pitfalls presented by the current situation *vis-à-vis* the Communists.

We have heard far too much about NATO being at a crossroads and suffering from various kinds of malaise. The fact is that the alliance is going through a healthy process of sorting out the different and often vigorously expressed ideas

of its members on the state of the alliance and what should be done to bring it up to date. Would it be healthy if it were otherwise, if we were merely clinging to the conceptions of the past and not trying to keep up with the times in a flexible way as befits free peoples?

At The Hague there was general agreement that, in the next few years, our main aim must be to ensure that NATO can meet the requirements of a world very different from when the alliance was founded. NATO has its old myths. Events are overtaking them rapidly and, if the alliance is to survive, we all must face the new realities. In the words of the Prime Minister at the NATO Council in January: "We must learn to deal with the difficult job of peace making while maintaining the force necessary to deter war."

But I can say that all the members, all the foreign ministers representing the great powers and the others, are agreed upon the fundamentals of this alliance, which are that we intend to remain free; we intend to maintain our military strength in the absence of political settlements and controlled disarmament; we intend to contain Communist aggression; we intend to remain firm in our dealings with the Soviet Union, but willing to explore any road to political settlement, provided it does not endanger our security.

### Goals of NATO

There are different ideas on how to proceed in the future. What is needed in the alliance is more willingness on the part of those who want changes to propose them, and more willingness on the part of those who profess partnership to start practising it. If we are to adapt the alliance to changed conditions, there are certain goals which we believe are worth pursuing. First and foremost, so far as this country is concerned, we believe there must be increased emphasis on the transatlantic nature of the alliance. Any development within the alliance toward European or North American continentalism will be resisted by this country, I hope. We will never choose, I hope, between the two sides of the Atlantic, because we cannot; for our historic ties are with Europe while at the same time we are a North American country. Greater co-operation between the two sides of the Atlantic is to us the only sensible policy if the Western alliance is to continue to evolve as a partnership of like-minded nations.

Second, Europe today is vastly stronger than in 1949, and many European countries think, quite rightly, that they should play a larger role in the direction of the alliance politically and militarily. I am sure concrete proposals would accomplish this and these would be welcomed by all. I urged my colleagues at the meeting to let us have these proposals. . . .

Finally, we need better consultation in the military as well as in the political and economic spheres. There have been enormous improvements in recent years and, as a result, the alliance is stronger today than in 1949. Because we now feel freer than before to go our own ways, there is an even greater need to tell each other what we are doing, and why.



I am afraid that that is now the situation. If we fail to do so, mistrust sets in and we lose sight of the fundamental reasons which keep us together and we become obsessed by our differences.

### **Canada and France**

When the Prime Minister and I visited Paris last January we agreed that we would consult with France at the ministerial level. We found that President de Gaulle and his ministers shared our desire for a closer relationship. Although only a short time has elapsed since that visit, I believe I can already say with confidence that our conversations marked an important milestone in Canada's relations with France.

While I was at The Hague I met privately with the French Foreign Minister, M. Couve de Murville, as part of our continuing ministerial consultations. We talked not only about NATO matters and Cyprus, but about more general international problems and about our developing bilateral programmes in the cultural field. I am sure we will have an opportunity later to give an indication of the nature of these bilateral accords which were reached with France and in connection with which I was able to report some progress in my conversations with the French Foreign Minister, who, I believe, and I am sure the Prime Minister will agree, is one of the great foreign ministers. Even when we do not agree with his views, they are worth trying to understand, for I am sure they represent much more than a purely nationalistic approach to the problems of Europe and the world. I am happy to see that this was confirmed by France herself in the warm reception which the Government of France gave to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a few days ago in Paris.

In recent months, Franco-Canadian programmes have been set in motion which will result in closer educational and cultural links. Our investment relations are also actively under study, and we are looking at a number of other fields in which there may be some possibility for mutually beneficial links — immigration, defence production, science, tourism and so on. Neither we nor the French expect to see spectacular changes overnight, but we are working to create a new atmosphere or a new structure in our relations.

I might add here that we in no way think of this new relation as one of interest only to French-speaking Canadians. May I quote what the Prime Minister said at our dinner last January in honour of Monsieur Pompidou, the French Prime Minister. I quote the Prime Minister of Canada:

In English-speaking regions of Canada, there is a much greater interest in the French language and French culture, the role of which is being increasingly appreciated as an essential element in our nation. This development brings about, quite naturally, a renewal of interest which serves most appropriately our relations with France, and this, I can assure you, is not limited to the Province of Quebec. . . . The two Governments are fully alive to the opportunities offered by the dynamic progress within the two countries.

I have spoken of our relations with France. Turning to the Commonwealth, I might say that we look forward with pleasure to the holding of the Third Com-

monwealth Education Conference here in Ottawa from August 21 to September 4. It will be recalled that, as a result of the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference held in Montreal in 1958, a Commonwealth Education Conference was held in Oxford in July of 1959. This meeting recommended the development of four types of Commonwealth co-operation in education; the Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, the training of teachers, the supply of teachers, and technical education. Developments in all these fields were reviewed and new areas of co-operation examined at a second conference, held in New Delhi in January 1962.

Mr. Vincent Massey has agreed to accept the office of President of this meeting, and this is yet another example of his high sense of national duty and of the valuable contribution he has made to Canada. The Canadian Government, provincial departments of education and the whole educational community are giving their full support to this important conference. The activities in the field of educational co-operation which will be discussed at the Ottawa meeting have already brought benefits to all Commonwealth members, and provide an example of the constructive partnership for which the Commonwealth stands.

I should like to say that much thought is being given these days in many places to the Commonwealth. It is a unique institution, as we know, which has evolved along lines which are capable of promoting the interests of its members and the improvement of international understanding. Admittedly it faces problems which may test its adaptability and cohesion, but we have no doubt it will weather these storms. The Prime Ministers' Conference in July will address itself to many of these problems. There will be a continuing search for methods to maintain its character and its purpose. It could be that the Commonwealth Education Conference provides the kind of activity needed to realize these objectives, as we pointed out to Mr. Sandys, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, when he was here in Ottawa a few days ago.

### **Relations With West Germany**

At the end of The Hague meeting, I accepted an invitation from the German Foreign Minister to go to Germany. No Secretary of State for External Affairs had visited Germany since the war, apart from attendance at a NATO ministerial meeting held in Bonn. It was thought that it would be desirable for me to pay a visit to this leading allied country at this time, a country which has so successfully constructed a modern democratic state on the ashes of Nazi tyranny.

Our relations with the German Federal Republic are important. We have more trade with Germany than with any other European country, nearly \$200 million more than with France, for example. There are in Canada now almost a million people of German origin, while we have in Germany, if we include the families of our soldiers and airmen, about 25,000 Canadians.

I therefore agreed to go from The Hague to spend some time with the German Foreign Minister, Mr. Gerhard Schroeder, in Bonn and to spend a day in West

Berlin before returning home. I can say that Mr. Schroeder gave me a full and clear account of the thinking of his country on the great problem which must preoccupy all Germans so long as their country remains divided. That, of course, is the problem of German reunification. He said again, as his Government has said countless times, that modern Germany has renounced the use of force as a means to attain its objectives. I said that the Government of Canada understands and supports the Federal Republic of Germany in every peaceful effort to reunite its peoples through the exercise of their right of self-determination in freedom.

I think there are many points of similarity in the Canadian and present German outlook on the future of Atlantic co-operation. Like us, they want to see European integration pursued within an Atlantic framework. Like us they want the "Kennedy round" to succeed and so contribute toward the liberalization of trade on a world-wide basis.

I am glad, as I am sure the whole House will be, that we shall have an opportunity to welcome Chancellor Erhard and Mr. Schroeder here when they visit us from June 9 to June 11. Apart from the United States and Britain, Canada will be the first country outside the European Common Market that Dr. Erhard will have visited since he became Chancellor. He has been here before and we look forward to seeing him again. Both the economic regeneration and the political transformation of modern democratic Germany owe much to the Chancellor.

When I went to Berlin, I saw a different kind of evidence that Germany is not what it was when I last visited that country in 1936. As many of you who have been there know, there is not a single landmark left of whole aspects of the Berlin I had known. Much has been rebuilt, and there are impressive new industrial and urban developments. But as one gets to the frontier of freedom, where East and West Berlin meet, there are gaping reminders of Hitler's war. Through this area, formerly the heart of the city, runs the wall, that stark, horrible monument to the failure of a system. For, if the Communist system in the Eastern Zone had not failed so lamentably, why would from 3,000 to 5,000 persons a week have tried, at the risk of their lives, to escape westward to freedom? From the boundary of West Berlin it is like looking at the outside of a great concentration camp. There are armed guards, machine guns, lookout towers, row upon row of barbed wire, tank traps, houses demolished or their boundary windows bricked up, railways and subways blocked and guarded, as if the life of that regime in the East depended upon stopping people at all costs from escaping to bear witness to conditions under Communism.

The German problem is the centre of the European problem, and certainly, also, of the relations of the West with Communist countries. The solution of the German problem could open up a real understanding between East and West. It is important for a country like Canada to understand this problem, to understand the position of some of our NATO partners, to analyse our attitude and our assessment of the reactions of the Soviet Union to any proposed solution.



## **Search for Controlled Disarmament**

I have dwelt principally on the relations between the West and the Communist countries and within the Western community itself. Both these preoccupations converge in the disarmament discussions being conducted in the Eighteen-Nation Committee in Geneva. It is there that the four NATO nations, Britain, Canada, Italy and the United States, are, in a sense, acting for their alliance partners in the continuing search for controlled disarmament and, in the meantime, for any measures to ease international tension and avert the possibility of war by miscalculation or surprise attack. It is there, too, that both the Communists and the non-Communists feel the full weight and influence of the non-aligned nations as represented by eight of their number from all the continents.

While I was in Geneva at the end of March, I attended a session of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee and reaffirmed Canadian support for its activities. May I add, the last time I had been in the room where that meeting took place was in 1938 when, with Mr. Lapointe, I had gone as one of the delegates from Canada to the last Assembly of the League of Nations. I could not help but think, as I sat in that room, of all that had happened since 1938, both in human and physical destruction, in our world; I wondered whether our deliberations would lead to the beginning of a resurgence and of a new opportunity for mankind.

At that meeting, I stressed the need to follow up the accomplishments of 1963 with further advances toward halting the arms race. While the negotiation of a treaty on general and complete disarmament is the main task of the Committee, discussions over recent months lead to the conclusion that the way to general disarmament must be prepared by agreements on more limited collateral or pre-disarmament measures.

## **Canadian View on Pre-Disarmament Measures**

I therefore took the opportunity to state Canadian views on a number of measures which have been proposed. I expressed Canadian support for President Johnson's recent proposal for a verified freeze on the numbers and characteristics of strategic nuclear-weapons delivery vehicles. It is a proposal of particular interest to Canada, because those long-range weapons systems constitute the direct threat to North America. It is also consonant with our view that every effort should be made to arrest the ever-growing qualitative and quantitative competitions in armament production. A verified freeze on strategic delivery vehicles would provide a practical means to that end. A halt in this most costly and potentially dangerous segment of the arms race would do a great deal to help us all find an agreed method to reverse the process and begin disarmament in earnest.

I welcomed also the proposal which has been made in differing form by both the United States and the Soviet Union for a "bomber bonfire". An early agreement to destroy some of the major means of delivering nuclear weapons would

reassure a sometimes sceptical world that the great powers are really serious about disarmament. It would have the added advantage of ensuring that these aircraft, obsolescent perhaps by super-power standards but still potentially lethal, would not be disposed of to less militarily-powerful states which might use them in a way which would aggravate regional disputes.

On the question of non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, I voiced continuing Canadian support for an agreement based on the terms of the well-known Irish resolution of 1961 and for a comprehensive ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. I spoke in support of the progressive development of an international system of safeguards over the transfer of fissionable materials for peaceful uses. All these measures merit our continuing support as important elements in limiting the numbers of nuclear weapons in the world and the number of nations having independent national control of them.

I am satisfied, after watching the Disarmament Committee in action, that it can make real progress toward the solution of disarmament problems. Both the Prime Minister and I, at one time or another, have had an opportunity of sitting in disarmament committees. . . . However, one should be realistic in the appraisal that one makes. This Committee has before it ample material for constructive negotiations when discussions are resumed on June 9. If the Committee concentrates its efforts on these items which, taken singly or in some combination, offer good prospects of advance, it should be able to report to the next United Nations General Assembly that we have moved a few steps further toward the goal of a disarmed and peaceful world.

### **An Important Advance**

An important advance, indeed the only one, in the field of disarmament since the turn of the year was, however, arranged outside the Eighteen-Nation Committee. In unilateral but co-ordinated announcements, the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Britain and Chairman Khrushchov indicated, on April 20, the intention of their Governments to cut back production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. Although not identical in content or necessarily equivalent in their effect, the announced measures are nevertheless a further step in the direction of curbing the arms race, and, as such, are welcomed by Canada. They could mark the beginning of a process which could eventually lead to a complete and verified cut-off in production of fissionable material for weapons purposes and to a substantial transfer of such material to peaceful uses.

### **Development of International Peace-keeping Methods**

Because the development and strengthening of peace-keeping machinery have a direct relation to disarmament negotiations, I used at Geneva the example of Cyprus to illustrate the continuing need for strengthening the ability of the United Nations to undertake such operations while attempts are being made to work

out general disarmament plans. The draft disarmament treaties of both the United States and the Soviet Union include provisions for the development of international peace-keeping methods which would take the place of national armed forces in a disarmed world. Cyprus and a number of other examples have, however, demonstrated that, in the meantime, we must be able to cope with a wide variety of situations by means of *ad hoc* peace-keeping arrangements, the efficiency of which should and could be improved.

As the Prime Minister said on May 7, we are issuing invitations to a number of nations with experience in this field to attend an exploratory conference in Canada within the next few months. We are following up with detailed suggestions as to the pattern which such a joint examination of this problem might follow. Out of it we hope to obtain not only improved methods by which those nations can prepare themselves for peace-keeping service under the United Nations but some concrete conclusions which could be made available to other interested states and which would perhaps encourage them to set up stand-by units within their national forces.

Speaking of the United Nations, I know I can say for all members of this House that we are looking forward to the visit on Monday and Tuesday next of the United Nations Secretary-General, U Thant, who will address the combined Houses of Parliament in this Chamber on Tuesday morning. He will find us a nation dedicated to the Charter of the United Nations, as has once again been demonstrated by Canada's contribution to the difficult peace-keeping operation on the island of Cyprus.

I regret taking up all this time, Mr. Chairman, but I did feel that a comprehensive statement on these matters was due . . . and there are two matters of current interest upon which I cannot refrain from speaking, particularly in the light of the assurances I gave several times this week in answer to questions on orders of the day.

### **Cyprus: Its Meaning for NATO**

So much has been said in the House about Cyprus that I would not feel justified in entering into a detailed recapitulation of the United Nations operation there, either in respect of the Peace Force or the concurrent endeavours of the Mediator. I would, however, like to give the House a brief account of how this matter was dealt with at the recent NATO meeting, where it became, in fact, one of the principal preoccupations of the assembled ministers.

I went to The Hague representing the only country at that meeting which was participating in the Force, although two days later the Foreign Minister of Denmark was able to announce that his country's forces had just arrived in Nicosia. And, of course . . . the United Kingdom is a member of the Force and is also member of the NATO Council. But the United Kingdom had a force on the island long before the United Nations Force was established, and did an essential job in dealing with a most difficult situation. It is the major component, with some 2,700 troops, and it is bearing a heavy responsibility.



I went to The Hague convinced that advantage should be taken of that NATO meeting to impress upon the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers two points: first, the concern of all other members of the alliance over the weakening of the southeastern flank of NATO resulting from the deterioration in relations between these two countries because of Cyprus; and second, the need for these two countries to exercise restraint in their relations with each other as well as a moderating influence on the two communities in Cyprus in order that the peace keeping and political mediation of the United Nations might be facilitated.

I met separately with the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey both before and during the meetings. I listened to their views and pointed out to them my grave concern. I can say that these preliminary and other discussions were very helpful in furthering mutual understanding of our various preoccupations.

Hon. Members have already seen my references to relations between Greece and Turkey and to the Cyprus situation in the conference statement which the Prime Minister tabled on May 15. Other foreign ministers also expressed concern that the solidarity and strength of the alliance should not be prejudiced by a deterioration in relations between Greece and Turkey, and spoke in support of the United Nations operation there. I believe it will be a matter of pride to Members of this House that practically every foreign minister who took part in the discussion referred to Canada's participation not only in peace keeping in Cyprus but in practically every other peace-keeping operation under the auspices of the United Nations.

It was agreed, after some discussion, that the Secretary-General of NATO should keep in touch, pursuant to recommendations made by the Committee of Three in 1956, with Greece and Turkey in order to be available to assist in easing relations between these two allies. In effect, the NATO Secretary-General has been given an informal watching brief over a situation affecting the relations of two member countries.

Because of our preoccupation with Cyprus, this was a valuable part of our meeting at The Hague from my point of view. I want to make it clear that there has been no infringement by NATO of United Nations responsibilities in Cyprus. Exclusive responsibility for restoring peace and promoting a political settlement in the island rests with the two Cypriot communities assisted by the United Nations Force and the United Nations Mediator. But a quite separate responsibility, which has now been recognized, rests on NATO to see to it that the actions of none of its members either weaken the alliance or render the task of the United Nations in Cyprus more difficult. War between Greece and Turkey is unthinkable — unthinkable for NATO and unthinkable, as I told the Foreign Ministers concerned and as others did, for the two countries themselves. I think the recent frank airing of this problem in the Council gave all the members an opportunity to express their concern and to offer assistance to Greece and Turkey in restoring good relations, and thereby contributing also to an improvement in intercommunal relations in Cyprus.

## **Situation in Indochina**

... We are reading these days about a developing and critical situation in Indochina that concerns Canada. Although the Cyprus operation under the United Nations auspices has been a constant and urgent preoccupation over recent weeks, other peace-keeping duties continue, as we know, to be discharged by our country. Some, such as the United Nations Emergency Force in Gaza and the Observation Mission in the Yemen, are going forward quietly. Another major operation, that in the Congo, is scheduled to be wound up next month, four years after its inauguration.

Of renewed importance, although outside United Nations auspices, are the truce-supervision activities in which we are engaged in the three Indochina states of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. It is now almost ten years since this country undertook, at the request of the participants in the Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina, to serve, along with India and Poland, in the three International Supervisory Commissions for these three Indochina nations. Indochina is once again in a state of crisis, and I believe I have the responsibility to explain the Canadian Government's position with regard to some of the unfolding events in this area.

## **Civil War in Vietnam**

In South Vietnam there is now a full-scale civil war supplied, directed and inspired from Communist North Vietnam. This civil war runs the risk of becoming an international war, because the Communists continue to encourage their Communist fellows within South Vietnam and to provide them with help in the form of strategic direction and infiltrated supplies of arms and trained personnel, while the United States, for their part, have responded to the requests of successive South Vietnamese governments for help in the form of training and equipment against this externally organized and supported insurgency.

Both the Government of the United States and the Government of South Vietnam have made it clear that if the North Vietnam Government and its backers will cease to interfere in South Vietnam, military aid from the United States will not be necessary. There is no question of any attempt by the South to take over the North, nor of the United States desiring to maintain bases in the South. What is required is for the Communist North to abandon its policy of interfering in the South. Our delegation to the Commission there reports to us as an independent body, and I am satisfied that the assessment made by Canada, on its own, represents the actual situation.

There have been suggestions that neutrality would be the best policy for Vietnam. I would not disagree with this as a long-term objective; we are already agreed that it is the desirable policy for Cambodia and Laos. But can there be any doubt that supporting a nominally neutralist South Vietnam would, in present circumstances, make that territory become anything other than an early victim of Communist subversion? I believe that genuine, viable neutrality for

Vietnam can become possible, but I think it will become possible only after the present insurgency is brought to an end.

The role of the Commission on which Canada serves in this situation is very difficult. Yesterday, in the Security Council, Mr. Stevenson criticized the effectiveness of the Commission. A large part of the original terms of reference of the Commission has become a dead letter. But the Commission has performed the useful function of examining South Vietnamese charges of subversion from the North, and has presented a special report to the Co-Chairmen of the 1954 Geneva Conference stating its positive findings. It has not done as much as we would have thought necessary. In particular, we have believed and proposed repeatedly that the consideration of cases of subversion should have been and should be more expeditious. In the critical situation obtaining in Vietnam the Commission's duty to point to breaches of the cease-fire agreement becomes more rather than less urgent. We shall continue to press our Commission colleagues to take the same view of the Commission's duties as we do.

### **Cambodia-Vietnam Border**

One unfortunate offshoot of the war in South Vietnam has been a series of violent border incidents with Cambodia. South Vietnamese troops repeatedly cross the Cambodian border and we are told that they do so in hot pursuit of Viet Cong insurgents seeking to take refuge in Cambodia after operations in Vietnam.

We in Canada — and I have made this clear before — support Cambodian neutrality and territorial integrity and therefore are doing what we can to try to find some way to bring these incursions to an end. Although this is not, strictly speaking, among the functions set out for the Commission in Cambodia in the Geneva Agreements, we have allowed it to be used to investigate such incidents and are ourselves trying to use it to see whether some more satisfactory arrangement can be made.

Yesterday Mr. Stevenson made a number of proposals in the Security Council in the course of the debate on the Cambodian complaints against Vietnam. The proposals concerned various means by which the Cambodian-Vietnamese border might be insulated from the effects of the Communist insurrection in Vietnam. These proposals merit careful study. We have long felt that the Geneva framework for Cambodia was not designed to deal with situations that might arise along the frontier with Vietnam. We should therefore welcome all suggestions that could lead to the lowering of tension on the frontier between these two countries. Whether they are related to the Geneva framework or not is of less importance than their possible efficacy in correcting a dangerous situation. I am sure that when we discuss the problems of these countries it is not easy for us to recognize the extent to which we in this interdependent world, whether we like it or not, are obliged, in our own interests as well as in the interests of world peace, to find that these matters are of vital concern to us.



## A Country Divided

Laos is also the unfortunate victim of the confrontation between Communist and non-Communist forces. An attempt was made at Geneva in 1962 to bring about conditions which would permit Laos to be united, independent and neutral. . . . The former Secretary of State for External Affairs attended the Conference in 1962 when we were brought in as a direct member of the Conference. At the present time that country is, in all but name, a divided country. One part of it is held by Right-Wing forces, which have been far from blameless; they have done many things which have made the task of the Neutralist Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, more difficult. But at least they have co-operated in some measure with the Prime Minister, and the areas they hold are generally open to inspection by the International Commission of which Canada, I wish to emphasize, along with India and Poland, is a member.

The areas held by the Communist Pathet Lao are closed to the Commission except upon rare occasions, and the Pathet Lao faction has been unco-operative to such a degree that one is forced to the conclusion that it really prefers the partition of the country to its unification under a Neutralist Government. Their latest military attacks in the Plaine des Jarres cannot be justified by any political manoeuvring of the Right Wing in Vientiane. Our delegation to the Commission has consistently supported both the authority of the Prime Minister and the obligation of the Commission to carry out its duties under the Geneva Protocol of 1962. Unfortunately, we have not received the degree of co-operation required for success. The Commission has to act by majority vote, or in certain circumstances by unanimous vote.

The Prime Minister of Laos has proposed that, in view of the gravity of the situation, the members of the 1962 Conference on Laos should hold consultations as provided by Article 4 of the Geneva Protocol. The Government of France has now indicated its support for this proposal in notes to the Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference, Britain and the Soviet Union. It seems to me that consultations under the Protocol could have a salutary effect on the present crisis, and I have already instructed our Commissioner in Vientiane to let it be known that Canada would be willing to take part in such consultations arranged as a result of the proposal made by the Prime Minister of Laos. It will, of course, be for the members of the Geneva Conference to decide whether any consultations which are agreed upon should take place with all the formality of an international conference or, perhaps preferably, in some less formal way.

I recognize that this has not been an encouraging picture of the state of affairs in Indochina, an area where Canada has for ten years now, at great expense to our people, sought, along with India and Poland and other countries, to bring about peaceful conditions. The key seems to lie in Vietnam, and if the Communists would renounce armed subversion a great step forward would have been taken toward restoring peace and stability to the area. Political solutions seem

hardly possible for Vietnam as long as the present militant Communist interference in South Vietnam continues.

I am afraid that I have taken too long, but really I do not apologize, because these are matters on which Parliament has a right to hear from me. I recognize that time has prevented me from dealing with many other questions, such as external aid, international economic development, desirable changes in the United Nations, and the Organization of American States. These and other questions will undoubtedly be covered in our discussions here and in the External Affairs Committee when my estimates are being considered.

### **An Interdependent World**

The wide area covered by what I have had to say points up the fact that our world is interdependent. When I think of the questions with which I have to deal, I cannot help but go back to my early days in this House 28 years ago, when there was little discussion of foreign affairs and when it was regarded almost as presumptuous even to put a question having to do with the foreign policy of the nation. All that is changed because our world is changed, and with that change has come perhaps a heavier responsibility for Parliament than it realizes. Canada cannot escape its responsibilities in matters which a few years ago were not regarded as our concern. We are drawn into the maelstrom of a disturbed world. We are not one of the great powers, but self respect and international obligation present us with a duty and an opportunity. Although we are not one of the main architects of the world's destiny, I believe we will not shirk our responsibilities in seeking to establish better conditions for peace among the nations.

# *Joint United States—Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs*

*In November 1953, the Joint United States — Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was established. This body, which functions at Cabinet level, meets alternately in Washington and Ottawa. The joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of this year's meeting follows:*

The ninth meeting of the Joint United States — Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was held in Ottawa April 29-30, 1964. The Committee noted with satisfaction the progress which had been made in matters of interest to both countries and the general improvement in relations between them.

The Committee received from Mr. Arnold Heeney, on behalf of himself and Mr. Livingston T. Merchant, their interim report of progress on their joint study of United States-Canadian relations. They were appointed by President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson to examine the desirability and practicability of developing acceptable principles which would facilitate co-operation in economic and other policies. Their report noted agreement on method of procedure and stated preliminary investigations have been initiated.

The Committee noted that economic activity in Canada and the United States had continued to expand and that another favourable year was anticipated for 1964. They agreed that the two countries should continue to follow policies designed to stimulate economic growth and employment in the context of economic stability. They noted that trade between the United States and Canada was running at record levels. The Committee discussed policies which each country was following to improve its balance of payments. The United States members expressed agreement with Canada's desire to improve its current account through an expansion of exports and stressed the importance of adhering to the principles of non-discrimination in achieving this objective. The Committee also noted the recent improvement in the United States balance-of-payments position and expressed the expectation that this improvement would continue.

## **Multilateral Trade Talks**

The members of the Committee looked forward to the opening of the GATT tariff and trade negotiations in Geneva, in which both countries would be participating actively, for the reduction of trade barriers and the expansion of trade in both industrial and agricultural products between the two countries and with the rest of the world. They took note also of the progress at the current United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and agreed on the importance of continuing international co-operative efforts to assist the less-developed countries to expand their trading opportunities and facilitate their economic development.



## **Problems of U.S.-Canada Trade**

The Committee discussed the trade in automobiles and automobile parts between Canada and the United States. United States members stressed their concern over the possible adverse effects of the Canadian automotive programme on certain United States parts producers. Canadian members emphasized that the programme is designed to promote increased specialization and lower production costs in the Canadian automotive industry.

The Committee examined problems affecting trade between the two countries. Canadian ministers expressed concern about increases in levels of certain United States tariffs arising from the recent reclassification of the United States tariff, including rates on parts and components. They urged that the United States Government take action to correct this situation. They requested that action should be taken to remove long-standing United States restrictions on imports from Canada of lead and zinc, and cheese. The United States members expressed their concern over possible Canadian measures which might adversely affect certain United States publications. A number of other matters were discussed including Great Lakes water levels, tourist customs privileges, and the trade in softwood lumber and coal.

The Committee discussed the energy resources and energy problems of both countries and their relationship to economic efficiency. There was general agreement that United States-Canadian co-operation should be encouraged in areas where such co-operation serves the long-term mutual advantage of both nations. They established a joint working group to prepare a programme of studies relating to trade in all kinds of energy between the United States and Canada.

The meeting concluded with a general review of the international situation by Mr. Rusk and Mr. Martin.

## **Members of Delegations**

The Canadian delegation included Mr. Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mr. Walter Gordon, Minister of Finance; Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Minister of Trade and Commerce; Mr. Harry Hays, Minister of Agriculture; Mr. C. M. Drury, Minister of Industry; the Governor of the Bank of Canada, Mr. L. Rasminsky; Mr. Norman Robertson, the Chief Canadian Trade Negotiator; the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie; and other advisers.

The United States delegation included Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Mr. Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Stuart Udall, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce; Mr. Orville L. Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture; Mr. George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State; Mr. Walter W. Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers; Mr. William M. Roth, Deputy Special Trade Representative; the United States Ambassador to Canada, Mr. W. W. Butterworth, and other advisers.

# *World Health Assembly\**

SEVENTEENTH SESSION, MARCH 1964

THE WORLD Health Assembly, governing body of the World Health Organization, has a well-merited reputation for wise and constructive action in furthering the defined objectives of the Organization — the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health. The earliest of these decisions had to do with the fundamental agreement between WHO and its “parent” agency, the United Nations, approved in 1948 at the first World Health Assembly. So too, as an outstanding example of inter-agency relations and co-operation, was the long-range agreement with UNICEF on activities for children approved by the Fourth Assembly.

Possibly the most momentous step was taken at the eighth World Health Assembly implementing the world-wide programme aimed at the eradication of malaria, the world's most widespread and serious health problem. The twelfth Assembly saw the intensified research programme of WHO set in its full perspective and two years later, spurred by the crisis in the newly-independent Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville), the Assembly decided that WHO should provide similar assistance to all newly-independent states becoming members of the Organization.

## **Political Atmosphere**

While the rational and constructive deliberations of earlier Assemblies have been disrupted from time to time by matters mainly political, and obviously beyond the competence of WHO, it was the fate of the seventeenth World Health Assembly to be faced with a problem which forecast partial, and, perhaps, progressive fragmentation of what has thus far been a firmly cohesive and closely-integrated group of nations — the largest of all the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations.

Possibly the opening controversy on the perennial question of Chinese credentials might have presaged the climate which was later to develop but, as heretofore, this question was settled by majority support in favour of the Chinese Nationalist Government as proposed by the Credentials Committee. While the motivation was clear, it was somewhat of a paradox that, because of its blanket nature, some 21 members voted against the report of that Committee, which, in addition to the question of Chinese representation, included the acceptance of their own credentials.

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\*By Dr. B. D. B. Layton, Principal Medical Officer, International Health Section, Department of National Health and Welfare, and Chairman of the WHO Executive Board.

It was, however, noteworthy that the prescribed business of the Assembly proceeded with considerably less evidence of the "cold war" rancour which had been apparent on previous occasions. As a first step, Dr. M. K. Afridi of Pakistan was elected by unanimous agreement President of the Seventeenth World Health Assembly, succeeding Dr. M. A. Majekodunmi, Minister of Health of the Federation of Nigeria. Shortly thereafter, four new associate members — Malta, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Qatar — were admitted to WHO, the membership now totalling 125, including six associate members.

The programme of work with the effective working budget for 1965 was, as always, the most important matter to be considered by the Assembly. Summing up the continuing efforts of WHO, the Director-General, Dr. M. G. Candau, pointed out that the proposed programme for 1965 attempts to underline three fields of activity of primary importance to the success of the Organization's work: national health planning, education and training, and research.

Following its detailed review of the main features and the operating programme, the Assembly approved a budget of \$38,360,000 (U.S.) for 1965. The vote, which requires a two-thirds majority, was 73 in favour and three opposed, with 33 abstentions largely by the members of the African region. A spokesman for this group later explained that the mass abstention was motivated by the need to draw attention to the racial policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal, even though all the African members fully supported the proposed budget level.

### **Eradication of Disease**

Considering the continuing malaria-eradication campaign, it was noted that this now covered over two-thirds of the world's population previously exposed to the disease. On the other hand, it was pointed out that, in a number of countries, mainly in Africa, where malaria continued to exact high morbidity and mortality, it had not yet been possible to initiate malaria eradication programmes. Member governments, international and bilateral agencies were urged to give priority to programmes in this area.

Smallpox eradication received the close attention of the Assembly and, in addition to requesting the Director-General to prepare a further comprehensive plan for world-wide eradication of the disease, the Assembly anticipated that, during the next two years, 200 million doses of smallpox vaccine would be required by member countries engaged in these campaigns. The Director-General was requested in future budget proposals to make good the shortfall of the vaccine required, together with other assistance, to stimulate the further development of eradication programmes.

WHO will continue to assist member states in their efforts in connection with community water supplies to provide safe and adequate water. The need for speedy development of these programmes was underlined by the knowledge that water-borne disease each year kills some five million infants and attacks 500 million people.



### **Proposed Research Institutions**

Two unique proposals were considered in connection with health research. The first dealt with the establishment of a World Health Research Centre under the immediate auspices of WHO and, while certain aspects, such as epidemiological studies and improved communications and exchange of information on health problems, were favourably considered, the Director-General and the Executive Board were requested to continue the study of this project.

The second proposal had to do with the contemplated world research agency for cancer, originally sponsored by the Governments of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States. The Director-General was authorized to enter into discussions with these governments with a view to the establishment and operation of such an agency, which, it was expected, would work in close co-operation with WHO.

### **Regulation of Drugs**

Continuing attention was given to the avoidance of serious drug reactions, such as had been caused by thalidomide. The WHO programme, whereby the Organization acts as a clearing-house for information on such reactions and decisions taken by governments, continues its constructive development. The question of the marketing of sub-standard drugs was also reviewed and the Assembly urged drug-producing members to adopt measures to prevent the export of such inferior products to other countries.

As a precursor to the ultimate problem to be faced, a resolution dealing with "conversion to peaceful uses of resources released by disarmament" was introduced by a group of members, mostly from developing countries. In the view of some delegates, the terms of the resolution placed it beyond the competence of the Health Assembly, but such was the support for this initiative that, after a seemingly more rational counter-proposal had been defeated, the resolution was carried by a substantial majority.

### **Critical Constitutional Decision**

The Assembly then turned to its most critical decision. Arising out of the failure of the African Regional Committee to hold its annual meeting in 1963, 34 members, representing the African continent almost in its entirety, united in sponsoring a resolution which, in effect, suspended the voting privileges of the South African Republic and sought means of suspension or expulsion of any member violating the principles of WHO, particularly with regard to racial discrimination. This, of course, arose out of the persistence of that government in imposing the policy of *apartheid* and, while there was unanimous condemnation of this practice, concern was expressed regarding the implications of such a decision on the continuing cohesiveness and integrity of the Organization.

Efforts on the part of some members to postpone the discussion were unsuccessful and a request that it be considered as an "important question" re-

quiring a two-thirds majority vote was rejected. The resolution was then approved by almost three to one in favour and, as a result, the voting privileges of South Africa were suspended. Its delegation immediately thereafter withdrew from this Assembly, though, as was later announced, not from the Organization.

While this decision terminated the work of the Assembly in a rather depressing climate, this review can be concluded on a somewhat more optimistic note — that, throughout the discussion of this matter, so heavily charged with emotionalism, it was reassuring that the debate was conducted with dignity and restraint, continuing respect being maintained between individual delegates, even though they held opposing viewpoints. It is to be hoped that the warmth of human relations in seeking the common objective of all may yet overcome political and racial differences, but it would appear that a large measure of patience, tolerance and understanding will be necessary to ensure the future solidarity and unity of WHO.

The Canadian delegation to the seventeenth World Health Assembly was led by Dr. G. D. W. Cameron, Deputy Minister of National Health, with Mr. S. F. Rae, Permanent Representative of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva, as alternate head. Dr. Leonard Miller, Deputy Minister of Health, Newfoundland, was a delegate, Dr. William H. McMillan, Member of Parliament, an alternate, and Mr. W. E. Bauer, First Secretary in the Geneva mission, adviser to the delegation. On this occasion, Dr. B. D. B. Layton of the Department of National Health and Welfare, who ordinarily serves on the delegation, was named, in his capacity of Chairman of WHO's Executive Board, as its representative to the Assembly.

# *Canada Regulates its Coastal Waters*

*The following statement was made in the House of Commons on May 20, 1964, by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, when he moved the second reading of Bill No.S-17, respecting the territorial sea and fishing-zones of Canada:*

**M**<sup>R. SPEAKER</sup>, because of its importance, I intend to make some general remarks on the bill, which has to do with the territorial sea and fishing-zones, and which is now before the House for second reading. It is the intention of my colleague the Minister of Fisheries (Mr. Robichaud), who has been very intimately associated in this matter with me in my capacity as Secretary of State for External Affairs, that the bill be referred to the Standing Committee on Marine and Fisheries.

## **Dual-Purpose Bill**

The bill before the House has two principal purposes, and these are accomplished each in a somewhat different manner. They are both set out in the first part of the bill, as Honourable Gentlemen will have noted.

First, the bill establishes the fishing-zones of Canada at 12 miles from the coast-line. When it is passed by Parliament and proclaimed, Canada will have a fishing-zone in the 3-to-12-mile area off our coast-line. This, in the view of the Government, is a fundamental achievement of the bill. It is not enabling legislation in this respect. On proclamation, the 12-mile fishing-zone will be established. I must emphasize that there is no doubt, and can be no doubt, about this point.

Canada has never published official charts showing the present base-lines, but, for at least parts of our coast, the base-lines follow the sinuosities of the shore. Pending the establishment of straight base-lines, the fishing-zones will be measured from the existing ones. This is clearly provided for in the bill.

The second important purpose of the bill is to apply the straight base-line system to the Canadian coast-line. This part of it, unlike the section concerning fishing-zones, will be of an enabling character. When the bill comes into effect, the Governor-in-Council will be authorized to draw straight base-lines. The question may be asked; what does this achieve? In response, I would say that what the bill accomplishes is of great significance. It makes applicable the straight base-line system to the Canadian coast. These straight base-lines will be drawn in accordance with international law, on the basis of the decision of the International Court of Justice in the Anglo-Norwegian fisheries case and of the Geneva Convention on the Territorial Sea and Fishing-Zones and taking into account Canadian historic interests in the bodies of water off our coasts.

Thus, while the bill is enabling in so far as the drawing of specific or indi-



vidual base-lines is concerned, it has this immediate general effect — it makes applicable, on proclamation, the general system of straight base-lines to the Canadian coast-line. The authority that is given to the Governor-in-Council is with respect to the specific lines to be drawn and the exceptions to be made. The larger effect of the bill is to make applicable the principle of the straight base-line system to Canada. Honourable Members will note that the bill specifically provides that all areas enclosed by the new straight base-lines will be internal waters of Canada. This is important, and may have far-reaching consequences.

Part II of the bill consists of the amendments that are to be made to certain acts of Canada pursuant to the main purpose of the bill. These are consequential changes which will make existing legislation applicable to the new fishing-zones and areas within the straight base-lines. The acts amended are the Aeronautics Act, the Canada Shipping Act, the Criminal Code, the Customs Act, the Fisheries Act and the Coastal Fisheries Protection Act. Their provisions will now conform with Part I of the bill. Part III of the bill provides that the act will come into force on a day or days to be fixed by proclamation of the Governor-in-Council.

This, in brief, is the general scheme and contents of the proposed legislation on the territorial sea and fishing-zones of Canada. I am sure the House will agree that this bill is of the greatest significance for our country.

### **The Question of Procedure**

I have heard some say that we are going too fast; that we should not consider moving forward unilaterally; that Parliament should not be asked to take action until a general international agreement has been reached or until specific agreements are worked out with the countries fishing off our coasts. On the other hand, I have heard comments that we are moving too slowly; that we should now embody in the bill the co-ordinates of points from which the base-lines are to be drawn; that the bill should designate the specific bodies of water which we are closing off. I need only add in passing, of course, that we are now in the stage of very important negotiations and this, in itself, answers any criticism in that regard.

I am convinced that, in taking this action now — as the Government is doing, unilaterally, Canada is acting in accordance with present-day international law and practice. The Government is convinced that we are following the wisest course in immediately seeking agreements with the countries affected by our action. We are equally convinced that we must carry forward our negotiations with these countries before we proclaim the base-lines for our entire coast-line. We are confident, in short, that we are proceeding in the proper way.

### **Search for Multilateral Co-operation**

Let us look for a moment at the suggestion that we should not act unilaterally. This House knows of the great efforts made for many years to achieve inter-

national agreement. This House knows how Canada tried at the two Law-of-the-Sea Conferences — and before and after them — to achieve some form of international agreement.

Canada was the first country to put forward in an international forum the concept of a 12-mile fishing-zone in which a state has the same jurisdiction over fishing as it has in its territorial sea. This was at the General Assembly in 1956. Canada took the lead at the First Law-of-the-Sea Conference in 1958, as my Honourable friend, the former Minister of Fisheries, will attest. The then Government of Canada made the most strenuous efforts to obtain support for the 12-mile exclusive fishing-zone. Notwithstanding all the efforts that were put into that particular initiative, the proposal failed.

The period before the Second Law-of-the-Sea Conference in 1960 was one of most intensive diplomatic activity. At the Conference itself, Canada sought the support of the United States, Britain and the Western European countries for our formula of a six-mile territorial sea, six-mile exclusive fishing-zone, and a ten-year “phasing-out” period. Had these states supported us at the First Conference, there is no question that we would have had agreement on a rule for the territorial sea and for an exclusive fisheries jurisdiction.

But it was too late. The Second Conference followed in the footsteps of the first; it failed. It failed by a single vote, but the fact is that it failed.

Then Canada took the lead once again in trying to pick up the remains of the Second Geneva Conference. Canada tried to win support for a multilateral treaty among like-minded countries in favour of our proposal at the Second Geneva Conference, and my recollection is that this was done by the former administration in February, or thereabouts, of 1963. But the results were inconclusive. Once again our efforts on the multilateral plane had failed.

When the present Government took office a year ago, we came to the conclusion — and we regretfully came to it — that for the foreseeable future there was no possibility of reaching general agreement on a 12-mile fishing-zone.

Canada had to make a choice. There were two possibilities. We could have decided in favour of postponement. This would have meant an indefinite delay. This would have meant that we would not have for a long time the 12-mile fishing-zone which this legislation will make possible. Meanwhile, our resources would have continued to be depleted, as greater and greater fishing fleets drew nearer our shores. Or we could have decided to establish a fishing-zone without waiting for international agreement, and to draw the fishing-zone from straight base-lines.

### **A Decision Soundly Based in Law**

Our experts looked at the situation in international law. We found that there were 42 countries which claimed a territorial-sea limit of more than three miles. We found that 23 countries claimed fishing-zones in excess of their territorial sea. There were thus over 50 countries claiming control over fisheries beyond

the traditional three-mile rule. In the circumstances, the Government concluded that a decision by Canada to establish a 12-mile fishing-zone from straight base-lines would be soundly based on present-day international law and practice. We chose this course, and so the Government has brought forward, accordingly, the legislation we are now considering.

In establishing the fishing-zones of Canada and in making applicable the straight base-line system to our coast-line, the bill provides a legal basis for the international achievement of our aims. Our action is in this sense unilateral, for who else can proclaim base-lines or establish the fishing-zones for Canada?

But at the same time we know that our action has international implications. We know that, notwithstanding the many countries claiming limits beyond three miles, there are a number of states, important fishing nations, which firmly maintain that they are not bound to recognize any limits beyond the traditional three-mile rule. Consequently, it will be recalled that the Prime Minister informed this House a year ago that we would consult with the countries affected by our action and that we would seek to work out satisfactory arrangements with them.

### **Discussion and Negotiation**

When the Government took its decision to establish a 12-mile fishing-zone and straight base-lines, we did not minimize the problems involved in some of the negotiations lying ahead of us. Nor do we minimize them now. These negotiations may be difficult, and we must accept this fact.

When a country seeks to achieve recognition for what it has done, when it seeks to protect its interests, it must be prepared to discuss and to negotiate with the countries that are affected. Existing in a world of sovereign states, we must do the best we can to achieve our ends through negotiation.

This is what the Government of Canada is now in the process of doing. We have already had three rounds of negotiations with the United States. In the last two months we have had a round of discussions with Norway, Denmark, Britain, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Japan. All these countries sent officials to Ottawa to have talks with us, and in our negotiations with the United States one of the meetings took place in Washington. I am hopeful that in all cases our discussions will work out satisfactorily, but I do not want in any way to minimize the difficulties of the negotiations themselves.

### **Objectives of the Negotiations**

Honourable Members may ask what is the basis of our talks with these countries? What do we expect to achieve? What base-lines are we asking these countries to accept or to acquiesce in? These are fair questions and I will try to give a clear and frank response.

When straight base-lines are proclaimed in whole or in part for the Canadian coast-line, and when Canadian laws are enforced in the fishing-zones, the situation will be as follows:



First of all, those countries which have not fished in the 3-to-12-mile zone or have just begun to fish, will not be able to come in under Canadian law. They must cease their operations at once, both in the fishing-zone and in the internal waters enclosed by the base-lines. I would urge the House not to underestimate the importance of this fact.

Since the last war we have seen the birth of enormous fishing fleets of certain countries, ranging thousands of miles away from their home ports. These ships are equipped with the most modern equipment and use the latest techniques. So far the vessels of certain important fishing countries have not come within 12 miles of our coasts. It is possible that they might do so soon. By establishing fishing-zones now, before they can lay claim to any so-called historic fishing rights, we are excluding them under Canadian law from coming into our 12-mile zone in future, and we are thus protecting the living resources of our adjacent areas.

Second, as I have said, we are now discussing arrangements with those countries which do not possess treaty rights but have fished off our shores for many years. I refer to Portugal, Spain, Norway, Denmark, Britain and Italy. There is no question in our minds of allowing the indefinite continuation of historic fishing rights for these countries. The basis of our proposals to them is the possibility of allowing a period of time for adjusting their fishing operations so that their fishermen do not suffer any undue economic loss.

Under such arrangements, fishing by these countries would continue for a period of time, subject to non-discriminatory Canadian regulations. But it would then cease and, like those states which do not claim traditional fishing rights, fishermen of these countries would not be allowed to come into the 12-mile zone under Canadian law.

Third, we have had discussions with those countries which do possess treaty rights off parts of our shores — the United States and France. The French have had treaty rights for over two centuries to fish off parts of our coast-line. Under the convention of 1904, they have the right to fish off the west, and parts of the northeast coast of Newfoundland. With the United States there is the treaty of 1818 providing specific fishing rights off the coast of Labrador and parts of the coast of Newfoundland. These rights allow United States fishermen to fish within the three-mile limit. In addition, there is the Treaty of Washington of 1912 between Canada and the United States, which ended a long and complicated series of negotiations and implemented, in part, an award by an international tribunal based on the treaty of 1818. The Treaty of Washington specified terms for the closing of a number of bays on the East Coast of Canada, both inside and outside the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

We have made clear that the United States and France will be allowed to continue to fish in those areas where they have fished before, subject to agreed arrangements and regulations for the protection of the fisheries concerned.

## Careful Implementation Required

I have said that the bill makes applicable the straight base-line system to Canada. When the specific base-lines are delineated, all the waters inside these lines will become internal. The territorial sea and fishing-zones will be drawn seaward from the new base-lines. Thus, the delineation of the new lines may affect the fishing operations of other countries. In some cases, their traditional fishing practices may be disturbed. For this reason, it is necessary to determine the general effects of our action on the countries concerned before publishing the base-lines. Pending this determination and an opportunity to carry forward our discussions with the countries concerned, we have decided to allow a short period of time to elapse before starting to enforce Canadian laws in the fishing-zones of Canada.

Both my colleague the Minister of Fisheries (Mr. Robichaud) and I have already emphasized that we were not in a position to indicate the state of our negotiations concerning our straight base-lines and the bodies of water which may be enclosed by these base-lines. I am sure this will be understood. While negotiations are under way with foreign powers, friendly though they may be, no disclosure may be made until such time as it is in the interest of the parties concerned. To take any other course would be self-defeating. I can make clear, however, that, in a general way, we have based ourselves on the brief by the Fisheries Council of Canada of January 28, 1963, which recommended closing lines for the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Bay of Fundy, Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait, Dixon Entrance, Hecate Strait and Queen Charlotte Sound. I cannot at the present time go beyond this general indication of our position.

I am hopeful, however, that our discussions will soon be completed and that the Governor-in-Council will be in a position before the end of the year to proclaim a list of geographical co-ordinates of points for application of the straight base-lines to at least a part of our coast-line. If our optimism here proves unwarranted, it will not be because this is not our present appreciation of the situation; it will be because of the nature of the negotiations themselves. It is unlikely that the Governor-in-Council will publish points covering our entire coast-line in his first list. It is possible that, depending on how our discussions proceed, he will publish several lists and that, in the first, base-lines will come into force only for those areas in respect of which we have completed our talks.

## Negotiation with the U.S.

I should like to conclude by discussing briefly our negotiations with the United States. The Prime Minister (Mr. Pearson) said on June 4:

In my discussions with President Kennedy at Hyannis Port, I informed him that the Canadian Government would shortly be taking decisions to establish a 12-mile fishing-zone. The President reserved the long-standing American position in support of the three-mile limit. He also called attention to the "historic" and treaty fishing rights of the United States, and I assured him that these rights would be taken into account. Discussions will be held with the United States with a view to determining the nature and extent of the United States rights and interests that may be affected by the action which Canada is taking.

I am confident that the United States and Canada will be able to work out a solution in this field, as we have in other difficult problems. In view of our tradition of the closest co-operation, I remain optimistic that we will reach a satisfactory common accord. But we have not yet been able to settle all outstanding questions. On most matters there are no differences between us; in certain other areas, our points of view have yet to coincide.

The Prime Minister made clear in the House that Canada, for its part, is prepared to be fair and just towards our neighbour. In our efforts to reach an accord with the United States, we will continue to be guided by our tradition of friendship. We are convinced that our case is a fair one, solidly based on legal, economic, and historic considerations, as well as those of a security nature. The configuration of our coast-line, the needs of our people, and the interests of our security, require us to draw base-lines so as to enclose Canadian internal waters. We have informed the United States that, in view of their treaty rights and in order to be as fair as possible to the interests of their fishermen, we are prepared to allow them to continue to fish in those areas where they have operated until now, subject to agreed regulations for the protection of the fisheries concerned. We are endeavouring to obtain their acquiescence in our straight base-lines and to the application of Canada regulations in the waters affected by our action.

We hope that, with the adoption of this legislation, our negotiations will be substantially furthered. I am sure that the introduction of this bill, which provides for the establishment of a 12-mile fishing-zone and which enables the Government to establish a straight base-line system, will be a material factor in the negotiations which are still under way. The differences which we must overcome do not affect large parts of our coastal limits, where there should be no difficulty in achieving agreement on what we propose to do. I am hopeful that, in the foreseeable future, all difficulties will have been removed and that our long-standing desire to protect our coastal waters will be realized. I believe this bill will commend itself to the House.



# *The Peaceful Uses of Outer Space*

## WORK OF UN LEGAL SUB-COMMITTEE — FIRST PART OF THIRD SESSION

The 28-member Legal Sub-committee, a committee of the whole of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, held the first part of its third session at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva from March 9 to 26, 1964. Its members are Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Bulgaria, Canada, Chad, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Poland, Roumania, Sierra Leone, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Arab Republic, and the United States of America.

The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was established by General Assembly Resolution 1472 (XIV) of December 12, 1959. Among its functions are the following:

- (1) To review as appropriate the area of international co-operation and to study practical and feasible means for giving effect to programmes in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices, including assistance for the continuation on a permanent basis of the research on outer space carried on within the framework of the International Geophysical Year and encouragement of national research programmes for the study of outer space and the rendering of all possible assistance and help towards their realization.
- (2) To study the nature of legal problems which may arise from the exploration of outer space.

To assist in the discharge of its legal functions, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space established in March 1962 the Legal Sub-committee of the Whole. The work done by the Legal Sub-committee led to the General Assembly adopting Resolution 1962 (XVIII) of December 13, 1963, in which is set out a declaration of legal principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space. Included among these are the propositions that:

- (1) The exploration and use of outer space shall be carried on for the benefit and in the interests of all mankind.
- (2) Outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states on a basis of equality and in accordance with international law.
- (3) Outer space and celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means.

- (4) The activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space shall be carried on in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the UN, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international co-operation and understanding.

Again at the eighteenth session, the General Assembly, by Resolution 1963 (XVIII), provided the Committee with new terms of reference under which it has been directed to arrange for the prompt preparation of draft agreements on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space and on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles, as well as to consider in the future as appropriate the incorporation into international-agreement form of legal principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space. The Legal Sub-committee is now in the process of carrying out the directions contained in these new terms of reference.

### **Agenda**

The work of the Legal Sub-committee was organized into a general debate and two working groups of the whole to draft agreements concerning assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles and liability for damage caused by launching of objects into outer space. During the period allotted to the general debate, there was a general exchange of views on the questions before the Sub-committee. In the course of the discussion, several delegates expressed the view that the first task of the Sub-committee was to draw up an international convention to include general legal principles governing the exploration and use of outer space. Other speakers favoured amending or adding to the principles contained in the General Assembly declaration of legal principles adopted at the eighteenth session, while still others maintained that the Legal Sub-committee had a more urgent task, namely the preparation of the two draft international agreements on assistance and liability respectively. Several delegations were of the opinion that a special convention should be drafted limiting the use of outer space exclusively to peaceful purposes.

After the general debate was concluded, the Sub-committee was formed into the two working groups already described.

### **Assistance and Return**

The working group concerned with the question of assistance and return had before it two draft agreements: a revised draft on rescue of astronauts and space-ships in the event of accident or emergency landing submitted by the Soviet Union and a United States proposal for an international agreement on assistance to and return of astronauts and objects launched into outer space. These drafts and various amendments submitted in the course of the discussion raised such issues as the precise nature of the assistance to be rendered by each contracting state in the event of an emergency landing of a spacecraft either in the territory of the contracting party or on the high seas, as well as the nature of the responsi-

bility which an international organization concerned in one way or another with a project of this kind might be called upon to assume.

At a later stage in the working group's proceedings, a joint Australian-Canadian draft was tabled, its object being to endeavour to record the areas in which substantial agreement had been reached by the working group as a result of the discussion.

### **Liability for Damage**

The second working group considered three drafts on liability for damage caused by launching objects into outer space proposed by the United States, Hungary and Belgium respectively. These drafts and amendments submitted during the discussion dealt with such questions as the nature of the liability to be incurred respectively by the state or international organization launching an object causing damage, the state over whose territory it was launched, or the state or international organization owning the object; whether the amount of liability should be limited; whether a time-limit should be set for the presentation of claims for damage caused; and whether the same liability should be incurred for damage caused on the surface of the earth, in air space or in outer space.

### **Canadian Approach**

Canada has participated actively from the outset in the work of the Legal Sub-committee, recognizing that already a number of practical legal problems have arisen in connection with flights in outer space, and has played an active role in the development of the Declaration of General Principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space set out in General Assembly Resolution 1962 (XVIII). The Canadian position in regard to the current work of the Legal Sub-committee has been to urge that the Sub-committee's most important task at present is to give priority to the preparation of two draft international agreements dealing respectively with assistance and return and liability, using, as far as possible, the guidelines contained in the General Assembly Declaration of General Principles.

### **Present Position**

Although considerable progress was made in regard to the formulation of an agreed text in respect to both subjects, there was, nevertheless, insufficient time to settle on an agreed text in either case at these meetings. The Sub-committee therefore decided to hold a resumed three-week session in New York immediately before the meeting of the main Committee, which is scheduled at a date not yet fixed before the commencement of the nineteenth session of the UN General Assembly.



# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Address by UN Secretary-General**

*On May 26, during his recent visit to Ottawa, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency U Thant, made the following address to a joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Commons:*

From the earliest years of the United Nations, Canada has been one of the most stalwart supporters both of the general activities and of the peace-keeping operations of the organization. The first of the peace-keeping forces, the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, was largely a result of the efforts of your Prime Minister, Mr. Lester Pearson, who was then foreign minister, and this remarkably successful operation, which was initiated by him in the General Assembly, has shown the way and set out the guiding lines for all subsequent United Nations operations of this kind.

Besides their gallant service in Korea, officers and men of the Canadian armed forces have been a vital part of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, of the forces in the Congo, and now in Cyprus, and have, in addition, played an important role in the observer operations in the Middle East, in Kashmir and in Yemen. In the Middle East, the Canadian reconnaissance squadron helps to keep the peace on a long and vital stretch of the desert frontier between Israel and the United Arab Republic, and units of the Canadian Army also run the supply and maintenance depot of the Force. The first Commander of UNEF was a Canadian, Lieutenant-General Burns, who served the United Nations with great distinction. In the Congo, where the United Nations military force will be withdrawn fully by June 30 of this year, the Royal Canadian Signals have provided the communications which are the nerve system of the United Nations Force which, for the last four years, has been stationed all over that vast country. Officers of the Canadian Army and the Royal Canadian Air Force have held many key staff positions in the headquarters, and the present United Nations Chief of Staff in the Congo is a Canadian officer who has served the United Nations with great courage and ability. A Canadian air unit formed part of the United Nations Security Force in West Irian (West New Guinea) and provided valuable assistance in an operation which relied heavily on air communications. In Yemen, the Royal Canadian Air Force is the communications link which not only provides all internal transportation between the various posts of the Mission but is also the sole means of communication and transport between the Mission and the outside world. In Cyprus, the Canadian contingent, the Royal 22nd Regiment and the Royal Canadian Dragoons, was the first to arrive in the island after the adoption of the Security Council resolution of March 4, and to join with the British troops already in the island to take up, under United Nations

command, the immensely difficult task which the Security Council has given us. The Canadian contingent is now responsible for the vital sector of the island north of Nicosia to the port of Kyrenia.

It is clear from this very fine record of Canadian participation in every stage of the development and operation of United Nations peace keeping that successive Canadian Governments have shown the greatest understanding and support of these pioneer efforts. This is why Canada has been one of the foremost exponents of the principle and practice of stand-by units for United Nations use. I could have no better opportunity than this occasion to pay my very warm tribute to the Canadian Government and people for the leading role they have taken in these United Nations activities, which are of immense importance to the whole world and to our future. I would add that I know very well that such activities often present great difficulties for governments. It is not easy for any government to lend its soldiers to an international organization and to put them under control of that organization. The nature of the tasks that the United Nations is given often adds to this difficulty, for these are by no means conventional military tasks but rather a new form of military activity requiring the greatest restraint, fortitude and understanding, both from the soldiers themselves and often from the people in their home countries as well. Their role may often give rise to questions which create anxiety for their families and political difficulties for the government which has made them available. In this context, may I express my special appreciation of the understanding and active support which the Government of Canada, and particularly the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, have given to the United Nations in the Cyprus operation.

Such problems require that the support and understanding of the government be matched by the responsibility and restraint of the Secretary-General, the United Nations Force Commander and others who exercise authority over United Nations forces. I hope that my presence here and my words on this occasion may strengthen this relationship, upon which so much depends.

In the light of what I have just said, it seems appropriate that I should talk today about this aspect of the United Nations work and about some of the problems which now face us. The situation in Cyprus is of great concern at this time and provides an example of a problem of unique difficulty, with which the United Nations has been asked to deal because it has defied all attempts at solution outside the framework of the United Nations. It is a problem in which human lives are being lost almost daily. It is a problem in which the world has a vital interest, since the effects of a total breakdown in Cyprus will be felt far beyond the shores of the island and could all too easily lead to a far wider and more lethal conflict. It is, finally, a problem on which there is general agreement on one point only among the parties concerned — namely, the imperative necessity of a peaceful solution.

I will not discuss here the historical details of the conflict in Cyprus. It is a complicated story and one which the United Nations Mediator, Ambassador

Tuomioja, is at the present time seeking to unravel with a view to finding a solution with the co-operation of all the parties concerned. Meanwhile, the main task of the United Nations is, through its Peace-Keeping Force in the island, to try to prevent a recurrence of fighting, to restore and maintain law and order, to promote a return to normal conditions and to provide an atmosphere in which a negotiated solution may be feasible. The United Nations Force, consisting presently of some 7,000 men from seven countries, has now been operating in Cyprus for nearly two months. It must be admitted without any discredit to the Force, which is performing magnificently, that at present it is still far from achieving all of its aims, although it has already done much to control and regulate incidents and to prevent the spread of violence or the recurrence of large-scale fighting, and it continues to carry out its duties with increasing self-confidence and effectiveness.

The Cyprus operation differs from previous United Nations peace-keeping operations in one highly significant way. Although the United Nations is present in Cyprus in the context of the potential threat to international peace and security which the consequences of strife in the island present, it is also specifically required to deal with intercommunal strife. This means that in Cyprus the United Nations is for the first time dealing directly with forces inside a state and with conflicts between sectors of the population of that state. In the Middle East, the United Nations Emergency Force polices the frontier between Israel and the United Arab Republic, but has no responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the population on either side of the frontier. In the Congo, the main aim of the United Nations Force has been to protect the territorial integrity of the Congo and to assist the government in the maintenance of law and order and the protection of human lives and property. As the situation in the Congo developed, its mandate was strengthened by the Security Council with regard to the situation in which ultimately force could be used. In Cyprus the United Nations has to come to grips with the disruptions of day-to-day life due to the conflict between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, and it must do this in such a way as not to prejudice the final solution of the conflict between them. This is a task of great difficulty and complexity, which inevitably makes large demands on the courage, patience and ingenuity of the United Nations Force.

There has been, of course, much comment and criticism of the performance of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. It is, after all, not only a question of the outcome in Cyprus — the functioning of a United Nations Force is also of the greatest interest and importance for the future and is rightly a subject of public discussion all over the world. It does seem to me, however, that some of the criticisms of the Cyprus operation are based upon a fundamental misunderstanding of its nature and purposes, which is another reason for taking this opportunity to speak of this problem.

We in the United Nations in the past weeks have received a good deal of advice and admonition on the conduct of the Force in Cyprus. Much of it, coming



from sources some of which in the past were not always in favour of strong action by United Nations peace-keeping forces, advocates stern measures and the use of force in Cyprus to quell disorders, to disarm irregulars, and to impose peace upon the island, not by common consent but by military force. To some extent, this is understandable enough, for the spectacle of disorder and civilian suffering in Cyprus is deeply disturbing, and all possible efforts must be made to put an end to it. The United Nations Force has undoubtedly had the effect of limiting the bloodshed and misery (in fact, a much greater effect than to date it has been given credit for), but this is not enough, and better results must, and I believe will, be achieved. The problem is *how* to achieve them without creating worse problems and disasters for the future, and it is here that there seems to be some misunderstanding.

There appears to be a latent assumption in some quarters that the Cyprus Force is a military expedition on traditional lines and should be conducted as such. Leaving aside the question of the adequacy or suitability of the existing United Nations means for the suggested ends, this is a proposition that must be flatly rejected, for it stems from a concept of action which is not, and cannot be, the basis of a peace-keeping operation authorized by the Security Council of the United Nations in the sovereign territory of an independent member state. This is not a collective action against aggression undertaken under Chapter VII of the Charter. It is something far more intricate and, if I may say so, something of the greatest value, if it can succeed, as a precedent for the future. It is, in brief, an attempt on the international level to prepare the ground for the permanent, freely agreed solution of a desperate and dangerous situation by restoring peace and normality. The nature of this operation is far nearer to a preventive and protective police action; it is not a repressive military action.

What are the prerequisites of a successful preventive police action? One essential is the co-operation, understanding and renunciation of violence by the overwhelming majority of the people concerned. No police force in the world could function without such co-operation, and this is a condition we have to get, and are taking steps to get, in Cyprus. A police force does not fight the population it serves or seek a military victory; its business is the protection of persons, the keeping of the peace by enlisting the support of the largest possible number, by persuasion and by establishing mutual trust and confidence. Only in extreme situations may it consider the use of quasi-military methods as an emergency measure.

We are — and let us be proud of it — trying to move forward from the age of military force to a saner, more creative period of peace, order and justice. However incensed we may be at brutal killings and the senseless taking of hostages (and, if I may say so, we are deeply incensed), we are not conducting a punitive expedition; we are trying to help the people of an embattled and embittered island to live in peace and prosperity again. We are not guided by martial criteria, however glamorous and momentarily decisive they may seem, but by

the deep desire to solve a human problem by civilized means. It may take a little longer — perhaps very much longer — but I have no doubt that, in terms both of the present and of the future, the effort is worth it and the results will be enduring.

What is more, I believe that the soldiers of the United Nations Force, whatever their dangers and discomforts, understand and believe in what they are trying to do, as do the governments that sent them. For my part, I am acutely aware that their situation is a very difficult and, at times, a dangerous one. I, the Commander of the Force, General Gyani, and my Special Representative, Mr. Galo Plaza, will continue to do everything within our power both to enable them to carry out their tasks effectively and to ensure that they are not exposed to unnecessary risks and tribulations. I assure you of my very deep concern for both the security and the dignity of the United Nations personnel in Cyprus, military and civilian alike. It follows that I find no place in a United Nations peace-keeping operation for either weakness or bravado. In this endeavour we shall need the understanding and the support of the people at home, as well as of the soldiers in the field. I take this opportunity to salute them and their civilian colleagues in Cyprus for their courage and patience, for their discipline and their humanity. I believe that their example will be not the least of the factors that will lead to an improvement in Cyprus.

I hope that the leaders and peoples concerned will also make an effort to understand the United Nations operation in this light. The old people and the children, who perhaps suffer most from the disorders in Cyprus, do not need to be exhorted to be peaceful. There are many others, however, to whom I would appeal. The leaders of armed bands on both sides, whatever their official status, serve no interest, except perhaps their own self-esteem, by random shooting, abductions, terrorism, harassment and martial demonstrations. The world is long past being impressed by such performances. I have noticed with regret that the local newspapers and information media of both communities in Cyprus also do little to lessen the hatred or to calm the fears of their readers and listeners. Rather, they tend to fan the flames of violence and suspicion by sensational reporting and propaganda, and thus aggravate the very conflicts and disasters which have brought death and suffering to so many of the people of Cyprus.

There are great issues at stake in Cyprus for Greece and Turkey, and their preoccupation with the situation is understandable and understood. The press and public opinion of these countries inevitably exercise a strong, if indirect, influence on events in Cyprus, and, here again, too often the voices that should be urging moderation and humanity tend to be, wittingly or unwittingly, the instigators of suspicion and hatred. The leaders, in Cyprus and outside it, have given assurances of their earnest desire to find a peaceful solution and to co-operate with the United Nations. I hope they will also increasingly exercise a restraining influence on violence and extremism.

In the Cyprus situation there has been a tendency for both sides to engage

in highly vituperative exchanges of accusations and threats, often issued in the heat of some particular incident. A vicious circle of accusation and counter-accusation, of incident and reprisal, has been created which, far from easing the tension, tends to increase it and to harden the positions and build up the resentments of both parties. This is a process which only the leaders concerned can arrest and reverse, and I most earnestly urge them to do so. The United Nations Force is doing, and will do, its utmost to ensure that moderation on both sides brings benefits to all and disadvantages to none.

I make these comments because there is so very much at stake in Cyprus. It is often said, in this as in other crises, that the prestige of the United Nations is at stake. No doubt it is, but our concentration must always be on doing our very best to resolve the conflict. If we do that steadfastly, the prestige issue is likely to take care of itself. I believe that the United Nations is strong enough, and solidly enough founded in the principles of the Charter and in the loyalty and support of its members, to stand the strains put upon it. What concerns me is that at stake are the lives, happiness and prosperity of the people of Cyprus — the young and the old, the farmers, the shepherds and the townsmen, who now go about in fear of their lives or, too often, cannot go about at all. At stake, too, are the peaceful relations of two great and historic countries — Greece and Turkey — and with them peace in the Eastern Mediterranean and the dread possibilities of war in that highly sensitive area. And in the ultimate analysis, at stake is the ability of the world community to organize itself so that we can put war behind us once and for all, and can put peace, order and justice in its place.

These are the real issues which we face in Cyprus. We face them together with an agreed objective, and that in itself is a great source of hope. But, for all its moral authority and good intentions, the United Nations, like any peaceful agent of order and justice, cannot be effective without some co-operation, some give and take, some effort to move forward, on the part of the peoples primarily concerned. We cannot and will not force them to a solution of their problems, but we appeal to them to help us to help them before it is too late.

Before concluding, I should like to turn to some more general aspects of the problem of peace keeping. The basic dilemma which we have to face is a large but simple one. On the one hand, governments and peoples generally accept the need for the United Nations and its central role as the keeper of the peace. Thus the organization is entrusted, especially in times of crisis, with great problems of incalculable importance and danger. On the other hand, we have not yet come to a stage where the necessary political or material support is regularly forthcoming which would enable the United Nations to meet these problems with the authority and the efficiency with which, for example, an effective national government meets its responsibilities on the national level. This fundamental dilemma not only puts a considerable strain upon the United Nations itself, but, on occasion, involves it in serious and understandable criticism or



even hostility. It can also put a severe strain upon governments such as your own, which are determined to live up to their undertakings under the Charter and to support, by deeds as well as words, the United Nations in its endeavours to keep the peace.

It is obviously most desirable that this dilemma should be faced with a view to making the United Nations more effective and more able to serve its members and the peace of the world at large. At the same time, it would be naive to suppose that the obstacles to such progress can be easily or quickly surmounted. There is no short cut. Political, economic, constitutional and even psychological conditions and concepts of long standing are not changed overnight, nor is it desirable that they should be. There must be, therefore, a sound and gradual development of thought and action at the national and the international level, if, on this matter of peace keeping, we are to profit from the lessons of the past and plan and act for a more stable and happier future.

Your Prime Minister recently delivered a very thoughtful and constructive lecture in the Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Series, on the subject of increasing the strength and capacity of the United Nations to respond to the demands made of it. In that lecture he emphasized the necessity for preparation and planning in advance of United Nations peace-keeping operations, since the ideal solution of a permanent United Nations force is clearly not politically feasible at the present time. Canada was one of the first countries to earmark troops for United Nations service, and Mr. Pearson has made some most constructive suggestions for the further development and co-ordination of such stand-by forces, including consultations among the governments who have already earmarked such forces. I believe that consultation and co-operation among interested governments can be of much value in contributing to the improvement of the peace-keeping effectiveness of the United Nations.

Quite apart from such practical consultations, a wide public discussion of this question is most desirable. Such a discussion should range over the whole complex of problems, political, financial, constitutional, juridical and psychological, which have to be solved in evolving a dependable world agency for keeping the peace. The kind of problems which are widely, and sometimes hotly, debated today in relation to Cyprus — the extent of the authority of an international force, its relation to the authorities of the state concerned, its right to use force, the lengths to which it can go to restore order and maintain peace — are problems which will constantly arise in the future.

These problems have a fundamental bearing on concepts of sovereignty and on principles of law, as well as on military and civilian organization and method.

They need to be weighed and developed in the broad perspective of world affairs in the future, as well as in the narrow context of Cyprus.

I am gratified that Canada, which has on other occasions given a lead in peace-keeping matters, is here once again looking ahead.

To address this joint session has been a great occasion and a great honour

for me. In our different positions, we have, I believe, fundamentally the same aim — the creation of a world where justice, peace and order can flourish and be enjoyed by all. Together we must develop the means toward this end. Without the confidence and support of its member governments, in good times as well as in bad, the United Nations can never live up to the great ideals and aims of its Charter. For that reason, we must continually make the effort to examine problems openly and frankly from all viewpoints. With this end particularly in mind, I am most grateful to have had the opportunity of sharing my thoughts with you today.



*His Excellency U Thant in conversation with the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada (right), and the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs (left), during the Secretary-General's recent visit to Ottawa.*

### **Composition of UN Forces in Cyprus**

*On May 12, in reply to a question regarding "the composition of the military force in Cyprus, and in particular the number of troops at present in the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force", the Honourable C. M. Drury, Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs, stated that the Force numbered 6,363. He added that the number of British troops withdrawn from Cyprus since May 6 was 781,*

and went on to table "a breakdown showing, by numbers, the military and police forces in Cyprus divided among the seven countries providing military forces and the five countries providing police forces". The list printed in Hansard was as follows:

#### Strength of UNFICYP

UNFICYP	May 6	June 6
Austria	12	54
Canada	1098	1133
Finland	1004	1004
Ireland	636	637
Sweden	894	961
Denmark	0	976
U.K.	2719	2100
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	6363	6865
Police		
Austria	33	33
Sweden	40	40
Australia	0	40
New Zealand	0	20
Denmark	0	40
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	73	173
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Grand Total	6436	7038

#### Canada-U.S. Trade and Economic Affairs

*The following statement was made to the House of Commons on May 1 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin:*

In accordance with the practice followed on previous occasions, I should like to report that we have had a visit to Ottawa of United States Cabinet members and senior officials who attended a two-day meeting here on Wednesday and Thursday of the Joint United States-Canadian Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs. This meeting provided an opportunity for Canadian Ministers to discuss at first hand with the United States Secretaries a range of important matters in Canada's relations with the United States.

This was the ninth meeting this body has held since it was set up in 1953. It was evident in our discussions that good progress has been made during the



past year in resolving the difficulties which exist in relations between the two countries. There has been a general improvement in our relations. There is today a determination in both countries that we should co-operate closely in resolving problems and promoting the interests of the two countries in economic and trade matters. The United States recognizes that there is an imbalance for Canada in its trade and payments with the United States, and agrees with our desire to improve our current account through an expansion of exports.

We had good discussions of ways in which we can expand our mutual trade and our trade with the rest of the world in manufactured goods, industrial materials and agricultural products. We have a common interest in working for the success of the forthcoming "Kennedy round" of GATT tariff and trade negotiations which opens next Monday in Geneva. These negotiations could lead to important gains for Canada's export trade.

During our two-day meeting, we dealt with many other trade and economic matters of importance to Canada, such as difficulties Canadian exporters are encountering as a result of the recent reclassification of the United States tariff. We are hopeful that United States restrictions on imports from Canada of lead and zinc and cheese can be eased. A programme of studies relating to the utilization of the energy resources of the two countries was initiated.

We also had a good discussion of the Canadian automobile programme which was introduced last November with the purpose of rationalizing production in Canada and increasing the efficiency of the Canadian industry. Our programme is already showing itself to be successful. During recent months, trade in motor vehicles and parts has been increasing substantially in both directions.

This visit to Ottawa of Mr. Rusk and his colleagues provided opportunities for Canadian Ministers and their United States counterparts to have talks on other matters of joint concern. As the Prime Minister indicated in the House yesterday, we discussed the question of improving the Highway to Alaska. We heard from the United States their ideas on the possible development of Passamaquoddy tidal power and we discussed Great Lakes water levels. I was particularly gratified to have an opportunity to review with the United States Secretary of State a number of problems of critical concern internationally, particularly in view of the fact that he has just returned from visiting two countries in Indochina.

Our discussions here on Wednesday and Thursday demonstrated clearly the wide range of common interests between Canada and the United States and the readiness of our two Governments to co-operate in furthering our common interests. Where problems exist, these discussions at Cabinet level serve to bring about a better understanding of each other's interests and policies. We are exploring the possibility of further developing principles which would facilitate co-operation in economic and other policies. We look forward to the next meeting of this Committee, which will be held in Washington within the coming year. . . .

## The "Kennedy Round"—An Interim Report

*The following is the text of a statement made in the House of Commons on May 11 by the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, as he tabled the official report adopted at the recent ministerial session of the "Kennedy round" of trade and tariff negotiations in Geneva:*

I have just returned from the opening ministerial session of the "Kennedy round" of trade and tariffs negotiations in Geneva. I ask the permission of the House to table the official text of the report adopted at the meeting.

Let me deal briefly with the main decisions of the GATT meeting, particularly as they relate to Canada.

*First*, the trade negotiating committee explicitly recognized that Canada is a country with a trade and economic structure such that the simple across-the-board formula for tariff negotiations would not yield reciprocity of benefit. The procedures for our participation have been agreed. Canada will begin the negotiations by offering concessions equivalent in value to the trade and economic benefits we may expect to receive.

*Second*, for the main industrialized countries — including the United States, the European Common Market, Britain and Japan — the working hypothesis will be an across-the-board cut of 50 per cent in their tariffs.

*Third*, it has been agreed that the exchange of offers will be made on September 10.

Countries participating on the basis of across-the-board cuts will on that date notify the other negotiating countries of their list of exceptions to the general 50 percent rule. Canada, on the other hand, will be starting from a positive list of offers of concessions. I confirmed that we are prepared to table our offer on the same date — September 10.

*Fourth*, it was decided that, for the countries participating on the basis of across-the-board cuts, exceptions are to be limited to a bare minimum required by overriding national importance.

As far as tariffs on industrial goods are concerned, these were the main decisions. The difficult question of disparities between tariff levels and how to deal with them is not yet resolved. Nor has satisfactory progress yet been achieved with respect to procedures for the negotiation of agricultural products. As Honourable Members will see when they read the report I have just tabled, the ministers confirmed that the negotiations shall provide for acceptable conditions of access to world markets for agricultural products. While detailed negotiations have already been initiated with respect to wheat and other grains, the general rules and procedures for agricultural negotiations have yet to be worked out. Canada and other agricultural exporting countries expressed in strong terms their concern with this lack of agreement as to the treatment to be applied to agricultural products and it was agreed that the necessary rules and procedures shall be established at an early date.

On behalf of Canada, I expressed support for Poland's participation in the negotiations. It was agreed that it should be feasible to work out practical arrangements to this end, thus contributing, I believe, towards the solution of the problem of trade relations with state-trading countries.

On the whole, I believe this was a useful meeting. It committed the members of the GATT to a timetable and to a number of procedures that should facilitate the forthcoming negotiations. Needless to say we did not resolve all our difficulties. Much remains to be accomplished even before September 10, and the subsequent negotiations themselves will probably last for many, many months beyond that date. Nor is this surprising, for never before has the world attempted such a far-reaching attack on international barriers to trade.

### **The Situation in Laos**

*On May 21, in reply to a question concerning "the urgent and deteriorating situation in Laos", Mr. Martin said:*

. . . The situation in Laos, as I mentioned yesterday and as we now know from the statement made by Mr. Stevenson at the United Nations this morning, has deteriorated, and this does affect the work of the Commission. I expressed regret the other day that the Polish member of the Commission had temporarily withdrawn from service on that Commission. I said that the Polish Government had been requested by Canada to have its member of the Commission resume his duties.

The situation is one that is changing rapidly and we will have to await events. I may be in a position to make a statement on this tomorrow when the Department's estimates are before the House.\*

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See Canadian Foreign Policy in a Changing World, Page 258.



## **FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

International Law Commission: Geneva, May 11 to July 17.

Universal Postal Union, 15th Congress: Vienna, May 29 to July 15.

Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, resumed session; Geneva, June 9.

International Labour Organization, 48th session of the International Labour Conference: Geneva, June 17 to July 9.

Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR): Geneva, June 22 to July 3.

United Nations Technical Assistance Committee: Vienna, June 22 to July 3.

Inter-governmental Committee for the World Food Programme: Geneva, July 6-12.

Meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers: London, July 8-15.

37th session of the Economic and Social Council: Geneva, July 13 to August 15.

Third UN Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, August 31 to September 9.

Sixth Committee of the UN General Assembly: Mexico City, August 22 to September 30.

Opening of IAEA General Conference: Vienna, September 14.

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## **APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE**

Mr. T. F. M. Newton, Canadian Ambassador to Colombia, posted to Ottawa. Left Bogota January 29, 1964.

Mr. C. Roquet posted from the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, to Ottawa. Left Ankara April 10, 1964.

Mr. Jules Léger, Canadian Ambassador to Italy, appointed Canadian Ambassador to France. Left Rome April 17, 1964.

Mr. J. Montpetit posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tehran. Left Ottawa April 22, 1964.

Miss J. Haworth posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Trade Commissioner in Singapore. Left Ottawa April 27, 1964.

Mrs. K. R. Murrell resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective April 28, 1964.

Mrs. B. E. Heaslip resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective April 30, 1964.

Mr. F. A. E. Ward appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 3 effective April 30, 1964.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# Peace Diplomacy

*The following is the text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, on the occasion of his receiving the honorary degree of Doctor of Humanities at the commencement service, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, on June 18, 1964:*

It is a great privilege for me to be here this evening and to participate in this Convocation. Since its foundation in 1868, Wayne State University has compiled a distinguished record of service to the cause of higher education in the United States and it is for me a particular honour to be awarded a degree from this great university.

All over the United States and Canada, this is the season when people of my generation are telling graduating classes, with a good deal of solemnity, that they are going out into a difficult and dangerous world.

I wish I could tell you it wasn't true. I wish I could tell you, as my generation of graduating students were told by some of my fellow Canadians, that in North America we live in a fire-proof house isolated by our geography and our history from the need to worry about other peoples' wars. Yet by the time you reach graduation in this year of grace 1964, you have all heard so many times that you may begin to believe it, that there is no place on this planet, and certainly not on this continent, that would be immune from nuclear war.

You have probably also heard too many speakers warn you of the danger that man's new knowledge has unleashed forces he has neither the strength of character nor the consciousness to control. These forces, in other words, may not only run away with man but destroy him. Perhaps some of you are getting just a little allergic to the repetition of this alarmist advice for the perfectly healthy reason that you do not see what you can really do about it anyway.

## **Nuclear Hell or Material Heaven?**

At the same time you are already fully aware that your generation are being given the keys not only to a nuclear hell but to a material heaven also, inaccessible to any previous generation on this earth. With the incredible releases of energy, electrical as well as nuclear, made available to man for the first time in this century, it is already possible that, by the end of the century (that is within the life time of most of you), freedom from hunger will have been attained for humanity in spite of the enormous increase that we expect in its numbers to something like six billion people. If this freedom can really be attained for the hungry third of humanity, it would be the most revolutionary material achievement since the dawn of human history.

Both these great keys to the world's heaven and hell will work. We do not know which will be used — it will be one or the other. We are all in God's



hands, but these great keys have today been placed in *our* hands; and it is the task of our diplomacy to do all that is humanly possible to serve the peace. Some of you have just graduated and are perhaps still undecided what you want to do with the lives now opening ahead of you. All of you can do something significant for the peace of the world by spending ten minutes a day taking an intelligent interest in the foreign policy of your own country, instead of glued to the television. Some of you can do more than that. Even though only a few of you may perhaps become diplomats, I want to talk to you about diplomacy and the opportunities for service which diplomacy affords to those who can keep a balance between ideals and realities. Although I can only speak as the foreign minister of Canada about Canadian diplomacy, I expect that much of what I will have to say has a bearing upon your diplomacy also, because in these days there is only one kind of diplomacy for free societies and that is what I would bluntly call "peace diplomacy" — since the only other kind would have to be called "suicide diplomacy". For if we agree that there is no alternative to peace, then — whatever stop-gap military measures may be needed here and there to prevent a situation from deteriorating into full-scale war — we must agree also that there is no alternative, sooner or later, to negotiations, or, in other words, to diplomacy.

Indeed, I would go so far as to say that, since the Cuban confrontation in October 1962, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the Russians have also come to pretty much the same conclusions about nuclear warfare as you and we have. But there is one major grouping, the Chinese Communists, that have not come to these sensible conclusions. No doubt they would agree that nuclear warfare is clearly undesirable, but the risk is by no means excluded by a regime whose leader, Mao Tse-tung, in 1957 analyzed the problem in this way. He looked back to the First World War and pointed out that, after it was over, the Soviet Union and about 200 million Communists had emerged. After the Second World War, according to his analysis, the Communist world had grown to 900 million. Therefore, he goes on, after the third world war the same trend will probably be accentuated, and there will then not be enough non-Communists left to matter very much. So he foresees, if there is another war, the emergence of a Communist civilization. This is a concept which even Mr. Khrushchov has derided as recently as January last year, when he scoffed at those who dreamed of building a Communist world "on the ruins of a world deserted and poisoned by nuclear fallout".

### **Old Labels Mislead**

In addition to disagreeing with the Russians about the unacceptability of nuclear war, the Chinese Communists, it is now apparent, are actually engaged in a determined take-over bid to wrest the leadership of the Communist parties, at least of Asia and Africa, away from the Russians. In these circumstances, you see how misleading it is for our diplomacy and our thought to be shackled

with the old labels that we still use too often, such as "East and West", when the reality is that we are today dealing with at least two Communist worlds, not one. Even with regard to the Soviet world, there is, in fact, a great deal more diversity, just as there is in the West, than we could ever have expected a few years ago.

In objecting that the term "East-West relations" is no longer adequate, I am not merely playing with words. The words are not important in themselves. But by sticking to a phrase that has outlived its usefulness we limit or distort our thought, often unconsciously; ideas are very important, in diplomacy and indeed in the world. One aspect of diplomacy is the battle for the minds of men; and that battle is fought with ideas. Therefore, let us make sure our weapons, our ideas, are not obsolete.

The "Iron Curtain" is another conventional diplomatic tag in need of revision. For 15 years after the war, it conveyed vividly a bitter truth. Even today, if you were to visit Berlin as I did last month, you would see the Wall — that horrible monument to the failure of the Communist system, erected to make it easier to shoot people fleeing to freedom from East Berlin. The Communists could not accept the scandal that 2,000 to 4,000 of their people each week should be risking their lives to get out of the "People's Paradise". So they built the Wall; and it is indeed an Iron Curtain of barbed wire and blood.

However, I think we can all rejoice that elsewhere the Iron Curtain is getting pretty rusty in spots — so much so that it is no longer a very apt description of the frontiers which divide the Western world from the European Communist countries. That there are still important barriers, no one would deny; but there is no longer today the impenetrable wall that the term Iron Curtain suggests. Indeed, there is now a passage of persons and ideas, both ways, sufficient to make Stalin turn over in his second resting place.

Another term we might think about bringing up to date is the expression "satellites" used to describe the countries which are supposed to be cringing behind the Iron Curtain. It suggests regimes of slavish obedience to Moscow, who follow every dictate of the master's voice in every aspect of their internal and foreign policy — in other words, a group of countries marked by a uniformity which blots out such national characteristics as at one time existed. If this was ever true, it is certainly much less apparent today, though it would, of course, be an exaggeration to assert that the Eastern European regimes have wide freedom of action or that their leaders (as distinct from their peoples) wish to break away from the U.S.S.R., though Tito may not be the last to make the break. These countries are linked by a military treaty with the Soviet Union; their economic systems are closely integrated; and they profess the same kind of Communist credo as the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, within these limits, in the last few years the Eastern European countries have applied — and have been allowed to apply — their Communism in a way which takes into account more than heretofore the differing conditions and national characteristics of the

peoples concerned. They have also been allowed more trade and other contacts with the West.

### **Policy for the West**

Western diplomacy has, I think, reacted intelligently to the new opportunities offered in this situation — opportunities for contacts and understanding, for a supple, diversified range of policies to meet each case, instead of an ineffective, precast formula to “roll back the Iron Curtain” that increases fears behind it and therefore only serves to re-establish the Curtain in all its severity. I only wish that in respect of Far Eastern policy there was as wide a measure of agreement on both sides of the Atlantic as there now is about our policies towards Eastern Europe, for, where there are serious differences among us, the left hand may undo what the right hand is labouring to accomplish. The result is waste of effort, bitterness, disunity and danger.

To return to Europe, however, the idea of Europe — and not just Western Europe — still has power. President Johnson said last month that lasting peace depends on “rebuilding an all-European civilization within its historic boundaries”. I expect that this is true, especially if in the process of remaking Europe as a whole we can take a corresponding step towards an Atlantic community. For it is fundamental to a Canadian point of view — and I hope also to yours — that the lesson of interdependence is applied not on a continental basis alone but by moving towards an Atlantic community.

The Western Europeans are on the move. They want to transcend their warring national histories; and the pull of this big idea is felt also in Eastern Europe. But can there be any doubt that free Europe has far more in common with us in North America than it has with the Communist countries of Eastern Europe?

All that is so far lacking is sufficient interest and will on this side of the Atlantic to move from a military alliance towards building a community with Western Europe. We in Canada, and you in the United States, will pay a high price for our shortsightedness if, because we did not see our opportunity, the tides of continentalism on both sides of the Atlantic come in again, bringing new kinds of nationalism and isolationism in their wake.

### **Canada's Peace-keeping Role**

Diplomacy — the “peace diplomacy” our countries are trying to follow — requires a broad vision and a sense of history. But it also demands day-by-day attention to the dangers, large and small, that threaten the path to peace. The big dangers, like Cuba in October 1962, must be confronted by the big powers, by you. But the more frequent little dangers, that could grow into big ones if not checked, are where we come in.

Canada has, in fact, taken an active part in almost every United Nations peace-keeping operation since they began. We are a middle power, as the phrase



goes, neither colonial nor yet aggressively anti-colonial, neither too strong nor too weak. So, when the United Nations fire alarm sounds, it happens that Canada is usually asked to go.

Two weeks ago, in Ottawa, your Assistant Secretary of State for International Affairs, Mr. Harlan Cleveland, told the annual meeting of our United Nations Association: "Since 1948, Canada has assigned Canadians to every peace-keeping operation of the UN except one — the only country which has done so". Yes, we have responded in Kashmir, in Israel, Gaza, the Congo, Yemen, and now Cyprus. It is a long and expensive list; it is politically difficult at home because of the risks; and we get small thanks abroad for our work. We do it not for the glory but as our duty, since there are not many who are both willing and able to move in quickly with an effective force. Only five other countries have so far joined us in earmarking part of our regular Army as stand-by forces ready at any time to go anywhere we may agree to send them at the request of the United Nations and the governments concerned.

At the same time, we have been playing a similar international role politically as one of the three members of the Truce Commissions in Indochina for ten long and frustrating years.

To keep up the momentum of the peace-keeping idea, we are trying to take steps outside the UN, since efforts to make progress in the UN have for years been blocked by the Soviet veto, to ensure that in future there may be less improvising and strain and risk in this recurring UN need. To this end, we are planning to hold a conference in Canada later this year of those countries with experience of peace-keeping operations. United Nations peace-keeping, we feel, has come to stay. It is now no longer an exceptional phenomenon but a regular feature of the United Nations repertory of possible answers to a dangerous situation or threat to the peace. In the world of tomorrow it is probably the key to both international and even national security.

### **Disarmament and Peace**

Of all the roles of peace diplomacy, however, it is disarmament that tackles the central problem most directly. Here again, Canada has, since I first went to the League of Nations in Geneva 28 years ago, been playing a serious and constructive part in the collective effort to achieve disarmament on terms that would reduce rather than increase present risks for all. On these criteria, we believe it would be folly simply to give up the nuclear deterrent, unilaterally or on both sides, without some means of knowing that there was no cheating. We therefore want inspection and control, not before disarmament but progressing with it as required technically for the satisfaction of both parties to know pledges are, in fact, being kept. Progress is really being made, painfully slowly it is true, but I think already the improvement in Western relations with the Soviet Union which I mentioned earlier is due in part to the patience and sincerity of our collective work on disarmament over the years.

But it is due to something more. Since the war, we in the West have shown the Asian and African majority of the world's peoples that it is possible for white rulers to leave before they have to, and for independence — economic as well as political — to be given to hundreds of millions of these ancient peoples who were civilized long before North America had been, as we say, "discovered". It is also a salutary lesson for some people to see that Western countries are willing to give large amounts of aid for the economic development, even of non-aligned countries, without exacting any kind of trade, political or military concession in return. Aid alone is not enough, but aid and trade together are building bridges for our ideas in Asia and Africa and indeed among all the developing countries. With this "third world" there is no more important aspect of our modern diplomacy. It is helping to reduce the gap and therefore the tensions between the rich and the poor in the world — and this gap may, in the long run, be as great a source of worry for the peace of the world as the gap between the Communist and non-Communist worlds is today.

I have, I hope, spoken long enough to earn my degree, for which I am deeply grateful, and yet not too long to make you wish you had not conferred this honour upon me. Before I leave you, may I add just one thought to an idea that must have been an important one to the late President Kennedy, since he put it in his first inaugural? You remember his great exhortation, not only to Americans — "do not ask what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country". If you add to this — and I am sure it is in the spirit of your great President — that we should also ask what our countries can do for the peace of the world, you have a hierarchy of service that can stand as the ideal of diplomacy for all free peoples everywhere.

# *Economic Problems of Developing Nations*

UN TRADE CONFERENCE, GENEVA

*The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development opened in Geneva on March 23 and ended on June 15. This was the first conference ever held for the specific purpose of dealing with the trade and development problems of the less-developed countries of the world, which make up some two-thirds of the world's population. The Conference drew up recommendations covering subjects such as market access, commodity agreements, institutional arrangements, economic aid and related financial questions. Among the institutional arrangements recommended was the holding of similar conferences at three-year intervals, as well as the establishment of a permanent Trade and Development Board, all within the United Nations. Canada has been elected a member of this Board. The Conference's recommendations were incorporated in a final act, which the participants at the Conference signed and which will be submitted to the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly for approval.*

*On June 17, the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, submitted the following report to the House of Commons on the outcome of this Conference:*

Mr. Speaker, I know that the House would wish me to report on the results of the UN Conference on Trade and Development which met in Geneva over the past 12 weeks and which ended yesterday.

## **Need for Increased Trade**

The House will recall that this Conference was called to consider how trade can play a greater part in the economic development of the less-developed countries. If the pace of development in these countries is to gather sufficient momentum, they will need to increase their imports of capital goods and raw materials. These growing import requirements must be financed in large measure from their own export earnings. In fact, the less-developed countries have experienced a continuing decline in their share of world trade and their export earnings have not provided them with resources commensurate with their import needs. It was to these problems that representatives of 119 countries addressed themselves in Geneva. I attended the opening ministerial session of this Conference, and the statement which I made to the Conference outlining the Canadian position on the issues involved has been tabled in the House.

The House will appreciate that these are complex and difficult problems for which solutions cannot be evolved at a single Conference. What the Conference has been able to do is to create greater understanding of the fundamental issues



involved and to chart the course for future progress. A number of key issues emerged during the Conference. One of these was the problem of how less-developed countries could increase their export earnings from trade in primary commodities. Most of these countries are still dependent on a narrow range of commodities for a very large proportion of their export earnings. The Conference has recommended a programme of action designed to improve the terms of access to world markets for these products. It also agreed that new efforts must be made to arrive at international arrangements which would assure producers of primary commodities a more dependable source of export income.

Of course, as the House is aware, even the most effective international arrangements may not be able to eliminate all fluctuations of commodity prices. Such fluctuations can disrupt development plans, which, in the nature of things, must be based on longer-term expectations of foreign-exchange earnings. To help ensure that these plans can go forward without disruption, the World Bank has been asked to study how these difficulties might be alleviated through new types of multilateral assistance.

The Conference recognized that, however much the prospects for their traditional exports are improved, the less-developed countries would come to depend increasingly on exports of the products of their new industries. This underlines the need for reductions in the barriers to world trade being made on a basis which will afford these countries the fullest possible opportunity of expanding their industrial exports. In the "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations coming up in the GATT, industrialized countries will be expected to ensure that products of interest to the less-developed countries are included within the scope of the negotiations without expecting full reciprocity from the less-developed countries for benefits they may derive from these negotiations. As far as Canada is concerned, the likelihood of market disruption from imports of the less-developed countries' manufactured goods would be lessened if there were freer access for these goods in the markets of the industrialized countries generally. There was, however, a difference of view on whether the industrialized countries should also grant tariff preferences to the less-developed countries for their exports of manufactures. This difference was not resolved and the Secretary-General of the United Nations has been asked to arrange for further study of this difficult issue.

### **Need for Continuing Aid**

The Conference acknowledged that, whatever part was played by trade, the international community would have to continue to support by means of aid the efforts of the less-developed countries to accelerate their rates of growth. As the House is aware, the target of the current United Nations Development Decade is to enable these countries to achieve a minimum annual rate of growth of 5 per cent by 1970. In view of the rapid population increases in these countries, however, even a 5 percent growth-rate would not allow any real nar-

rowing of the gap that now separates their standards of living from those of the advanced countries. The Conference recognized that a responsibility in narrowing this gap remained with the developing countries. It also recommended measures that the international community should undertake to aid the development of the less-developed countries and in this regard it recommended that each developed country endeavour, within the measure of its capability, to achieve a level of assistance that would come as close as possible to 1 per cent of its national income. The special position of capital-importing countries was, however, recognized. The House may be sure that the Government will give careful study to the implications of this recommendation in the light of the action which we have already taken to make substantial increases in the Canadian external-aid programme during the current fiscal year.

The Conference also reached agreement that there should be new institutional machinery within the United Nations to carry forward the work begun at Geneva and to bring into focus the problems of trade as they affect economic development. The General Assembly of the United Nations, at its next session, will be asked to endorse the holding of similar conferences on a regular basis and the establishment of a new Trade and Development Board. The House will be pleased to learn that Canada, as a major trading nation, is assured of a continuing place on the new Board, where it will have continuing opportunities to help find solutions to the trade problems of the developing countries with a proper regard for the interests of other countries with more developed economies.

Mr. Speaker, the Canadian Government has played a positive and constructive role in this Conference. As the House is aware, there had been concern, for a time, that the Conference might not be able to achieve agreement on the means of dealing effectively with the issues before it. I am glad to be able to say that, in a spirit of accommodation and realism on the part of all concerned, agreement on a very wide front was achieved in the final days and hours of the Conference. This, Mr. Speaker, is a good augury for the further endeavours which all countries will have to make in attacking the problem of under-development. In this task, the less-developed countries recognize that theirs is the primary responsibility. If, however, their own efforts are to be effective, they must be supplemented and supported by constructive international action. I can assure the House that, for its part, the Government will study the results of the Conference in that spirit and will continue to co-operate fully in further international efforts to create conditions in which the less-developed countries can participate more fully in the benefits of world trade.

I would not wish to conclude my statement without paying particular tribute to Mr. Dana Wilgress, the leader of the Canadian delegation, who brought his wide experience and great understanding to bear upon the issues facing the Conference and who, I know, was in no small part responsible for the success which has attended its deliberations.



## *Visit to Ottawa by Chancellor Erhard*

AT THE invitation of Prime Minister L. B. Pearson, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Ludwig Erhard, visited Ottawa from the afternoon of June 9 to the morning of June 11, 1964. Accompanied by the West German Foreign Minister, Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, Dr. Erhard had talks with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, in which senior officials of both governments took part. The Chancellor was later received at tea by Governor-General and Madame Vanier.

On June 10, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Honourable Alan Macnaughton, held a luncheon in honour of Dr. Erhard, after which the Chancellor received a warm welcome to the House from members of all parties. Later



*Prime Minister L. B. Pearson (left) greets Chancellor Erhard on his arrival in Ottawa at Uplands Airport. Immediately behind the Chancellor is the West German Foreign Minister, Dr. Gerhard Schroeder.*



Dr. Erhard placed a wreath at the National War Memorial. In the evening, the Prime Minister and Mrs. Pearson gave an official dinner in the new state dining-room in the West Block of the Parliament Buildings.

To quote the joint communiqué issued on June 10, Dr. Erhard's visit was marked by the "warm and friendly atmosphere which has characterized the development of relations in every field between Canada and Germany in recent years". The discussions "reflected a close harmony of views on all important questions and strengthened the framework for future co-operation between Canada and Germany". The cordial atmosphere of the visit and the substantive results of the talks are reflected not only in the communiqué but in the remarks of the Prime Minister and the Chancellor at the official dinner. Extracts follow from the communiqué and the two speeches.

### Communiqué

In their review of the international situation, the Prime Minister and Chancellor noted with satisfaction the relaxation of tensions between the Soviet Union and the West in certain areas, including the gradual improvement of relations with Eastern European countries. While hoping that this development would continue, they regretted that it had not yet been accompanied by any progress toward the solution of major problems. It remains, therefore, essential for the free world to maintain its defensive strength, while remaining ready to take advantage of every opportunity to enlarge the areas of agreement with the Communist world.

In Europe, it was agreed, the main cause of tension remained the continuing division of Germany. Dr. Erhard took the opportunity to explain his Government's policy for achieving German reunification in peace and freedom. The Prime Minister expressed Canadian understanding and support for Germany in every peaceful effort to reunite its people through the exercise of their right of self-determination in freedom. Both leaders agreed that a solution of the German problem would open up real possibilities for an improvement in international relations.

The two governments were in full agreement on the continuing need for a strong and cohesive Atlantic alliance, which continues to be indispensable in the defence of the West. Both leaders recognized the necessity of seeking to encourage peaceful relations and of working toward the relaxation of international tensions and universal and controlled disarmament. They stressed the importance of the transatlantic nature of the alliance, and agreed that the twin dangers of European and North American isolation must be avoided.

Both governments reaffirmed their support for a greater liberalization of world trade, and expressed their determination to contribute effectively to this goal. The Ministers were convinced that success of the current "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations in the GATT could make a great contribution to this objective. They agreed that it was also important to make suitable arrangements for agricultural products in the "Kennedy round".

The Chancellor and the Prime Minister emphasized the importance of assisting the developing countries to raise their standards of living, and recalled the substantial contribution which both Canada and Germany were making. In this connection the Prime Minister recalled the recent substantial increase in the Canadian aid programme. Both leaders expressed the hope that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development would devise effective and reliable solutions to the trade problems faced by the developing countries.

The Chancellor and the Prime Minister reviewed the extensive bilateral relations which have developed between Canada and Germany in recent years. They expressed satisfaction at the excellent state of these relations, and were agreed that the present mutually beneficial co-operation should be extended in every possible way.

The Ministers noted that Germany and Canada were now among each other's most important trading partners. They agreed that there were good opportunities for further increases in trade and investment between the two countries.

The Prime Minister and the Chancellor noted the important contribution which the more than one million Canadians of German ancestry have made to the development of Canada.

Dr. Erhard recalled that substantial numbers of Canadian troops had been welcomed in Germany as an important contribution to collective Western defence since 1951. The Ministers expressed pleasure at the recent granting of the freedom of the city of Soest to the Royal Canadian Regiment, the first such occasion in the history of Germany.

The Prime Minister and the Chancellor noted with satisfaction the increasing exchanges by the two countries in the cultural and educational fields. They noted with particular pleasure that about 150 Canadian university students were spending the current summer vacation on a working holiday in Germany at the initiative of the Federal German Government. Ministers were agreed as to the desirability of increasing cultural contacts between the two countries, and that exploratory discussions on these questions should take place in the near future.

### **Mr. Pearson's Address**

. . . . We are delighted at the end of this very agreeable but all too short visit to express our welcome and our thanks to the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister and the members of his party.

My mind goes back to those days after the Second World War when it looked as if there would be great difficulties indeed in restoring order out of chaos in Europe. There were three great men at the time to whom I think Europe and the free world owe a great deal. Those three men were Dr. Adenauer, Monsieur Robert Schuman, and Signor de Gasperi. I remember Mr. Schuman telling me once how

privileged he had been to work with the other two in bringing Europe together, reminding me of the fact that, when these three architects of the new Europe met together, they spoke in German because all three of them, the Frenchman, the Italian, and the German, had in their early days lived in countries where German was the new language.

In this succession as a great European and as another architect of the developing economic and political unity of Europe, we have Chancellor Erhard with us tonight. We honour him for what he has done for his country, for what he has done for Europe, and also because he has realized that Europe is not enough and its alliance of co-operation and contact must move from Europe across the Channel to the United Kingdom, and across the Atlantic to the United States and Canada. So we honour him also for what he has done to build up the Atlantic partnership. His contribution to the miraculous recovery of Germany is well known to all of us and has earned our respect and admiration. As a result of the industry and resourcefulness of the German people — and, I like to think, the encouragement they have received from other countries — and also because of the leadership they were given, out of the ruins of war has developed one of the strongest economies and one of the most stable democracies of the free world.

There is, of course, a darker side to this story — the division of Germany and the geographical isolation of West Berlin. Canada with other members of the North Atlantic alliance — and we are proud to be and to remain a member of that alliance — has pledged to support the German people in their right to reunification in freedom, and to protect the right of the courageous and resolute people of West Berlin to maintain their freely chosen status. Mr. Chancellor, these pledges are possible because Germany itself has renounced the use of force to achieve these justifiable objectives.

May I say that the talks we have had with the Chancellor, the Foreign Minister and other members of the party have shown a close harmony of views between our two governments. They have provided renewed confirmation that the new Germany is forward looking politically and economically. Like Canada, Germany favours a prosperous united Europe in a wider Atlantic community. You recognize, as we do, our obligations beyond the Atlantic world, helping the developing countries toward narrowing the gap between the rich and the poor which, despite the aid already given, is still growing wider. We have also learned that Germany, while not a member of the United Nations, supports the ideals and policies of the Charter of the United Nations.

Our meeting has confirmed the fact that relations between our two countries are untroubled and are developing in a way which I hope is as satisfactory to the Government of the Federal Republic as it is to us. Canada and Germany are now major trading partners. We are allied in NATO in defence of the free world. We have, since the Second World War, provided a home in Canada for 250,000 German settlers and we shall be glad to have more; we are often reminded that almost one million Canadians are of German ancestry. We have reciprocated in a very





*The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin (left) and Dr. Gerhard Schroeder, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, in discussion during the visit to Ottawa of Dr. Schroeder with Chancellor Erhard.*

small way by having in Germany at the present time 25,000 Canadians. I should like to pay my tribute, Mr. Chancellor, to the way these Canadians who are soldiers of NATO, in many cases with their wives and families, have been received in the community in which they are living. They have identified themselves with the community and will come back to Canada to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our two countries. . . .

Your visit, Mr. Chancellor, has been very valuable in strengthening the already friendly relations between our two countries. When I was talking with the Chancellor today, I discovered that in those sad and tragic days 1914 to 1918 — and we are of exactly the same age, so we were very young indeed — we had faced each other, along with millions of other young men, across the lines of anonymous hostility in war. The last two days we have been facing each other in friendship across the conference table, and we have re-dedicated ourselves to following those policies which will make it not only unnecessary but, we believe, impossible for young men again to face each other in hostility and fear and enmity across battle lines. It is because of the contribution of the Chancellor to the development of his own country and to the development of good relations in the world to bring about peace and security in the future that we honour him tonight.

## Speech by Dr. Erhard

I feel deeply moved to thank you for the very kind words you have found for myself and my country, and for the frankness with which we have conducted our conversations today. It may appear as if one day of discussions could never suffice to clarify the viewpoints of individual nations and peoples in a very difficult international situation; just the same, it has a good and deeper significance, for world politics are not shaped by conferences alone, or by reading well-prepared speeches. I think that it is just as important that the leading statesmen of friendly nations come together to get to know each other personally, to weigh hearts and minds in a free exchange of ideas. For politics do not consist only of matter-of-fact discussions, but also of problems of human understanding. . . .

You, Mr. Prime Minister, touched upon the decisive problems. We Germans do not fancy ourselves as the hub of the world, nor do we think that, on account of our human and political fate, mankind should be dragged into new entanglements with a tragic outcome. No, that would be a completely false outlook, for we all struggle for the maintenance of peace. And it is only historical coincidence, I should like to say, our German fate, that we are placed at the centre of the great conflict between East and West. We certainly did not wish it that way. We are victims of these events in world affairs. But we are firmly convinced that there will be no peace in the world until this decisive and neuralgic point of tension has been brought to some kind of peaceful solution.

You, Mr. Prime Minister, have in many instances, with great imagination and a wealth of inventiveness, seen to it that peace has been maintained in the world. Thus you have well earned your Nobel Prize. I continually admire the energy and imagination with which you approach these problems, for I believe that we shall make no progress by staying on fixed paths. And the fact that a deep understanding prevails between our two countries, that neither of us imagines ourselves to be powers that shape the fate of the world, but that we are both convinced that we can exercise a voice and a moral weight in world affairs — that, I believe, is a firm bond that ties us together.

I am deeply satisfied with this visit. No spectacular decisions had to be reached; the real purpose was only to make a personal acquaintance, and to deepen the mutual trust, as well as to draw us closer together in facing our common problems. I said this afternoon at a press conference how interesting it is, when one visits another country, to find that bilateral problems can be settled in about ten minutes. Basically, there are no longer any bilateral problems for, in a world-wide open community of free nations, they have lost all significance. Apart from that, I am too ardent a liberal to be able to advocate any other thesis. . . . I believe that liberal thought, after all, is the sustaining value to guide our world, for, with the old ideas of barren nationalism, protectionism and egotism, the world will get nowhere. I believe we need this open, free-minded spirit to excite in the world the feeling of a common destiny, of an indivisible solidarity. I believe this has become very evident during our visit. . . .

In Europe too, I have always maintained that, if we wished to achieve European union by setting values and establishing ranks according to larger or smaller nations, Europe would be lost. I shall always insist that Europe can only survive if it is a Europe of free nations with equal rights. If we do not consider the powers of the individual nations and do not classify them according to their importance, but look for a Europe filled with one idea, with one spirit, that will be the true Europe. Of that nature the true Atlantic community must also be. We stand by one another. . . .

After all the tragic events involving our two countries, which once made us enemies, this represents a hope and a happy aspect of our common future, which will not be divided but can only be developed together in partnership. Our discussions here have shown once again that it is no longer possible for any country to master its own destiny alone. In these times, it is given to us to stand together in the same spirit, with the same ideals, with the same conception of our future. And I believe that these ideals, and this understanding which unite us inseparably, give us hope despite all the anxieties that we may have about the future. . . .



## *Visit of President De Valera of Ireland*

THE PRESIDENT of Ireland, His Excellency Eamon De Valera, arrived in Ottawa on June 1, 1964, at the invitation of the Canadian Government, for a three-day state visit. He stayed at Government House as guest of the Governor General.



*President De Valera talks with Madame Vanier during his stay at Government House in Ottawa.*

The Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, gave a luncheon in honour of Mr. De Valera the day of his arrival. In the afternoon, Mr. De Valera visited the Speaker's Gallery of the House of Commons, where he was welcomed by the five party leaders. In the evening, the Governor General and Madame Vanier gave a state dinner followed by a state reception. On June 2, the Irish Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency John A. Belton, gave a private luncheon at the Rideau Club for the visiting President. In the afternoon, Mr. De Valera and the Irish External Affairs Minister, Mr. Frank Aiken, gave a radio, television and press interview in the Parliament Buildings. On June 3, the President addressed a meeting of the Canadian Club at the Chateau Laurier.

In the course of the visit, External Affairs Minister Aiken had discussions on matters of common interest to Canada and Ireland with the Secretary of State for External Affairs. On the afternoon of June 3, President De Valera and his party departed for Boston aboard a Royal Canadian Air Force plane.

# *The Canadian Committee for International Co-operation Year*

**D**URING the sixteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the late Prime Minister Nehru of India drew the attention of the delegates to the relative worldwide silence on the extent of international co-operation, in striking contrast to the emphasis on conflict. On November 10, 1961, he called on all countries to devote a year to emphasizing and enlarging the scope of co-operative efforts and activities in the world. At the request of India, an item to this effect was put on the agenda of the sixteenth session, but action was postponed for a year owing to the pressure of work already waiting to be done.

## **Background**

On December 19, 1962, at the seventeenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the members of the United Nations unanimously endorsed, by Resolution 1844 (XVII), the idea of an International Co-operation Year (ICY) and appointed a Preparatory Committee to study the possibilities inherent in this idea and to report to the eighteenth session. Canada, as an active supporter of the Resolution, was appointed a member of the Preparatory Committee, and a Canadian served as rapporteur.

The report of the Preparatory Committee recommended that 1965 be designated as International Co-operation Year. It also pointed out that the idea of ICY could be most effectively carried out if the first emphasis during that year were placed on co-operative projects already existing that would not involve political controversy or great financial expenditure. These suggestions won general support and on November 21, 1963, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously approved Resolution 1907 (XVIII) designating 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, as International Co-operation Year. In particular, the resolution calls upon all member states, the Specialized Agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the non-governmental organizations concerned:

- (a) To take note of the designation of 1965 as International Co-operation Year.
- (b) To publicize to the widest extent feasible the activities of international co-operation in which they have been and are at present engaged and their efforts to strengthen and expand these activities.
- (c) To formulate such plans and programmes as seem to them appropriate to promote the purposes of the International Co-operation Year.

In keeping with the idea that the main emphasis and support for ICY should come from non-governmental organizations, a Canadian Committee for ICY was formed in January 1964, on the initiative of the United Nations Association



in Canada, in response to a suggestion by the Secretary of State for External Affairs. Dr. J. R. Kidd of the Overseas Institute of Canada was elected Chairman of the Canadian Committee for International Co-operation Year, and entrusted with the responsibility of developing plans and programmes for the Committee.

### **Organization**

Following the choice of Dr. Kidd, a National Executive Committee was elected at a meeting of interested national organizations held on January 22, 1964. The task of the Executive Committee is to co-ordinate plans and to act on behalf of all organizations and groups intending to participate in ICY. Following the establishment of the Executive Committee, a group of advisory panels was organized as follows:

- (1) A panel of Members of Parliament and Members of the Senate of Canada.
  - (2) A panel of distinguished Canadians serving abroad in important international organizations or posts.
  - (3) A panel of Canadian representatives of intergovernmental organizations.
- In addition to these advisory panels, the National Executive is establishing a series of special committees to initiate study and action in the following fields: science; the arts; sports and physical education; travel; universities; elementary and secondary education.

A series of local ICY committees is being formed, which will be responsible both for initiating and co-ordinating programmes of public education and for stimulating local projects. Such committees are already at work in Victoria, British Columbia, Winnipeg, Manitoba, and Ottawa, Ontario, and preliminary work has begun to set up committees in several other cities. The Victoria committee has produced a booklet indicating the type of work and projects they plan to sponsor in that city to mark ICY. The Canadian Committee for International Co-operation Year intends to engage as soon as possible a full-time public relations officer, who will be responsible for developing and expanding the publications and publicity for ICY in Canada.

### **Efforts of the Canadian Committee**

The National Executive Committee decided to hold a one-day conference in Ottawa at which representatives of 90 national organizations would be present. This conference had two purposes:

- (1) To bring to the attention of these national organizations the idea of ICY.
- (2) To allow those organizations already involved to present their ideas on suitable projects for ICY.

This conference was held on April 10, 1964, and proved to be most useful. The delegates were addressed by Ambassador Ralph Enckell, Chairman of the United Nations Committee on ICY, the Prime Minister of Canada, and the Secretary of State for External Affairs. At that meeting, Mr. Pearson said:

I hope that you will take away from the meeting you are having today new ideas and fresh ideas on how you and the organizations which you represent may help to strengthen the basis for international co-operation and the basis for a good Canadian contribution to International Co-operation Year. Make no mistake about it (of course, it is obvious but, as are so many things that are obvious, it is an eternal truth), peace is founded on co-operation, the avoidance of conflict. This working together, this co-operation, must penetrate to every level of international and national activity, both governmental and (sometimes we forget this) non-governmental.

We have heard a lot for a great many years now about the virtues of co-existence. I would not want to depreciate the importance of peaceful co-existence, but co-existence in itself is not a very constructive concept; it is not always even a positive concept. You can co-exist without co-operating. My mind goes back many, many years to 1914-18 when there were men who co-existed 50 yards from each other for years but who did not co-operate. So, it is not so much co-existence that we want, but co-operative co-existence, and that is what International Co-operation Year seeks to drive home.

A similar one-day conference has been planned for French-speaking organizations in Canada, to be held at the University of Montreal.

In addition to this conference, the Chairman and various members of the Executive have visited many national organizations to interview officers and staff concerning plans for ICY. As a result, ICY will be the theme of, or will be featured prominently at, more than 25 national conferences to be held in Canada during 1965, beginning with the biennial convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour.

### **Public Information and Education**

The Executive Committee plans to form a National Committee on Public Education, which will include representatives from the various communication media. Members of the Executive Committee have visited and interviewed senior producers in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and private radio and television networks to discuss ICY and the programmes that might be created for presentation on radio and television during 1965. The Commissioner of the National Film Board of Canada has been asked to consider the feasibility of producing films on international co-operation, as has the director of an organization representing private film producers. To complement this work, a special list of films suitable for showing in ICY is being produced for distribution to programme conveners in hundreds of national organizations. Further, every organization which publishes a periodical journal is being asked to reserve space in issues appearing before and during 1965 for articles, editorials and picture stories on international co-operation.

### **Programmes and Projects**

At this early stage, no attempt is being made by the National Executive of the Canadian Committee for ICY to choose one major national project, though interested persons have been invited to make suggestions for appropriate projects. It is considered that the first essential is to stimulate national organizations and local groups of all kinds. The Canadian Committee does, however, plan to

proceed with a major national project in the autumn of 1964.

Initially, the Committee is planning to support and encourage those projects which exemplify the principles of international co-operation and which have been planned but not yet implemented. In this fashion, the National Committee is endeavouring to follow Resolution 1907 (XVIII), which suggests that first attention should be given to existing forms and modes of international co-operation. The following are examples of the type of project the Canadian Committee for ICY will support:

- (a) The Canadian Mysore project developed during the Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign, to improve nutrition in India.
- (b) Books, radio, film and other equipment to supplement the work of a new agricultural school in Latin America established by a Canadian corporation in response to the Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign.
- (c) A library project in Tanganyika planned by a group of French-speaking school girls in Montreal.
- (d) The opening of an International House for Foreign Students at the University of Toronto, sponsored by the Rotary Club of Toronto.
- (e) The establishment of adequate reception and welfare services for foreign students and trainees in 25 cities across Canada through the newly-formed Canadian Service for Overseas Students and Trainees (CSOST).

In addition, the Canadian Committee intends to support new projects developed by Canadian organizations and the extension of existing projects involving international co-operation. Some of these programmes are:

- (a) A project of youth leadership, sponsored by the Young Women's Christian Association of Canada and the United States.
- (b) The Credit Unions of Saskatchewan that conducted a programme in Tanganyika in 1962 have been asked to undertake an extended project for 1965.
- (c) The Coady Institute and the Institut Desjardins have been invited to increase the number of foreign students studying in Canada in 1965.
- (d) The universities of Canada will be asked by the Canadian University Foundation to increase the number of places for foreign undergraduate and graduate students, and the number of exchanges of professors with foreign universities.

Apart from projects involving essentially one organization, the Canadian Committee feels it worthwhile, and, indeed, essential, to encourage projects that will involve not only several Canadian organizations but organizations from many other countries. In this way the idea of international co-operation will be furthered not only through the carrying out of these projects but through the experience the people in these organizations will gain while working together. Two such projects are:

- (a) Under the Overseas Institute of Canada, organizations such as the Women's Institutes, the Young Men's Christian Association, World University Service, Ontario Teachers' Federation, and the Rotary Clubs are collecting and



sending books to public libraries, secondary schools and university libraries in 40 countries. In 1965 the objective of this co-operative effort will be half a million volumes; ten new countries will be added and many more books in French will be collected.

- (b) The Women's International Liaison Committee for International Co-operation Year have planned an international project of assistance to children which will involve women and organizations from a score of countries.

There are two other classes of project with which the Canadian Committee will associate itself. These are the extension of those projects providing direct material aid and the development of activities through which direct contact between the peoples of various countries is increased. In the first category, it is planned to make an additional effort to increase the various projects that send abroad food, clothing and medical supplies, while at the same time initiating new projects to collect machinery, technical equipment, film broadcasting equipment and art materials to be sent abroad to schools and other institutions. In the second category, it is hoped to increase the number of volunteers sent abroad under the auspices of the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), as well as to develop travel and exchange opportunities for both young and old.

### **Conclusion**

As will be seen from the above outline, the Canadian Committee for International Co-operation Year has sought to organize its work in such a way as to carry out effectively the principles laid down in Resolution 1907 (XVIII). It is hoped that the co-ordination and initiation done by the Canadian Committee for ICY will spur new interest among non-governmental organizations and individuals to take action to develop programmes and projects for ICY. The broader the base of action, and the greater the number of people involved in ICY, the more certain will be its success. It is to be hoped that, through such efforts as will be made during ICY, a newer and more solid basis for international co-operation will be developed, with the result that the people of the world will begin to see the benefits of international co-operation and turn away from the conflicts which divide them.

# *Canadian-Hungarian Relations*

*Several agreements have recently been concluded with Hungary which, it is hoped, may form the basis of better relations between Canada and that country. In announcing the signing of these agreements to the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, made the following statement:*

Mr. Speaker:

Representatives of the Governments of Canada and the Hungarian People's Republic have held a number of meetings in Ottawa between May 20 and June 9 to discuss problems of common interest in the fields of trade, financial claims, consular matters and diplomatic relations.

In addition to an agreement on trade on which my colleague, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, will be making a statement, we have also agreed to an exchange of diplomatic missions with Hungary as soon as convenient to each party.

We have reached agreement with the Hungarian Government to negotiate at an early date a settlement of outstanding financial claims between the two countries. I shall shortly be making an announcement of the type of claims which might be eligible for consideration under this agreement. Finally, Mr. Speaker, we have reached an understanding with the Hungarian Government on a number of consular matters which will, among other things, clarify the position of Canadian citizens, including those of Hungarian origin, who may wish to travel in Hungary.

I propose . . . to table the letters I have exchanged today with the Hungarian Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs covering these various subjects.

*In connection with his announcement in the House of Commons, Mr. Martin later released the following statement supplying further detail on some of the matters covered by the agreement:*

As to the settlement of property claims, an agreement provides that further negotiations will be entered into at an early date towards the settlement of Canadian property claims against Hungary. The negotiations will take into account all claims of the Canadian Government and of Canadian citizens in respect of pre-war debts, war damages, and property which has been nationalized or expropriated by the Hungarian authorities since World War II, as well as all obligations of the Hungarian Government to the Canadian Government and Canadian citizens arising out of the 1947 Treaty of Peace with Hungary. The negotiations would also cover all Hungarian claims in respect of blocked and vested Hungarian assets in Canada.

This agreement on future claims negotiations will be of interest to a number of Canadians who have outstanding claims against Hungary, many resulting from

Hungarian nationalization measures. These negotiations are not expected to commence for some months. As part of the preparations for the negotiations, Canadians will be invited to submit to the Canadian Government, within a specified deadline, any claims and supporting documentation not already submitted. Canadians who have already submitted details of their claims to the Department of External Affairs may be asked to furnish certain additional information or documentation in respect of their claims against Hungary. A separate public announcement will be made in the near future outlining the procedure to be followed to register claims with the Canadian Government. I must also mention at the outset that, in accordance with well-established international practice, the Canadian Government will be able to espouse only the claims of persons who are Canadians at the present time and who were also Canadians at the time of the loss or nationalization of their property. Claims of persons who were not Canadians at the time of loss will not be included in the proposed negotiations, with the exception of certain categories of claims provided for in the Peace Treaty with Hungary.

Another agreement also records an understanding on certain consular matters which, among other things, will serve to clarify the position of Canadian citizens, including those of Hungarian origin, who may wish to travel to Hungary. In addition, we have reached an understanding with the Hungarian Government that they will give sympathetic consideration to applications from Hungarian citizens who may wish to join members of their family who are already in Canada.

*In connection with the signing of the trade agreement, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, made the following announcement in the House of Commons:*

Mr. Speaker, the three-year trade agreement signed this morning between Canada and the Hungarian People's Republic is the first such agreement between the two countries in the post-war period.

The agreement is based on an exchange of most-favoured-nation treatment. At the same time, Hungary has committed itself to purchase Canadian wheat and other goods to a total value of \$24 million over the period of the agreement. I would draw the attention of the House to the mixed nature of this purchase commitment, marking a departure from other recent agreements. Since Hungary itself is normally an exporter of wheat, that portion of its commitment involving wheat is to amount to 250,000 metric tons, a somewhat smaller quantity than has been involved in recent purchases by other countries. Hungary has the choice of taking one half of this amount in the form of feed barley. The remainder of the purchase commitment will be taken up by Hungary in the form of Canadian goods of its choice. These goods are not specified, but it is hoped that, on the basis of past Hungarian interest, new and continuing markets will be opened up for a wide range of Canadian goods.

In addition, the agreements signed today provide that a Hungarian trade office may be opened in Canada and a Canadian trade office may be opened in



Hungary for the purpose of market exploration and trade promotion. Both governments have expressed the wish that through these agreements trade between Canada and Hungary may be expanded on a mutually satisfactory basis.

The establishment of trade relations with Hungary represents yet another step in the development of closer trade links between Canada and the countries of Eastern Europe. In recent years our long-standing trade relations with Poland and Czechoslovakia have been further strengthened through our sales of wheat to these countries. Poland is currently discussing in the GATT the basis of its participation in the "Kennedy round", and Canada has expressed support for this initiative. Our trade agreement with the Soviet Union signed in 1956 has been twice renewed, and the first trade agreement between Canada and Bulgaria was concluded last year. I am sure that our new trade agreement with Hungary will make a further valuable contribution to the expansion of Canadian trade.



*Following the signing of the recent agreements between Hungary and Canada, Mr. Peter Mod, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic (left), shakes hands with the Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Mitchell Sharp, in the presence of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin (centre).*

## *Nigerian Airmen Receive Wings in Canada*

ON APRIL 24, 1964, at the Royal Canadian Air Force station at Penhold, Alberta, 15 Nigerian air cadets who had been trained in Canada received their wings. These young pilots, who will form the nucleus of the Nigerian Air Force, had arrived in Canada a year earlier under the terms of the Canadian programme for military-training assistance to their homeland. After graduation, they remained in Canada to attend a Basic Flying Instructors' Course.

The Nigerian Government was represented at the wings ceremony by Mr. Matthew Mbu, Minister of State for Navy, and Malam Sule Kolo, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Defence. Both officials took the opportunity to call on senior members of the Departments of External Affairs and National Defence in Ottawa. During their stay in Canada, they visited ten Nigerian army cadets in training at Camp Borden, Ontario, two acting naval sub-lieutenants serving on the East Coast, four naval cadets in training on the West Coast as leading engineer mechanics and eight cadets at the Fleet School, HMCS "Naden", Esquimalt, British Columbia.



*In the above photograph of the Penhold wings parade, the head of the Western Training Command of the RCAF, Air Vice-Marshal E. H. Greenway, and Mr. Mbu are shown inspecting the graduating class. Accompanying the Air Vice-Marshal (shown to his left in the picture), is the commander of the Penhold squadron, Squadron Leader K. T. Wallace.*



# Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING, 1963

*The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is a non-governmental organization of Commonwealth parliamentarians that meet annually in different Commonwealth capitals.*

*The following are some observations on the ninth meeting of the Association, at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, during October and November 1963, prepared by Senator Donald Cameron, leader of the delegation of the Canadian (Federal) Branch:*

The role of Malaysia in the Commonwealth was very aptly described in the concluding section of a feature article by Maurice Shadbolt in the November 1963 issue of the *National Geographic Magazine*:

Malaysia puts humanity on trial. Now, in all their diversity, I had seen the faces of Malaysia, the races which planned union last summer in a new, vital nation.

In a world haunted by the threat of nuclear destruction, their endeavour has special significance. Future historians might mark it down as one of the most decisive experiments in man's history. Can people of so many races, so many beliefs, find a true harmony? The answer affects us all. Because Malaysia is not simply a test for Asians. It is a test for the human race itself.

We were fortunate in seeing the country almost at the birth of the Federation, and the impression we took away was one of a buoyant, friendly, youthful and confident people, tackling the problems of nation building with confidence and enthusiasm.

Thanks to an efficiently organized and thoughtfully executed pre-conference tour, the 121 CPA members, and 17 secretaries, from 28 Commonwealth countries were able to get the feel of the country. The tour provided the opportunity to visit every part of the Federation, to meet its leaders and people from every walk of life. Here we found a nation of young people — 54 per cent are under 19 years of age. Everywhere we saw building and construction — the tremendous housing projects of Singapore, the industrial development of the Jurong estates, the rural developments outside Petaling Jaya, the extensive lumber industry, the tin mines and, above all, the splendid progress being made through the methods of modern science in the basic and highly important rubber industry. We were encouraged everywhere by the emphasis on education, and we saw the fine Universities of Singapore and Malaya. We saw a beautiful modern campus in Kuala Lumpur, where a vigorous administration had converted a rubber plantation and mango swamps into a fine modern university in five years. We saw and helped to open a splendid Parliament Building which in itself must be an inspiration to the people — a fitting cornerstone for democratic government in Southeast Asia.





*Members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, in Kuala Lumpur to attend the ninth conference of the Association, are received by His Majesty the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong, ruler of the Federation of Malaysia, at the opening of the new Malaysian Parliament Buildings.*

From the gracious courtesies of His Majesty the Yang Di-Pertuan Agong and his beautiful consort to the suave good-humoured and intelligent contribution of the Tunku Abdul Rahman and the able administration of the Conference chairman, the Honourable Dr. Lim Swi Aun, we gained the impression of a smoothly-operating organization whose efficiency, even to the smallest details, set a standard that succeeding Commonwealth countries will find hard to equal.

Some insight into the composition of the Commonwealth can be gained from the fact that, at a dinner given for the leaders of the delegations the night we arrived in Kuala Lumpur, the writer was one of four white men in a gathering of 17. The proportion of white to non-white was approximately the same throughout the Conference as a whole. Canada had the largest delegation (15), followed by Nigeria, Britain, India and Pakistan. The smallest delegation, from the smallest country, was a kilted gentleman from Samoa.

But these men had come together from the far corners of the earth, from the steaming jungles of Sabah and Sarawak, from the Himalayas and Kashmir, from the less-developed regions of Africa, to the rich farmlands of Canada and the industrial sophistication of Britain. They had come together, drawn by a belief in and an allegiance to a common set of principles of freedom for the individual, justice and equality for all. They had come from the far corners

of the earth to discuss common problems, to share skills and techniques, to get to know one another and to develop friendship, understanding, and trade. While the degree of development among the members of the Commonwealth varies from the primitive areas of some parts of Africa where tribal government still holds sway to the sophisticated industrialized economies of Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, it is significant and vastly important that this voluntary conclave of parliamentarians from all over the world should come together once a year to discuss common problems, to share ideas and experiences and to help each other. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is fulfilling a vital role fostering the mutual understanding, co-operation and interdependence that are so necessary to the survival of the democratic system.

The agenda of the ninth Conference was concerned with three major topics: technical education and co-operation; the promotion and expansion of trade between Commonwealth countries; and international affairs and defence.

### **Technical Education and Co-operation**

Under the first topic, the whole spectrum of needs, problems and resources was explored. The magnitude of the contribution being made in this area by Britain was an eye-opener to many delegates, as were the contributions of countries like Canada, which at the time of the Conference had teams of specialists in radio and television communications, in fisheries research, steel fabrication, and



*The recently-opened \$17-million Parliament Buildings, Kuala Lumpur, Federation of Malaysia.*



teaching projects in Malaya. While these aids are important, they are nevertheless almost insignificant in terms of the needs. The demand for more scholarships and bursaries to enable selected students to go away to other Commonwealth countries for professional and technical training is almost staggering in its proportions. At the same time this is only one aspect of the problem. The training of local leaders in all the skills of a modern technological society is a paramount necessity, but it was agreed that the major task must be upgrading of the knowledge, understanding and skills of the great masses of the population. This task must be performed at home, using thousands of native leaders who need to be trained not only in the technical skills of modern technology but in the arts of democratic government as well. Democracy is a word much on the lips of the peoples in the less-developed countries. At present, the term has many meanings and interpretations and is mainly a vague, ethereal hope as far as the masses are concerned. It is the task of the governments and peoples of the less-developed countries, with the help of the richer and more-developed partners, to translate the term "democracy" into realistic and practical programmes of education, housing, health and economic development. The task is stupendous, the need is urgent, and the time is short. Education at all levels — elementary, secondary, technical, university and general adult education — must be the number-one priority in all these countries if democracy is to grow and prosper.

### **Commonwealth Trade Promotion**

The promotion and expansion of trade between Commonwealth countries is fraught with many difficulties because the economic interests of many of the members are not complementary but are often in conflict. If the less-developed countries are to grow and prosper they must find markets for those products which are their natural output. They must train their labor force in the techniques and skills which will make their exports competitive from the standpoint of price and quality. By the exchange of information it is possible to find areas where goods can be exchanged with benefit to the buyer and seller. The developed nations have a tremendous stake in raising the living standards of the less-developed countries because from the raised living standards alone will come the greatest market of all time. Next to education, expanding trade must have the highest priority, but the expansion can only take place if we take much more vigorous action to inventory the resources of the Commonwealth countries and then, on the basis of knowledge and mutual self-interest, develop trading patterns and policies which will react to the benefit of all. Such, in summary, was the consensus expressed in this area.

### **International Affairs and Defence**

Less time was given to international affairs and defence than to the other two topics, not because it was less important but because the common denominator of individual country self-interest was superficially less apparent. All countries,



while naturally interested in international affairs and defence, did not share the same degree of urgent concern and, consequently, to some countries, the topic was more academic than real. There were at least three major areas of concern that, in terms of immediacy, might be stated in the following order:

- (1) The Malaysian-Indonesian confrontation.
- (2) The problem of Kashmir.
- (3) The relation of the newly-emerging African nations to South Africa.

The Malaysian-Indonesian confrontation is a classic example of the way in which the commerce of countries can be disrupted, with consequent irreparable harm done to countless innocent people as a result of government policy.

### **Malaysian-Indonesian Confrontation**

The budding nation of Malaysia, with a standard of living next to that of Japan and almost four times as high as that of Indonesia, four miles away across the straits of Malacca, is viewed by Sukarno as a threat to his kind of government. If a thriving democratic Federation of Malaysia can provide such a markedly superior standard of living for its people to that of Sukarno's "guided democracy", it is obvious that the Indonesians might want a change too; hence the attempt by Sukarno to weaken the new Federation by cutting off trade, by harassing the people in Sabah and Sarawak, and by raising the cry of neo-colonialism in an attempt to create disaffection within Malaysia. In November, 100 ships, normally engaged in trade between Indonesia and Malaysia, were lying idle in Singapore Harbour. Daily acts of piracy and sabotage, all destined to create an atmosphere of tension and unease, were taking place everywhere. While the best professional intelligence at the time (November) was to the effect that, at that time, the purpose of Indonesia was harassment rather than all-out war, the situation was and is dangerous and has already resulted in the diversion of some Malaysian resources from the tasks of economic development to the less-productive tasks of defence, and to that extent it is a brake on Malaysian progress. The survival of a democratic Federation of Malaysia is a keystone to the survival of democracy not only in Southeast Asia but in other less-developed regions as well; consequently, the success of the Malaysian experiment is a matter of vital concern to the whole democratic world.

### **Problem of Kashmir**

The Indians and the Pakistanis had substantial delegations of distinguished parliamentarians, men and women of long experience in public affairs. Yet we thought it fortunate that they were seated on opposite sides of the chamber. A discussion would be going along peaceably and quietly; then, suddenly, when an Indian or a Pakistani said something that touched a raw nerve, the storm would break like a thunderbolt from a summer sky and a dozen Indians and an equal number of Pakistani's would be on their feet, hurling charges and countercharges at each other with a belligerence that belied their calm, philo-

sophical mien of normal times. After a few explosive minutes, peace and calm would once again be restored, only to be broken by another storm on another day. Kashmir is a highly-charged emotional issue, and little light was thrown on it during the discussions. It is a problem and a danger-spot not likely to be solved for a long time — not until another generation whose memories of partition, with all its horrors and slaughter, are less poignant than the memories of those who suffered the actual experience. This is just one more issue that calls for the maximum of knowledge, tolerance and understanding before an acceptable solution can be found.

### **Challenge of the New Africa**

The impact of the teeming millions of Africa is only beginning to be felt in the world at large, but this huge continent, with its plethora of emerging nations, its intense nationalism and its almost limitless needs for education, technical skills and economic assistance, represents an awe-inspiring challenge to the statesmanship and the generosity of the so-called developed nations.

The explosive force of African nationalism is a fact which can no more be stemmed by pious platitudes and wishful thinking than an avalanche can be stemmed by pretending it is not there. The Africans are on the march and their competence to lead and give direction to their own people varies widely. By far the most sophisticated in terms of the "know-how" of democracy are the Nigerians, who are followed by the Ghanaians. These have had the longest experience in the practice of democracy. Some others are only emerging from the feudalism of centuries, and are ill-equipped at present to cope with the problems of building a new society capable of fitting into an industrial age. The African members of the Commonwealth need our aid and understanding in larger measure than any other Commonwealth countries.

Out of the rising nationalism has come a new assertiveness and an almost belligerent assertion of a right to freedom and equality. One of the unforgettable experiences of the Conference was one afternoon when African after African got up to denounce the racial policies of South Africa and to condemn the British Government for shipping arms to South Africa "to kill negroes". Anyone who listened to responsible leaders in Africa declare, with deep feeling and conviction, that "there will be war in Africa" could not help shuddering at the horror that is being sown by those misguided and stubborn men in South Africa who naively believe they can hold the dam back by methods of suppression and segregation. The present policies of white South Africa are fraught with the gravest dangers and unless a new understanding and tolerance can be developed, they will reap a whirlwind of disaster that will be one of the great tragedies of the world.

In concluding this brief perspective on the 1963 meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, one cannot help but repeat that, in spite of many differences on some major political issues, in spite of the frequent

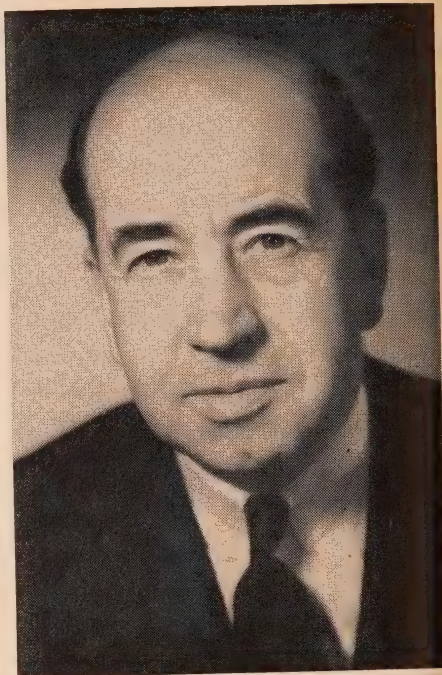
clashes of economic interests, the Commonwealth today remains one of the most significant cohesive forces, uniting millions of people of every race, creed and color behind a set of common ideals and purposes the objects of which are to assist the common man to fulfil his highest potential in freedom and human dignity. In furthering these objectives, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has a vital and challenging role to play.



## *Canadian Appointed to Senior NATO Post*

THE CANADIAN Government recently agreed to release Mr. James A. Roberts from his functions as Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce in order to enable him to assume the post of Deputy Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Mr. Roberts had a distinguished record during the Second World War, when he commanded the 8th Infantry Brigade with the rank of brigadier. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Order, and received the order of Orange-Nassau from the Netherlands Government. Mr. Roberts has had a distinguished record in government service since his appointment as Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce in July 1958. As the senior Canadian official in the trade field, he has been a member of, or has led, many trade missions, and has participated in trade and economic negotiations in many parts of the world.



*Mr. James A. Roberts*

The Canadian Government, when asked by the other members of the NATO alliance to provide a nominee for the post of Deputy Secretary-General, believed it was essential to propose someone of stature who would make a first-class contribution to the NATO alliance. This is the first time a Canadian has been appointed to a senior position in NATO, and this appointment will give added emphasis to the transatlantic nature of the alliance, which is so vital if NATO is to evolve in the coming decade. Mr. Roberts' appointment is an indication of the importance the Government attaches to continued Canadian membership in NATO.

Mr. Roberts is to take up his new appointment on September 1, 1964.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Canadians in UN Congo Force**

*On June 8, in response to a question asked a few days earlier as to the number of Canadian Army and Air Force personnel still in the Congo and "when they were to be returned to Canada", the Honourable Paul Hellyer, Minister of National Defence, made the following statement to the House of Commons:*

. . . Under the resolution adopted by the General Assembly on October 18, 1963, the United Nations Force in the Congo will be terminated at the end of this month. Repatriation of Canadian personnel has already started, with some 54 returning to Canada on May 27. At the present time there is a total of 179 Canadian servicemen in the Congo. Approximately 62 will be returning on June 17, 60 on June 27, and the remainder on the 30th of this month.

I am sure it would be of interest to all Hon. Members to know that, since the United Nations Force in the Congo was established in July 1960, over 1,900 officers and men of the Canadian Army and the Royal Canadian Air Force have served with distinction in that Force.

## **Spread of Arms in Cyprus**

*A question was asked on June 17 concerning "the problem of arms reaching Cyprus", with the request that "the Minister tell the House what action, if any, has been taken or is contemplated by the Government, either through the United Nations or in conjunction with our NATO allies, to prevent the further spread of these arms to the Turkish and Greek Cypriots". The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, replied as follows:*

. . . I am in full agreement with the United Nations Secretary-General's statement in his report to the Security Council yesterday when he said: "The problem of arms in Cyprus is critical. Indeed, it may be the decisive factor in determining the ability of the United Nation's effort in Cyprus to succeed".

As I mentioned the other day, the Government has been in consultation with the United Nations and with its NATO allies on this problem. Strong representations have been made to all the governments concerned, and, in addition, bilateral representations have been made to other countries which might supply arms, urging that all such shipments be prevented.

## Proposals for Bomber Destruction

*On June 22, in reply to an inquiry as to whether the Government would "consider a contribution to what is known as the 'bomber bonfire', which seems to be the most promising approach to disarmament at the present time", Mr. Martin said:*

There are two proposals currently before the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee concerning the destruction of bomber aircraft: the Soviet proposal for the destruction of all bombers by all countries, and the United States proposal for the reciprocal destruction of a specific number of B-47's and TU-16's, which have similar long-range missions. In its present form, the Soviet proposal is unrealistic. The United States proposal concerns major armaments of a type not held by Canada.

### Canada - U.S. Committee on Joint Defence

*The following statement was made on June 26 by Mr. Martin:*

Yesterday the Prime Minister mentioned that I would report on the meeting of the Canada-United States Ministerial Committee on Joint Defence, which took place in Washington yesterday. This was the fourth meeting since the Committee was established in 1958 and the first meeting since 1960. The early convening of this Committee had been agreed at meetings between the Prime Minister and Presidents Kennedy and Johnson last year and in January of this year. The United States was represented by Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the Secretary of the Treasury Douglas Dillon and Secretary of Defence Robert S. McNamara. My colleagues on the Canadian delegation were the Minister of National Defence, the Minister of Finance, the Associate Minister of National Defence and the Minister of Defence Production.

Among the subjects discussed were the changing nature of the threat to the North American continent and measures to meet that threat. There were no negotiations of any kind relating to nuclear weapons and no new commitments were entered into. We also took the opportunity to review developments in NATO which have taken place since The Hague meetings in May.

We discussed the interest of both governments in achieving an effective arms-control and disarmament programme and examined a number of proposals now before the Disarmament Committee in Geneva, including a "bonfire" of equal numbers of U.S. and Soviet medium bombers and the cut-off and cutback of the production of fissionable material. The United States expressed appreciation for the Canadian initiative in the field of international peace-keeping activities. I described the conference which we hope to organize later this year among interested nations for an exchange of experience and views concerning training and preparations for peace keeping under UN auspices.



At this meeting there was a useful review of the defence production sharing programme which Canada and the United States embarked upon in 1959. The agreed object of this programme has been to maintain a rough balance in the purchases of defence equipment in each other's country; this has been reaffirmed. A special study is to be undertaken with a view to maintaining this balance over the next few years, during which we will be making a number of new defence-equipment purchases. My colleague the Minister of Defence Production will be able later to elaborate on this aspect of yesterday's meeting.

It was natural that the situation in Southeast Asia should have been a matter of special attention at this meeting. There can be little doubt about the depth of the concern of the United States Government about the manner in which Communist China and North Vietnam are attempting to extend their influence through interference in the affairs of Laos and South Vietnam. We came away with the clear impression that, if the Communist powers seek to continue their subversive activities in neighbouring states, a serious situation could develop.

We formed an equally clear impression that the United States objective is simply the proper execution of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962. The latter provided specifically for the neutrality of Laos, and the United States wants nothing more than to see this neutrality respected and effectively safeguarded. I am satisfied that, if the Communist powers, for their part, would observe those agreements, the United States, which seeks no permanent bases or special position in either Laos or South Vietnam, would no longer find it necessary to take special measures to support the governments of those two countries.

For our part, we pointed out the special position which Canada has in Indochina by virtue of its membership in the International Supervisory Commissions. The U.S. Ministers fully understood the limitation which this fact places on our activities in this area and made no effort to press upon us an alteration of our current policies; and I may say, as the Prime Minister affirmed yesterday, there is no intention on the part of Canada to undertake any new military obligations in this area. Any action on our part could only arise pursuant to our obligations under the United Nations Charter.

The Ministerial Committee on Canada-United States Defence happened to coincide with the visits to the U.S.A. of Prime Minister Inonu of Turkey and Prime Minister Papandreou of Greece, who had been invited to Washington by President Johnson to discuss the Cyprus question. As Canada has a heavy stake in both men and money in the UN peace-keeping operation in Cyprus, it was desirable that I should take advantage of their presence to see these two leaders of countries with whom we are allied in NATO and who are directly concerned with events in Cyprus.

I therefore took the opportunity to have meetings with both of them and to express again, as I had done at The Hague in May, my earnest hope that they would refrain from any action which might render more difficult the peace-keeping task on the island or jeopardize the security of NATO. I also reaffirmed Ca-

Cyprus  
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nada's impartiality in this affair, emphasizing that our purpose in Cyprus is to assist in restoring order in a way which favours neither side in the difficult communal dispute on the island.

I am satisfied that both men are experienced statesmen who have no desire to see the relations between their countries deteriorate, but who are caught up in a vortex of pressures which are causing great difficulties for both countries. I am confident that both are men of peace who will do all they can to bring about a stabilization of the situation in Cyprus and an improvement in the relations between their two countries.

## **FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

Economic and Social Council: 37th session, Geneva, July 13 to August 15.

Third UN Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, July 31 to September 9.

Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States: Mexico City, August 22 to September 30.

Third Commonwealth Education Conference: Ottawa, August 21 to September 4.

Opening of IAEA General Conference: Vienna, September 14.

Opening of UNESCO General Conference: Paris, October 20.

Fourteenth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly: New York, November 10.



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. R. E. Branscombe posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tehran, to the Canadian Embassy, Oslo. Left Tehran April 24, 1964.
- Mr. D. W. Fulford posted from the Canadian Embassy, Havana, to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City. Left Havana April 30, 1964.
- Mr. W. C. Wilkinson appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 3 effective May 1, 1964.
- Mr. L. D. A. Culbert appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 3 effective May 4, 1964.
- Mr. J. C. Wood appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective May 4, 1964.
- Miss A. M. Hyndman posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rangoon, to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague. Left Rangoon May 8, 1964.
- Mr. F. G. Livingston posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur. Left Ottawa May 13, 1964.
- Mr. A. D. Rowe posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Beirut. Left Ottawa May 13, 1964.
- Mr. A. Rive retired from the Public Service effective May 14, 1964.
- Mr. P. F. Brady posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, San Jose. Left Ottawa May 15, 1964.
- Mr. G. W. LaRocque appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 3 effective May 15, 1964.
- Mr. G. G. Crean, Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Italy. Left Belgrade May 15, 1964.
- Mr. B. Williams, Canadian Ambassador to Turkey, posted to Ottawa. Left Ankara May 18, 1964.
- Mr. M. J. P. V. Perron appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective May 19, 1964.
- Mr. M. C. Temple posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires. Left Ottawa May 19, 1964.
- Miss K. C. B. Cantlie appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective May 25, 1964.
- Miss M. C. Fletcher appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 25, 1964.
- Mr. B. A. R. Hull appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 25, 1964.
- Mr. E. C. O. Latour appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer, effective May 25, 1964.
- Mr. G. J. Reid appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective May 25, 1964.

- Mr. J. P. Schioler posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in Nicosia. Left Rome May 25, 1964.
- Mr. J. L. Delisle, Canadian Ambassador to Costa Rica, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Turkey. Left San Jose May 26, 1964.
- Mr. R. H. N. Roberts posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam, to Ottawa. Left Dar-es-Salaam May 28, 1964.
- Mr. D. W. Campbell appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 1, 1964.
- Mr. M. Heroux posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara. Left Ottawa June 1, 1964.
- Mr. J. D. Puddington appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer, effective June 1, 1964.
- Mr. C. D. Fogerty posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Prague. Left Ottawa June 2, 1964.
- Mr. J. B. Seaborn appointed Commissioner to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam. Left Ottawa June 3, 1964.
- Mr. F. G. Hooton resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective June 4, 1964.
- Mr. R. C. Hatheway posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam. Left Ottawa June 5, 1964.
- Mr. J. G. Hadwen posted from the Canadian Embassy, Oslo, to Ottawa. Left Oslo June 6, 1964.
- Miss P. A. Macoun posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Warsaw. Left Ottawa June 12, 1964.
- Mr. J. J. Dupuis posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to Ottawa. Left Tokyo June 14, 1964.
- Mr. A. W. Sullivan appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 15, 1964.
- Mr. P. Trottier posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris. Left Ottawa June 16, 1964.
- Mr. A. Broadbridge posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo. Left Ottawa June 18, 1964.
- Mr. W. M. Wood posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv. Left Ottawa June 19, 1964.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Peru

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Peru constituting an agreement permitting amateur radio stations of Canada and Peru to exchange messages or other communications from or to third parties.

Lima, May 8, 1964.

Entered into force May 8, 1964.

##### United States of America

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America constituting an agreement on international satellites for ionospheric studies (with a Memorandum of Understanding) (ISIS).

Ottawa, May 6, 1964.

Entered into force May 6, 1964.

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America to amend the Agreement of September 27, 1961 relating to the Continental Air Defence System by cancelling the proposed gap-filler radar programme.

Ottawa, May 6, 1964.

Entered into force May 6, 1964.

#### Multilateral

Indus Basin Development Fund (Supplemental) Agreement, 1964.

Done at Washington March, 31, 1964.

Signed by Canada April 6, 1964.

Entered into force April 6, 1964.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# *Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, 1964*

*The following communiqué was released on July 15, the final day of the 1964 meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, England:*

The meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers ended today. Pakistan, Ghana and Tanganyika and Zanzibar were represented by their Presidents. Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Kenya and Malawi were represented by their Prime Ministers. India was represented by the Minister of Finance; Cyprus by the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Jamaica by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

This was the first meeting at which Uganda and Kenya were represented as independent members; and the other Commonwealth Heads of Government were glad to greet their Prime Ministers. They expressed their satisfaction at the establishment of Malaysia which they had welcomed at their last meeting in 1962 and they greeted Tunku Abdul Rahman as Prime Minister of Malaysia. They also welcomed the attainment of independence by Malawi on 6th July, 1964, and agreed that Malawi should be admitted to Membership of the Commonwealth. They invited the Prime Minister of Malawi, Dr. Banda, to join their Meeting; and Dr. Banda took his seat on 9th July. They noted that Northern Rhodesia would become independent on 24th October, 1964, as the Republic of Zambia; and they looked forward to welcoming Zambia as a Member of the Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

In the course of their discussion, the Presidents and Prime Ministers reviewed the major issues of the day.

They agreed that one of the most important of these is race relations. It was agreed that the Commonwealth has a particular role to play in the search for solutions to the inter-racial problems which are threatening the orderly development of mankind in general and of many particular areas in the world today. As a community of many different races, the Commonwealth is itself an almost unique experiment in international co-operation among peoples of several races and continents. Within their own borders many of its members have faced and are facing issues raised by the co-existence of differing cultures within a democratic society. The Prime Ministers affirmed their belief that, for all Commonwealth governments, it should be an objective of policy to build in each country a structure of society which offers equal opportunity and non-discrimination for all its people, irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Commonwealth should be able to exercise constructive leadership in the application of democratic principles in a manner which will enable the people of each country of different racial and cultural groups to exist and develop as free and equal citizens.

The Prime Ministers recalled the critical international situation which had developed shortly after their last meeting in the autumn of 1962 and the grave threat to peace which it had implied. They believed that the fact that it was successfully resolved may have been in some sense a turning-point in the relations between the major Powers and may have marked the beginning of a new period in international affairs in which the world may hope for a gradual relaxation of tension. This will not be a short or simple process; but the Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the further steps which had already been taken to reduce the causes of friction, particularly the conclusion of the Tests Ban Treaty and the subsequent agreements between the Governments of the United Kingdom, the



*Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II entertains the presidents and prime ministers of the Commonwealth at Buckingham Palace during the Commonwealth Conference in London. Left to right: Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago; Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cyprus; Dr. Milton Obote, Prime Minister of Uganda; Mr. Albert Margai, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone; Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Prime Minister of Nigeria; Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaysia; Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya; Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Prime Minister of Canada; Dr. Hastings K. Banda, Prime Minister of Malawi; Mr. M. Julius K. Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar; Her Majesty; Mr. Donald Sangster, Deputy Prime Minister of Jamaica; Sir Robert Menzies, Prime Minister of Australia; Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana; Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister of Finance of India; Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon; Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Prime Minister of Britain; Mr. Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister of New Zealand; Field Marshal Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan.*



United States and the Soviet Union not to place nuclear weapons in outer space. They also welcomed the reductions in the output of fissile material for military purposes which these Governments have made.

Against this background, the Prime Ministers expressed their hope that these steps would lead progressively to general and complete disarmament. They reaffirmed their support for the work of the Geneva Disarmament Conference and their determination to seek to extend the scope of disarmament in accordance with the principles expressed in their statement of 17th March, 1961, particularly by endeavouring to promote an agreement to prohibit the further dissemination of nuclear weapons and of knowledge relating to their manufacture and use. They will maintain their efforts to reduce the areas of international disagreement by all the means within their power, while maintaining both the strength and the resolution to resist aggression from without or subversion from within. In this connection they assured the Prime Minister of Malaysia of their sympathy and support in his efforts to preserve the sovereign independence and integrity of his country and to promote a peaceful and honourable settlement of current differences between Malaysia and neighbouring countries.

They discussed the great significance of China for South and Southeast Asia. They also discussed the question of relations with China and of her membership of the United Nations. They expressed anxiety about the continuing tension in Southeast Asia and affirmed their support for all measures which might promote a just and peaceful settlement and help to re-establish stability in the area.

The Prime Ministers noted with satisfaction the friendly public statements by the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India and expressed their hopes that the problems between their countries will be solved in the same friendly spirit.

While recognizing that it was not a function of the Commonwealth to act as an arbiter in disputes between member nations, the Prime Ministers agreed that Commonwealth countries could play a role of conciliation and, where possible, consider using their good offices to help towards the settlement of disputes between member nations provided the parties concerned accepted such mediation.

The Prime Ministers renewed their support for the United Nations in its efforts to resolve disputes in various parts of the world. They reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of the Charter and emphasized the importance of reinforcing the strength and capacity of the United Nations to respond to the demands which it must meet if the Charter is to be fulfilled.

The Prime Ministers expressed concern about the situation with regard to Cyprus. They reaffirmed their full support for the United Nations Security Council Resolutions of 4th March, 13th March and 20th June 1964. The Prime Ministers asserted that the Cyprus problem should be solved within the frame-work of the United Nations and in accordance with the principles of democracy and justice.

They appealed to all countries concerned to refrain from any action which might undermine the task of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force, to which

a number of Commonwealth countries are contributing, or might prejudice the the endeavours of the United Nations to find a lasting solution in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

The Prime Ministers undertook to consider practical measures to strengthen the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations and to reduce the degree of improvisation required in an emergency. They agreed that consultation and co-operation among interested governments in this matter could be of great value in contributing to the improvement of the peace-keeping effectiveness of the United Nations.

The Prime Ministers expressed their concern at the possible effect on United Nations operations in all fields of a prolongation of the United Nations financial crisis. They expressed a common desire to work towards a long-term equitable solution of the problem of financing large-scale United Nations peace-keeping operations and agreed that any such solution should be based on the principles of collective financial responsibility and relative capacity to pay.

Britain made the following statement to the meeting about the progress of British colonial dependencies towards independence.

Already more than 20 countries (with a total population of some 700 millions) had achieved sovereign independence under British guidance. This process was continuing all the time. Northern Rhodesia would be independent in October and the Gambia very soon after. Basutoland had been promised that she could have independence in about 18 months' time; Bechuanaland would be free to follow when she wished; and Swaziland's new constitution had now set her on the same course. In addition it had been agreed that the Federation of South Arabia should become independent within the next 3½ years. British Guiana would become independent as soon as she was able to assure internal peace. Southern Rhodesia would attain full sovereignty as soon as her governmental institutions were sufficiently representative.

There were a number of other colonies which already enjoyed a wide measure of self-government. These included the Bahamas, Barbados, British Honduras and Mauritius. In addition there were some 20 other colonies and protectorates with a combined population of about five million. Of these over three million were in Hong Kong where the circumstances were exceptional. Of the remainder only two territories had a population of more than 100,000. Several had less than 10,000. The smallest (Pitcairn) in the Pacific had only 90 inhabitants. It was clear that no uniform pattern would fit all these very different territories. Some might feel strong enough to proceed to independence on their own. Some might join with others to form larger and more viable units. Some might wish to couple independence with a treaty of friendship such as Western Samoa concluded with New Zealand. Some would for the present prefer to remain as they were.

The Prime Ministers of the other Commonwealth countries welcomed the progress of British territories to independent membership of the Commonwealth.

They recognized that the authority and responsibility for leading her remaining colonies to independence must continue to rest with Britain.

At the same time, Prime Ministers of other Commonwealth countries expressed their views to the Prime Minister of Britain on the question of the progress of Southern Rhodesia towards independence within the Commonwealth. They welcomed the decision already announced by the British Government that, as in case of other territories, the existence of sufficiently representative institutions would be a condition of the grant of independence to Southern Rhodesia. They also noted with approval the statement already made by the British Government that they would not recognize any unilateral declaration of independence; and the other Prime Ministers made it clear that they would be unable to recognize any such declaration. The view was also expressed that an Independence Conference should be convened which the leaders of all parties in Southern Rhodesia should be free to attend. The object would be to seek agreement on the steps by which Southern Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth at the earliest practicable time on the basis of majority rule. With a view to diminishing tensions and preparing the way for such a conference, an appeal was made for the release of all the detained African leaders. The Prime Ministers called upon all leaders and their supporters to exercise moderation and to abstain from violence; and they affirmed their belief that the best interest of all sections of the population lay in developing confidence and co-operation, on the basis of tolerance, mutual understanding and justice. In this connection, they recognized the necessity for giving confidence to the minority community in Southern Rhodesia that their interests would be protected.

The Prime Minister of Britain said that he would give careful consideration to all the views expressed by other Commonwealth Prime Ministers. At the same time he emphasized that the Government of Southern Rhodesia was constitutionally responsible for the internal affairs of that territory and that the question of the granting of independence was a matter for decision by the British Parliament.

The meeting expressed concern at the political rivalries in British Guiana which had led to disorder and inter-racial strife and had prejudiced the attainment of independence. While several different views were expressed on the methods to be employed, a number of Prime Ministers expressed the hope that the political leaders of British Guiana would seek urgently a basis for collaboration in the interest of their fellow countrymen of all races in order to restore mutual confidence among the races and to strengthen a spirit of national purpose and unity. Only in these circumstances could British Guiana hope to sustain true independence.

The question of the progress of the smaller dependent territories in the Caribbean to independence was raised. It was emphasized that the problem for the territories was mainly one of viability: and the hope was expressed that every practicable effort would be made to help them to strengthen their economies and so enable them to sustain the obligations of independence whether in a federation or in some other form of association.



The Prime Ministers reaffirmed their condemnation of the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Some Commonwealth Prime Ministers felt very strongly that the only effective means of dealing with the problem of *apartheid* was the application of economic sanctions and an arms embargo. It was recognized, however, that there was a difference of opinion among Commonwealth countries as to the effectiveness of economic sanctions and as to the extent to which they regarded it as right or practicable to seek to secure the abandonment of *apartheid* by coercive action, of whatever kind. But the Prime Ministers were unanimous in calling upon South Africa to bring to an end the practice of *apartheid*, which had been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations and was deplored by public opinion throughout the world.

The Prime Ministers expressed their regret that Portugal had not so far given recognition to the principle of self-determination for her territories in Africa.

The Prime Ministers agreed that the issues of Commonwealth and international relations which confront them in the political field, however complex and contentious, must be seen in perspective in relation to the many factors which bring together the peoples of the Commonwealth and enable them to make a unique contribution to the promotion of peaceful development. The Commonwealth now consists of 18 independent member countries, widely distributed over the globe and accounting for nearly a quarter of the population of the world. It is, indeed, a cross-section of the world itself; and its citizens have an unparalleled opportunity to prove that, by mutual co-operation, men and women of many different races and national cultures can live in peace and work together for the common good.

The Prime Ministers reviewed the world economic situation as it affects their countries and reaffirmed the resolve of their governments to promote the economic development of their countries. To this end they emphasized the need of developing countries for improved and more remunerative outlets for their trade and for increased financial aid on easier terms and on a continuing basis. They took note of the problems presented to developing countries by the conditions and terms often attached by donor governments to their aid, of the desirability of the encouragement of private investment in developing countries and also of the upward trend in the level of financial aid extended by the more developed countries in the Commonwealth and of the easier terms on which it is offered.

There was agreement on the importance for all Commonwealth countries of following up the work of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, in particular with regard to expanding international trade in primary products through freer access to markets and, in appropriate cases, through commodity agreements and stabilised prices at equitable levels; working out arrangements for increasing access by preferences or otherwise to markets in developed countries for manufactured goods from developing countries; and elaborating proposals for supplementary finance to assist countries whose de-

velopment might be threatened by adverse movements in their export earnings. The Prime Ministers affirmed their intention of working for a solution of these and other problems of the developing countries through the new institutions resulting from the conference, as well as through existing international bodies such as the GATT.

The Prime Ministers reaffirmed the resolve of the member countries of the Commonwealth to promote the economic and social progress of developing countries. They wished to maintain their support of the work of the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies, the Colombo Plan and other similar arrangements in this field. At the same time they wished to establish how best the members of the Commonwealth could make a further distinctive contribution of their own to the development of its member countries. They conceived that the purpose of any new initiative in this respect should be not merely to increase the economic strength and material well-being of the recipients, vital though these considerations are, but also to strengthen the links between the countries of the Commonwealth by encouraging their peoples to work more closely together in a variety of practical ways. For this purpose they selected for further examination several fields of action in which they believed the practice of Commonwealth co-operation might be extended; and they agreed that these schemes should not be in substitution for existing arrangements but supplementary to them.

### **Commonwealth Development Projects**

In particular they considered a proposal that development projects might be launched in individual Commonwealth countries, which would be implemented by various members acting in close collaboration and contributing whatever resources — in men, money, materials and technical expertise — they could most appropriately provide. Such projects, which would be additional to the support which Commonwealth countries already provide to the United Nations Special Fund and Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance, could be directed to a number of different purposes — the improvement of agricultural production and the development of natural resources through extension services, training and research; the enlargement of professional and technical training; the development of new industries; and so forth. But they would all be inspired by the common purpose of promoting the development of the Commonwealth by a co-ordinated programme of joint or bilateral projects. The British Government said that they would be prepared to make a substantial contribution to projects of this kind within their expanding programme of development aid. The other member governments expressed support for the objective of the proposal and agreed that further consideration should be given to the basis on which such a programme might be established.

### **Administrative Training**

Development projects of this kind would need to be planned, carefully and

thoroughly, at all stages in their execution; and the Prime Ministers therefore considered that it might be valuable to supplement the existing arrangements for promoting the study of the techniques of administration and development planning throughout the Commonwealth. They considered that there might be advantage in making arrangements, which could include the formation of a new institute, to provide facilities for specialized training and research for senior administrators concerned with administrative and development problems in relation to the needs of new countries. They agreed that further consideration should be given to the most appropriate form for arrangements for additional training, including the strengthening of existing institutions.

### **Education**

The Prime Ministers took note of the scope which exists for co-operation between the governments and peoples of the Commonwealth in social, as well as economic, development. They noted with satisfaction that the Third Commonwealth Education Conference will be held in Ottawa in August; and they expressed warm wishes for its success, together with appreciation of the British Government's offer to increase to an average of £5 million a year, over the five years starting in 1965-66, the capital assistance which they already provide for higher education in developing Commonwealth countries, both independent and dependent.

### **Medical Conference**

They decided in principle that an initiative similar to that which was launched in the field of education by the first of the Commonwealth Education Conferences several years ago should now be taken in the field of medicine and that for this purpose consideration should be given to the convening of a Commonwealth Medical Conference during the course of 1965. Such a conference would enable the members of the Commonwealth to discuss mutual assistance in medical education, including links between institutions, the provision of ancillary staffs, the development and planning of health services, and the supply of medical equipment and facilities for research.

### **Commonwealth Parliamentary Association**

The links between the countries of the Commonwealth are strengthened not only by co-operation between their governments in initiatives of this kind but even more by frequent personal contacts between individuals who share common professional interests.

The Prime Ministers recorded their support for the valuable work which the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association performs in bringing together members of the parliaments of all Commonwealth countries. The British Government stated that they would be prepared, if other Commonwealth governments would do the same, to increase their contribution to the Association.



### **Commonwealth Foundation**

The Prime Ministers considered that further steps should be taken to promote contacts in other fields and that it might be desirable to establish a Commonwealth foundation to administer a fund for increasing interchanges between Commonwealth organizations in professional fields. This foundation could be administered by an independent board; and, while it could be financed by contributions from Commonwealth governments, it would also welcome support from all quarters, whether public or private.

### **Satellite Communications**

The Prime Ministers also took note of the current international discussions on the establishment of a global system of satellite communications. They endorsed the desirability of establishing such a system and considered how Commonwealth countries could best co-operate with each other and with other countries in its development. They discussed the provision of technical assistance to the developing countries in this field, particularly as regards the establishment of ground stations and inter-connections in Commonwealth countries. They agreed that further consideration should be given to the feasibility of such a plan and the basis on which it might best be implemented.

The Prime Ministers directed that the Commonwealth Liaison Committee, with the assistance of special representatives, should now give more detailed consideration to all aspects of these new initiatives, in the hope that they could be launched and carried forward at an early date. They noted that thereafter further opportunities to review many of these projects would be afforded by the Third Commonwealth Education Conference in Ottawa in August and by the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council meeting in Kuala Lumpur in September.

### **Commonwealth Secretariat**

Finally, they were anxious that some permanent expression should be given to the desire, which had been evident through their deliberations, for closer and more informed understanding between their governments on the many issues which engage their attention and for some continuing machinery for this purpose. They therefore instructed officials to consider the best basis for establishing a Commonwealth secretariat, which would be available *inter alia* to disseminate factual information to all member countries on matters of common concern; to assist existing agencies, both official and unofficial, in the promotion of Commonwealth links in all fields; and to help to co-ordinate, in co-operation with the host country, the preparations for future meetings of Commonwealth heads of government and, where appropriate, for meetings of other Commonwealth ministers. This secretariat, being recruited from member countries and financed by their contributions, would be at the service of all Commonwealth governments and would be a visible symbol of the spirit of co-operation which animates the Commonwealth.

*On July 17, Prime Minister Pearson made the following statement to the House of Commons in Ottawa concerning the Commonwealth Conference:*

Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to make a report to the House on the Commonwealth Conference which has recently concluded its work in London. . . .

I was assisted in representing the Government at this conference by the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, an old colleague of ours in this House, and by a small group of officials. I believe ours was the smallest of all the delegations. However, so far as the officials are concerned it made up in quality what it lacked in quantity. I should like to pay a very warm tribute to their hard work, and it was hard work.

When I was on the point of leaving for London, the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition, who has had much experience with meetings of prime ministers of the Commonwealth, remarked that I would find it a great experience. Well, he was certainly right, Mr. Speaker. I found it, as I am sure he found it in the past, to be a fascinating and stimulating experience to meet with the leaders of this world-wide association or club, as it was continually referred to in the discussions, which has now reached membership proportions not dreamed of in early days.

There were 18 representatives of Commonwealth governments who sat around the table this time, a considerable increase since the last Commonwealth Conference, and they included many new countries which have emerged to independence since that last conference was held in London. I doubt, Mr. Speaker, if anything can do more to bring home to one the problems with which the new countries in Africa and Asia are contending than to participate in the kind of meetings that were held in London during the last ten days. I doubt also, Mr. Speaker, if anything can do more to remove doubts about the value the Commonwealth can have — and I hope and believe will have in the years ahead — as a link between races and cultures and continents, and as an agency to promote co-operation and understanding among men and nations.

With the permission of the House, Mr. Speaker, I would be glad to have the final communiqué of the conference appear as an appendix to *Hansard* today. The final communiqué which was made public on the last day of the conference, very late on Wednesday evening after a communiqué session which began in the morning and went through until nine o'clock in the evening, gives an indication of the nature and scope of the discussions and of the most important points on which agreement was reached and on which views were recorded. No previous meeting, I believe, Mr. Speaker, has led to so expansive a statement in a communiqué on so many subjects. I am now talking about Commonwealth prime ministers' meetings; and no previous meeting, I suspect, went through quite so much debate in trying to agree on just what should be said in the communiqué.

There is nothing surprising about either fact. The communiqué is long because the discussions were far-ranging, because the interests of the Commonwealth

countries are world-wide and the problems for attention are varied. The long debate over the production of the communiqué was, I think, to be expected when there were participating 18 countries of extremely different views, and often contending views, on a great many subjects.

### **Changed Character of Commonwealth**

The Commonwealth today is a far cry from the compact association of a few years ago. However, Mr. Speaker, I think it is a more representative reflection of the world in which we live today and of mankind as a whole than anything we have known in the past. The change in the Commonwealth is perhaps more noticeable because of the character of the increase rather than the extent of the increase. The new members have come from Africa, the Caribbean and Asia; and because of the nature of the new membership, as well as its number, the search for a common denominator of agreement on policy and attitudes and like-mindedness, if you wish to put it that way, I suspect is more difficult than it used to be.

But to the extent that this can be achieved the result is more important today, I believe, than it has ever been in the past, more meaningful in terms of the world in which we live. I think everyone who took part in those meetings was deeply impressed and in some cases surprised at the extent to which all 18 delegations sought to find value in this association and sought to strengthen it, irrespective of their background and past history; sought to use it for constructive purposes which could help move the world forward toward the resolution of some of its most difficult problems.

Another noteworthy feature is the fact that the expanded membership has not resulted in a dilution of the intimacy of relationship in contact and discussion which one might have expected following this kind of increase. With such a large membership representing such a wide range of interests, viewpoints and, indeed, emotions, one might have expected to find a dilution of the informality and the intimacy of the discussions which used to take place at Commonwealth meetings. Fortunately this does not seem to have happened. I think the conference of last week and this week may go down as one of the vitally important stages in the evolution of Commonwealth affairs. It is too early, of course, to state with confidence that this will be the case; it depends on what the various leaders who met and conferred together are able to do during the weeks, the months and the years ahead to carry out the substantial measure of agreement which was achieved in London. But I believe the potentiality for a great step forward by the new Commonwealth is there.

As the communiqué indicates — and I am talking now about the first item on the agenda, which is the usual discussion of the state of world affairs generally — there was general agreement that the reduction of East-West tension which has occurred has helped to produce solutions to some of the most serious threats to international peace in recent years, and that it at least provides an opportunity to work out some of the problems which remain dangerous and worrisome. At



the same time there was general recognition that the competition between the free and the Communist worlds remains a dominant factor in international affairs. Where once this was seen most sharply in the confrontation between the Soviet Union and the Western countries, it emerges now in subtler forms with competition on the continent of Africa for influence among the peoples of the new countries, both within and outside the Commonwealth. It emerges, too, in the relentless pressure of aggression and subversion in Southeast Asia.

### **Views on Southeast Asia**

In the discussion of the situation in Southeast Asia — and there was very considerable discussion about it — there was naturally a great deal of thought about the position of Communist China, which is such a tremendous factor in this whole matter. The view was expressed by the leaders of certain Commonwealth countries — and it was expressed without qualification — that the policy of the countries of the West, including Canada if you like, in refusing to extend diplomatic recognition to Communist China was unrealistic and unhelpful, and that it did not assist in reaching a solution to the problems of Southeast Asia which in this view, and I might add in the general view, could not be solved without the participation of the Government of Communist China.

Those who held this view without any qualification stated that the policy that had been adopted by certain governments was sterile and fruitless, and that the sooner that policy was abandoned and the sooner Communist China was admitted to the United Nations, the better it would be for the solution of outstanding international disputes. This did not imply, on the part of those who held the view, any particular sympathy with the form of government in Peking or with the aggressive policy that China has followed; it reflected, rather, the opinion that the Chinese Government should be in the world forum, where it would have to defend its actions and be subject to the pressures of world opinion.

I understand there was a reflection and a report of these discussions carried by a Canadian newspaper, which said that I had said in the discussions that China — and these were the words used — ought to have its place in the United Nations. I did speak along those lines, but that particular report does not reflect what I was attempting to put forward at the meeting. I agreed that conditions should be such that the Government of mainland China should be in the United Nations; but I pointed out to those who held this view without qualification that for many years Communist China was an aggressor in Korea, which was an obstacle to this kind of recognition and admission, and at the present time there is another and important obstacle to this recognition and admission — this formal admission — to the United Nations in that there are many governments, including our own, that could not accept the extension of Communist rule from mainland China to Formosa without the approval and consent of the people of that island, and until that difficulty in some form was removed it was not going to be easy to recognize the right of a government in Peking to be the Government of China in the United Nations and extend its authority over the island of Formosa.

The meeting of the prime ministers received a very full report from the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman, on the difficulty between Malaysia and Indonesia and the efforts his country had made to end the fighting, through discussion with the Government of Indonesia and other governments. In that connection — and I think this is a very useful paragraph in the communiqué — the prime ministers expressed not only their hope for an early termination of a totally unnecessary contest forced on Malaysia by a larger country but gave their support to the Prime Minister and the Government and people of Malaysia in their effort to pressure and maintain their own independence against that kind of pressure. This was subscribed to by all 18 members of the conference. We will be welcoming the Prime Minister of Malaysia to Canada in a very few days, and I am sure we will then have an opportunity to express to him the admiration we feel for the strength and patience of his Government in the face of the very difficult situation which confronts them.

### **Spotlight on Africa**

With seven of the 18 Commonwealth countries now on the continent of Africa, it was to be expected that a good deal of attention would be directed to that vast and important part of the globe, as indeed was the case at the last Commonwealth conference. The main concern of the leaders of the African countries, as expressed at this conference, was with two things: first, the attainment of independence for those areas in Africa which still remain under colonial regimes; and second, the achievement of racial equality.

The discussion accordingly concentrated on three areas where independence has not been achieved, or where racial equality is not permitted, or both: the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. The African Commonwealth leaders at the conference argued very strongly — indeed forcefully — and very emotionally for the imposition of economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa in order to bring pressure on its Government to end the policy of *apartheid*. The communiqué states the reaffirmation, in which all members of the conference joined, of condemnation by the Commonwealth governments of that policy, a condemnation which was given at the last Commonwealth conference. However, the communiqué also reflects the doubts of some as to whether a programme of sanctions would be effective and whether, indeed, it might not have adverse results through hardening still further the attitude of the present Government and the white element of South Africa against the racial equality that the African leaders want to see achieved in that country and in Africa as a whole.

### **Canadian View of Sanctions and Expulsion**

As far as our own position, which was put to the conference, is concerned, we do agree that there should be sanctions in respect of military equipment and supplies. So far as total economic sanctions are concerned, this matter is now

before the United Nations. A committee has been set up to investigate the effectiveness of sanctions, and we will certainly wait until we get the report of that committee.

As far as the expulsion, as a form of sanction, of South Africa from the United Nations and from international agencies under the United Nations is concerned, we felt that this was not a very helpful procedure to adopt from the point of view of those who deplore most vigorously the policy of South Africa. We felt it is better to have them in these international agencies, where they can be exposed to public opinion and where their policies can be attacked, than to have them outside of the international agencies, including technical international agencies.

As far as the Portuguese colonies are concerned, the view of the African leaders was clear. They want to see independence for those areas as for the rest of the continent; and in the communiqué there is an expression of regret — not a very strong expression but a little stronger than it may seem in a diplomatic communiqué covering 18 countries — that Portugal has not so far recognized the principle of self determination for her territories in Africa.

In its discussions of the situation in Southern Rhodesia, the conference came to grips in real and immediate form with the problems of race relations. That is a problem which the conference also had to face in 1961. No more explosive problem can reach the conference table, and I think it is a tribute to the statesmanship of the African leaders and to the essential moderation expressed by all members of the conference that the exchange of views on this matter was temperate and constructive, and there could be agreement in a way which reflected itself in the communiqué.

The Canadian delegation, representing a country which is not directly involved in this problem (and I say “not directly”), tried to make a contribution which would be objective and helpful in the evolution of our multi-racial community based on racial equality and non-discrimination. A firm stand was taken against racial discrimination and *apartheid* by the Commonwealth Conference of 1961. At that conference, Canada played an important and very constructive part. I was glad to pay my tribute to the efforts of the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition in this matter at that conference, and I am glad to repeat that tribute at this time.

I, in my way, tried to follow and reaffirm the position taken then in regard to racial equality. I suggested to the present conference that we around the table were facing a very important moment of decision which would have far-reaching implications on the future of the Commonwealth, if at a meeting where the majority of the members were from Asia and Africa, we did not, all of us, in some form meet this challenge of racial equality and non-discrimination. If we could not take a stand; if we could not reaffirm in the communiqué the principles of racial equality and non-discrimination—if we could not do that, then the Commonwealth was not likely, in the form in which it is now, to go ahead or even to survive. The continuance of racial discrimination and the intensification in many



areas of mutual fear between races are both most disturbing features of the present world situation and a great cause of the difficulty with regard to many remaining unresolved colonial problems. That problem exists in the Commonwealth; it exists outside the Commonwealth.

There has been a good deal of talk about interference or intervention in the affairs of other areas or countries or colonies that were not represented in London; but the British Government, quite rightly I believe (this is how we came to discuss this matter), put on the agenda an item, "Progress of dependent territories toward independence". It seemed to us that under that item we should face up frankly to the implications of the subject, and we attempted to do so; I think all delegations did.

### **Declaration of Racial Equality Proposed**

Our contribution was to suggest that the Commonwealth might adopt a declaration of racial equality very much along the lines of some of the statements which were made at the 1961 conference, and that we should reaffirm in our final communiqué the principles for which we stand in the Commonwealth on this matter, principles on which our association must be based in the future if it is to go forward. Then we suggested that from this statement of principles we should go forward to discuss its application to particular problems such as Southern Rhodesia, British Guiana and other areas. The conference agreed to this suggestion, and the declaration of principles is included in the communiqué.

We then went on to suggest how these principles should be applied to Southern Rhodesia and British Guiana. The Southern Rhodesian situation is a very dangerous and difficult one. Southern Rhodesia has been self-governing for a good many years in domestic matters. Its government is responsible to a legislature which is elected by only a small minority of its population, largely those of European descent. The constitutional responsibility for a change in the situation rests with the Government of the United Kingdom, and all of us at the conference recognized that the authority and responsibility for leading Southern Rhodesia, as well as other colonies, to complete independence must continue to rest with Great Britain. There was no difference of opinion on this point. The leaders of the African countries in particular attached great importance to the point that it was Great Britain and not the present Government of Southern Rhodesia, which had this power and responsibility.

There have been many suggestions in recent months—and this was referred to in our discussions—that the Government of Southern Rhodesia might seek to issue a unilateral declaration of independence without regard to the views of the African parties in that country or the views of the United Kingdom Government. We made it clear in our communiqué that the other governments of the Commonwealth would not be able to recognize the validity of any such unilateral declaration of independence. That was subscribed to unanimously by all governments around the table.

## **Public Stand on Rhodesia Urged**

In my own statement at the conference, I had suggested that it might strengthen the hand of the British Government and might support the moderate elements among Southern Rhodesian voters if all governments at the conference would let it be publicly known that this was their stand, that many of us feared that unconstitutional action by a minority in Southern Rhodesia would gravely diminish Southern Rhodesia's international status, might lead to economic and political internal difficulties and might also lead to disaster and violence and attempts to organize (this was mentioned at the conference as a possible result if something was not done) a Southern Rhodesian government-in-exile. We felt that such an exacerbation of differences would be a tragedy for all concerned. All the Commonwealth leaders, I repeat, agreed that it would be prudent at this time to take such a stand on this matter and to make it public so there could be no misunderstanding anywhere about the position we would have to adopt if such a desperate and illegal measure were taken.

We also decided to express publicly (and this is in the communiqué) our welcome of the decision of the British Government that for Southern Rhodesia, as for other territories, the existence of sufficiently representative institutions would be a condition of the granting of independence to such a territory. Most of us, including myself, expressed the view that an independence conference should be convened which the leader of all parties in Southern Rhodesia should be free to attend (the expression "should be free to attend", which is in the communiqué, is of some significance because some of the leaders are not free to attend anything at the present time) and that the object of this conference would be to seek agreement on the steps by which Southern Rhodesia might proceed to independence within the Commonwealth, we all hope, and I am now quoting from the communiqué, "at the earliest practicable time on the basis of majority rule".

Of course, when you mention the word "time", you really get to the heart of the difficulty, because it is a problem not of objective but of timing. I think we all appreciate that rash and premature action in these matters can cause trouble. We have had some experience of that in recent years. But it was the feeling of the Conference, and I shared this feeling after listening to the views expressed, that the greater danger was not speed but delay, and that unless some early progress is made in Southern Rhodesia the African majority might be driven increasingly to despair and to the acts of desperation that despair can engender.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, I was very impressed by the warning given by one of the most moderate African leaders that the continued imprisonment of Mr. J. Nkomo and Rev. N. Sithole and many of their associates would weaken the control that the more responsible African leaders have over their followers and would drive the latter toward increasing extremism. I therefore put forward the suggestion that the Commonwealth conference should issue a reasoned appeal that the African leaders in Southern Rhodesia be released as a contribution toward the holding of those discussions that must take place soon, and on which the hope

for agreed and early achievement of independence must inevitably be based. Most of the other prime ministers associated themselves with this idea, and this appeal is included in the communiqué.

At the same time we called upon all leaders and their supporters of both races to exercise moderation and abstain from violence. In this connection I was very impressed by the emphasis placed by the African representatives at the conference on the importance of allaying the fears of the white minority in Southern Rhodesia, perhaps by saying something in our communiqué to reassure them about their security, and to let them know that their co-operation would be essential in the development of an independent state. We agreed to the inclusion of this point in the communiqué.

I have gone in some detail into this question of Southern Rhodesia because, as I suggested at the conference, it is of importance far beyond the interests of its people. What is done about it has now become a symbol, and the stand the Commonwealth leaders decide to take on this matter is likely to be, and I am sure will be, considered a test of the seriousness of the Commonwealth members about a principle which we have all adopted and on which we now stand.

Perhaps I should mention also, Mr. Speaker, that, on behalf of the Government, I stated we would be glad to provide technical facilities or resources to help in the training of Africans from Southern Rhodesia to take on the new responsibilities of administration, if that should be desired and if those concerned wished to make arrangements with the Canadian Government. This can be done out of existing appropriations that will be before Parliament or in some cases have been before Parliament, if Parliament approves of them. It can be done, if necessary, by the transfer of some of these appropriations to Southern Rhodesia. We are already doing a good deal in this regard, but I suggested we might do more.

I have taken a good deal of time, Mr. Speaker, in reporting on this question of race relations because at this conference it was crucial to the success of the conference. I think the communiqué represents a considerable achievement in regard to the handling of this very explosive and difficult matter. It will take time to weigh the value of this achievement, and it is foolish to be final and dogmatic in our conclusions at the present time. The long-term assessment of its importance must depend upon the implementation by those concerned of the principles on which we agreed and on the influence on the thinking and future actions of the governments represented in London.

### **Kashmir, Cyprus and British Guiana**

It is still a convention of the Commonwealth prime ministers' meetings that we do not discuss disputes between Commonwealth countries, although that convention is becoming a little shaky in the light of the experience of the last two conferences. We faced this convention on the question of relations between India and Pakistan, particularly, of course, in regard to Kashmir. There is no specific reference to this dispute as such in the communiqué, but we were all conscious



at the Conference of the importance within the Commonwealth of this dispute, and what a wonderful thing it would be if the conference could do something to encourage the settlement of this dispute which has been making relationships between the two largest members of the Commonwealth difficult for some years. At the same time, we did not wish to do anything by any formal intervention which would make such a solution more difficult. It is rather apparent that at the moment there is not much an outside nation can do, but the Commonwealth conference gave the two governments concerned an opportunity to talk about this in London, an opportunity which would be easier to take advantage of, perhaps, than by arranging a special meeting at this time in Pakistan or in India. I think some progress was made in that direction.

The conference also directed a good deal of attention to two localities, small in area but large in problems and in potential dangers — Cyprus and British Guiana. The paragraph in the communiqué on Cyprus includes an appeal to the countries concerned — and we had in mind particularly the countries most concerned, Greece and Turkey — to refrain from any action which might undermine the task of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force to which members of the Commonwealth are contributing, or might prejudice the endeavours of the United Nations to find a solution in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations. So far as British Guiana is concerned, it is an almost hopelessly confused situation down there, and it is very difficult indeed to see what can be done by the intervention of the Commonwealth to clear up that confusion, remove the danger and bring back some order to that very distracted colony.

It was suggested at the conference that perhaps the United Nations could move in there and in some way hold the line while elections were being held. But it became clear from the evidence we received that the basic difficulty, and the underlying danger in that difficulty, is the fact there are two parties in British Guiana organized completely along racial lines, one Indian and one African, and that the leaders of these parties are getting their support entirely from one race or the other. This has aroused emotions, prejudices and fears that can only be removed by some kind of arrangement between the leaders to bring the people together in the way they used to be together before this division occurred. There is no difficulty about independence. The British Government is only too anxious to give this colony independence as soon as any government can assure order. In our communiqué we made an appeal to the leaders of the two parties — that is, the leaders of the two races — to get together and do something about this.

### **Trade and Economic Questions**

There was considerable discussion of trade and economic questions, but I do not propose to go into those in any detail. They are referred to at some length in the communiqué, and the substance of the matters dealt with in our discussions has been covered in reports to the House by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Trade and Commerce at various times during this session.

The developing countries attach the very greatest importance, according to their statements and according to their policies, to the United Nations Trade Conference which has been meeting in Geneva. They called attention to the fact that, along with race relations, one of the serious problems and dangers in the world today is the division of nations into the "haves" and "have-nots". We all know that. We have been aware of this for a good many years. However, it was pointed out that this division now sees the "haves" almost entirely synonymous in their view with the whites, and the "have-nots" clearly synonymous with the other races of the world.

This lends sharpness to racial as well as economic tensions. The developing countries were at pains to emphasize that, while they appreciate the technical and financial help, what they appreciate even more, and I think we can sympathize with them in this, is improved terms on trade for their primary products exports and increased access to the major markets by the developing countries for such manufactures as they are able to produce and will presumably increasingly produce in the future.

### **Proposals for More Development Aid**

Now, Mr. Speaker, there are in the communiqué a number of proposals for increasing co-operation in the technical and economic fields inside the Commonwealth. There is the proposal, for instance, for working out a scheme of Commonwealth development projects. We have already some of these under the Colombo Plan. There is, I believe, one project in Pakistan now which has been organized and worked out by three Commonwealth governments. It was thought perhaps we could extend that. A proposal was made by the British Government to that effect.

There was also a proposal for helping new countries by giving administration training to those who will be responsible for administering their governments at a time when there are very few natives who have that experience. At the same time we realized that a good deal of this is being done now by separate Commonwealth governments. To set up some new, large Commonwealth administration in London might be confusing rather than helpful in this regard.

Then there was a proposal for establishing a Commonwealth Foundation to administer a fund for an increasing flow of information and contacts in professional fields. There was a proposal to increase the resources available to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and give it an opportunity to do even better work than it has done in the past. There was a proposal put forward by Canada to establish consultation and to help the developing countries in the field of satellite communications. That was received with great interest and is going to be examined.

There was one other proposal, which appears at the end of the communiqué, which in some respects is the most interesting of all the concrete proposals made. It became quite clear from the beginning of the Conference that there was a

strong desire on the part of the newer countries of the Commonwealth, the new African countries, to have some kind of Commonwealth machinery, some kind of Commonwealth institution, a Commonwealth secretariat, established for the service of the Commonwealth as a whole. When I say this proposal was in a sense surprising, we remember it is not long since proposals for a secretariat were regarded with fairly general suspicion as a reflection of a tendency toward centralization, which in those early days was interpreted as meaning rule from Downing Street. It is significant, then, to realize that the pressure toward this kind of consultative centralization, if you want to call it that, comes from the newer countries, which in many ways are, or should be, most suspicious of the older members in this regard; but they have no fears of any such implications from a proposal of this kind. They are very much aware of its practical value to them in providing a broad range of information which it is difficult for them to obtain with the inadequate diplomatic and government services they now have or perhaps can afford; and so we supported this proposal.

I think the situation has changed a great deal since the early days, and it is something we should try to work out on a genuine Commonwealth basis. Yet at the same time this should be done without interfering with the existing channels of communications, without confusing what is already in many respects a very satisfactory method of co-ordination and exchange of information. We must be sure the basis of this new secretariat is sound, and that we are adding an institution of value and not simply an additional agency available for the free play of Parkinson's Law; but we will be glad to take part in the study of a possible basis for such an organization, which will be taking place very shortly.

Mr. Speaker, in recent years fears have been expressed — and they were certainly expressed on the eve of this conference — that the Commonwealth had outlived its real purpose and had become simply an amiable club with no real objective, depending largely on the emotional recollection of past imperial greatness. I believe the recent conference has shown that those fears are unfounded, and that the sense of the value of the new Commonwealth is felt most precisely and most importantly where one might have thought there would have been the greatest doubt — that is, among the new countries in Africa and Asia. They recognize in the Commonwealth an agency of real value to them, and we must try to keep it that way. They realize that it can provide a bridge between the continents and between the races and this, I think, is going to afford a great new role for the Commonwealth in the years ahead. In a world in which the associations of peoples and nations are all too frequently on the basis of a common ideology, a common race, a common language or a common geographical location there is, I submit, a unique merit in an institution which transcends all of these and brings countries together on a wider basis than the ones I have mentioned, on a basis which is really founded on a common adherence to human rights and free institutions and a desire to settle our problems by consultation, co-operation and agreement.



One of the most impressive political figures it has been my privilege to meet for some years . . . was the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who suggested, in what I thought was a very profound statement to the conference, that it would be well for this new Commonwealth to try to work out a statement of general principles on which it stands and on which it could go forward, not only a statement of principle of racial equality but a statement of general principles, and include in these principles this adherence to free institutions, this respect for basic law and basic rights, as well as respect for racial equality and non-discrimination. In serving these principles and in providing a forum for an intimate and friendly exchange of views among nations and among virtually all races of mankind, the Commonwealth is embarking on a new era in which it could have, and I hope it will have, a value broader and deeper than it has had in the world at any time in the past.

May I conclude, Mr. Speaker, by reading just one short sentence from the communiqué which expresses that point of view. Referring to the Commonwealth the communiqué says:

It is, indeed, a cross-section of the world itself; and its citizens have an unparalleled opportunity to prove that, by mutual co-operation, men and women of many different races and national cultures can live in peace and work together for the common good.

## *Visit of Malaysian Prime Minister*

*The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj, visited Canada from July 27 to 29. While he was in Ottawa, the Tunku conferred with Prime Minister the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson and other members of the Government. Among the subjects discussed were Indonesia's confrontation of Malaysia and the various forms of assistance that Canada might be able to provide to Malaysia.*

*On July 28, the Tunku attended a sitting of the House of Commons. The following statement of welcome was made to the House by Prime Minister Pearson:*

*. . . It is my honour and my pleasure to welcome to our House of Commons Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, together with two members of his Government, the Ambassador in Washington, Minister without Portfolio, and the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, and other members of their party. The Prime Minister was last here in 1960 as the Prime Minister of Malaya. We now welcome him as the Prime Minister of Malaysia, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. This imaginative con-*



*Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaysia, in conversation with Prime Minister L. B. Pearson during the Malaysian leader's visit to Ottawa.*

cept was largely his. Indeed, I believe he can consider himself as the major founder of the new Federation. Under his leadership, the peoples of Malaysia have been brought closer together in freedom, democracy and greater human welfare.

Today . . . as we know, they are resisting political, economic and indeed military pressure from outside, pressure dedicated to their destruction. In the words of the communiqué of the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, we give the Prime Minister and his people the assurance of our sympathy and, perhaps what is more important, our support in their resistance to this kind of aggression. We are happy indeed that Malaysia is in the Commonwealth of Nations. We are proud to be associated with her in that great association that spans the world. Our two countries have always enjoyed friendly relations, and these relations will be even closer as a result of this visit which, though very short, will, I hope, be a happy and fruitful one.



# *Some Improvisations in United Nations Peace Keeping*

*The following is the text of a speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, at the Fifth Annual International Air Force Night, Windsor, Ontario, on June 26, 1964:*

. . . This evening, I am taking the opportunity to speak briefly about some improvisations in United Nations peace keeping. Increasingly, in the last ten years, the Canadian armed services have been engaged in United Nations operations in this field.

The RCAF has played a significant part in this development. As you will have seen from the Government's white paper on defence, peace-keeping operations have come to be regarded as one of Canada's standing commitments internationally.

Lately, we have seen in the United Nations and in the world generally a revived interest in the subject of peace keeping. Cyprus, quite naturally, brought the concept, and, indeed, its practical application, very much to the forefront of international attention. The grave crisis in and around that troubled island sharply reminded United Nations members about their responsibilities for giving firm support to the organization. It also exposed the perils of improvised peace.

A few members of the United Nations seem to have forgotten that it was established in 1945 primarily to maintain peace and security. At the time of its inception, a time when savage war was raging on many fronts, the Charter framers had as their main objective to establish a security system which would offer all nations a bulwark against the suffering and destruction of war. They knew that victory in the Second World War would be meaningless unless they could devise a durable system for ensuring future peace. A system was devised. Chapter VII of the Charter contains the basic provisions. But unfortunately it rested on a shifting foundation — the unanimity of the great powers. The early discussions about these Charter provisions, which took place in the Security Council and in the Military Staff Committee, soon revealed that the security system had settled in quicksand, the mire of great-power manoeuvring, and particularly of Soviet obstructionism.

## **A Series of Necessary Improvisations**

By the late forties, it appeared unlikely that the Charter system would work effectively in major crises, even though some modest achievements were recorded in the early days of the United Nations. The weaknesses which were exposed, mainly under the stress of the Cold War, caused non-Communist powers to seek greater security under defensive treaties. NATO was one result. In a sense, it

was an improvisation made necessary by the political realities in the United Nations at that time.

Another improvisation was needed at the time of the Korean aggression. There was no doubt about the cause of this breach of the peace, but, as the war continued, the United Nations had to improvise its response because of threats from the Soviet Union to block further action.

These improvisations were contained in a set of resolutions under the heading "Uniting for Peace". They were duly adopted by the General Assembly by a large majority. Whatever may have been said about them by Soviet opponents, they did not constitute a violation of the Charter and, in essence, were wholly within its spirit.

After Korea, it was clear that the United Nations could not go back to the doldrums of the late forties, when a suspicious and aggressive Soviet Government had placed one obstacle after another in the way of every constructive move to make the United Nations effective in the peace-keeping field. Most members were determined to develop the United Nations capacity to respond to situations which threatened the peace. They realized that "brushfire" fighting had to be snuffed out before it spread in dangerous directions.

### **Idea of National Stand-By Units**

By the mid-fifties, members were beginning to believe that, although the Charter security system had its weaknesses, there existed possibilities for mobilizing United Nations "fire brigades" by making use of the main organs — the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretariat — in varying ways. The idea of stand-by units in national establishments had been included in the "Uniting for Peace" resolutions but had not been acted upon with any vigour.

Thus, when the Suez crisis broke, the General Assembly acted swiftly in establishing and deploying the United Nations Emergency Force. This was a new kind of international peace-keeping machinery, but it was based on a growing recognition that in specific situations the United Nations was obliged to deploy military forces for peaceful purposes.

Because it was novel, UNEF was to a large extent experimental. The United Nations had, in previous years, developed experience of truce-supervisory bodies, which included unarmed military observers. There was also the underlying concept in the Charter about the deployment of military forces. But the main requirement in November 1956 was for a rapidly-improvised force, which frequently seemed in danger of dying at birth.

This trend in United Nations evolution continued in the late fifties. In 1958, United Nations political and military presence was found useful for promoting stability in Lebanon and Jordan. Much of the credit for the practical arrangements made at that time goes to the ingenious improviser guiding the Secretariat, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld.

Then there was the major crisis in the Congo, which also required United Nations action. On that occasion, the Security Council acted and the Soviet Union

supported the decision to establish an international military force. The Congo was a long and arduous test of the effectiveness of this kind of United Nations machinery. It provoked a major crisis within the organization, largely because of disagreements about the conduct of the operation.

### **A Major Financial Crisis**

It also resulted in a major financial crisis which continues to this day. The financial dilemma was caused not by institutional weaknesses in the United Nations but by the deliberate failure of some members to discharge their financial responsibilities. They attempted to hamper the United Nations operation in the Congo by withholding financial support. They revived old arguments which had been used in the forties about the United Nations competence to discharge its primary responsibility of maintaining the peace.

The heavy burden of peace-keeping costs, both for UNEF and the Congo Force, and the negative attitude of some states as regards payment of their obligations, have required some improvisation in the methods for financing those peace-keeping operations. These *ad hoc* methods have not been very satisfactory, although they have been based on the principle of collective responsibility. There have been shortages in the payment of assessed shares, which have made it necessary for a few member states to make additional voluntary contributions to buy United Nations bonds, to waive amounts recoverable. Such improvisations seemed necessary to meet the emergency situations which had arisen.

Other improvisations have been made as regards the operations last year in West New Guinea and Yemen and, most recently, in Cyprus. The first two operations were financed mainly by the parties to the dispute. The Cyprus operation, during the first months, has been financed through voluntary efforts on the part of a small number of member states. Canada regards the financing arrangements for Cyprus as being most unsatisfactory, not only because of the heavy burden placed on a few shoulders but because the principle of collective responsibility in the United Nations has been ignored up to the present time.

### **Canada Seeks Secure Peace Finances**

For many years, Canada has taken the lead in urging upon other members the need to place the peace-keeping operations on a firm financial footing. It is unjustifiable that the peace-keeping role of the United Nations, with the significance which it has for world peace and international relations generally, should rest on a flimsy base. Arrangements must be made to ensure that the organization has adequate resources, not only for carrying out peace-keeping operations but all its activities. This Canadian policy is being pursued energetically, in private consultations with many other states and in public debates in the appropriate bodies of the United Nations.

A parallel policy which the Government has been pursuing for some time is to explore all possibilities for developing United Nations preparedness to engage in



peace-keeping operations. As a result of Canadian participation in virtually every United Nations peace-keeping operation, we are convinced that the organization itself and individual member states can and should take steps to improve the arrangements for assembling and deploying international peace-keeping forces.

This conviction lies behind Canada's current efforts to arrange a working-level meeting of experts with actual peace-keeping experience to exchange views and to pool ideas on the special military problems which have arisen out of past peace-keeping operations. Like Canada, a number of other states — Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands — have earmarked within their national establishments military units intended for United Nations service, if such units should be requested by the United Nations.

We are aware that still other member states are interested in this practical approach to the problems of international peace keeping. Most recently, His Imperial Highness, the Shah of Iran, made the welcome announcement that his country would be earmarking military units for United Nations service. The proposed meeting of experts was intended to encourage this kind of development as well as to assist all interested states in meeting the practical problems which are inherent in it.

This Canadian initiative has been explained in some detail, particularly by the Prime Minister in his lecture at Carleton University on May 7. But it seems desirable to recall our basic position because of certain misunderstandings which have been voiced.

### **Canada's Conference Proposal Defended**

Articles have appeared in the Soviet press, for example, to the effect that the planned conference in Ottawa is some sort of NATO or imperialist plot intended to undermine the United Nations. The Soviet Government knows better than this because we have carefully explained to them our aims and purposes. In its approach to the practical problems of peace keeping, Canada has no intention or desire to engage in the discussion of basic political and financial issues, which are properly subjects for discussion in the appropriate United Nations bodies. We are all too painfully aware of the political difficulty of having stand-by arrangements established through formal United Nations action.

Nor are we engaging ourselves in the long-standing debate at the United Nations about the provisions of the Charter which refer to the establishment of United Nations military forces. Our approach is entirely practical and designed to ease the technical difficulties of United Nations members which have, from time to time, been required to provide military contingents at the request of the United Nations.

It is my view that, even if the Charter system envisaged in Chapter VII were to be implemented as a result of agreement among the great powers (a development which I would welcome), national contingents would be required from various members of the United Nations to meet the varying political circumstances of

specific situations. The countries providing such contingents would be faced with technical and practical questions such as those which Canada would make the subject of a working-level meeting.

Suggestions that Canada is acting in contradiction to the principles and aims of the Charter have no foundation. We expect that the United Nations may wish to call upon Canada, or upon the other countries, to engage in future peace-keeping operations. We see solid advantage in preparing ourselves for such a request. We see advantage in sharing with like-minded states, who have faced the same problems, their experience in those matters. The advantage which we seek has no political implication other than to improve the capacity of member states to respond to United Nations needs and, in effect, to improve United Nations preparedness to engage in peace-keeping operations within its competence.

It has been said many times, but it bears repeating, that the United Nations cannot be expected to assume the whole responsibility for maintaining peace. The limitations, imposed mainly by the attitudes of member states, prevent the organization from being fully effective in this field and have obliged it to adopt improvisations such as those I have mentioned. Canada hopes that the day will come when the limitations will be removed and the organization will have full capacity to keep the peace, as it was intended to do. The responsibility for achieving this end rests on all member states. But until it is achieved, all member states are equally responsible for seeing that the politically possible steps are taken to enable the United Nations to discharge its established responsibility in this all-important area of activity.

## *Franco-Canadian Consultations at Ministerial Level*

*During the visit of the Prime Minister to France early this year it was agreed that the French and Canadian Governments would hold regular consultations in the future to reinforce co-operation between the two countries. Mr. Couve de Murville and Mr. Martin therefore took the opportunity of the NATO ministerial meeting at The Hague to start such consultations. The following communiqué was issued on this occasion:*

In the framework of the regular consultations that were agreed upon by the French and Canadian Governments during the visit of the Canadian Prime Minister to France last January, Mr. Maurice Couve de Murville, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, and Mr. Paul Martin, Minister of External Affairs of Canada, met on May 11 in The Hague, where they had come to attend the NATO ministerial meeting.

In an atmosphere of friendship and confidence, the two ministers exchanged views on international problems and matters of common interest to their countries. They noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in Franco-Canadian programmes of co-operation. They also noted steps taken under the programme of cultural exchanges that was recently inaugurated by the Canadian Government, particularly the Canadian contribution to the Cité Internationale des Arts of Paris, and the university scholarships that will be awarded by the Canadian Government starting this autumn.



*The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin (left), in conversation with his colleague M. Couve de Murville, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France.*



# *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*

*The following article has been prepared by a foreign service officer as a brief historical sketch of the development of the Sino-Soviet dispute, and the opinions expressed in it are those of the author.*

Looking at the Sino-Soviet dispute as it is now being revealed in the statements of both sides, one is led to wonder how these two giants of the Communist world, the Soviet Union and Communist China, were ever able to co-operate either in the furthering of Communist objectives or in the conduct of normal relations between two sovereign states. Their positions on matters of both ideological and national importance appear so diametrically opposed that the free world — and possibly a substantial part of the Communist world — questions whether relations between them can continue without a break in party and state relations.

The true nature of the Sino-Soviet dispute, as, indeed, to some extent, the very fact of its existence, was for many years hidden from observers in the West by the absence of public references to the dispute by either Soviet or Chinese leaders and by the obscurity of purpose of what published documents were available. In fact, ever since the time when both sides started to publish their attacks and to name the real enemy, it has been only “Kremlinologists” and “Pekingologists” who have felt reasonably satisfied in their own minds concerning the matters that are really at issue and the positions adopted by either side. Less-hardy souls are justified in being daunted by the tremendous flow of words and the interminable repetitions by which the Russians and the Chinese punctuate and accentuate the various phases in the growth of their dispute. But, if their eyes have been caught by declarations such as the following, they must be inclined to conclude that “Communist solidarity” is a thing of the past:

(1) An Agence France Presse report from Paris, dated March 31, 1964, quotes Vice-President Gafourov of the Soviet Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity as saying

The current policy of China is a racist and chauvinistic policy, which is no different from Nazism. . . . The anti-Communist madmen in the U.S.A. want a rightist war, the Chinese madmen want a leftist war. There is no difference.

(2) V. G. Wilcox, Secretary-General of the New Zealand Communist Party, addressing a group in Canton in February 1964, said that the achievement of Mao Tse-tung would be recorded “in letters of gold . . . when the puny leaders of modern revisionism are in their right place, the dustbin of history”.

Since neither Gafourov nor Wilcox is a member of the Soviet or Chinese hierarchy, their well-turned phrases can be dismissed as “unofficial”. They are indicative, however, of the tenor of the polemics that are now being freely exchanged by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communist Party of China (CCP).

Much of what we know today regarding the development of the dispute between the CPSU and the CCP comes not so much from information that was readily available to the outside world when certain historical events took place as from the statements and documents that both sides have since published, each, apparently, in an attempt to set the historical record straight and to score a point against its opponent. Thus, our picture of the dispute must depend to a large extent on the unsubstantiated statements of the two opponents, supported, in certain instances, by the reports of other Communist parties whose representatives have witnessed recriminatory sessions involving Chinese and Soviet leaders. As to the reasons for the comparatively rapid deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations, the Communist propensity to deal with all subjects in ideological terms and to clothe their ideological arguments in language of the greatest obscurity renders an accurate analysis of their motivations difficult.

### **Historical Background of Dispute**

Conflicting national interest and disagreements between the Russian and Chinese peoples date back as far as the invasions of the Mongols, who penetrated to the heart of Europe through Russia, and to the subsequent centuries of Russian imperialism, which not only repulsed the Asian conquerors but divested them of great areas traditionally regarded as belonging to China. Thus the seeds of Sino-Russian tensions were planted long before Communism became a factor either in the Soviet Union or China. Nor can it be said that pressures from the Russian side ended with the introduction of Communist control in Moscow, since the Soviet Union tended under Stalin to adopt an expansionist policy not unlike that of the Tsars, by which it completed the alienation from China of a number of border areas in the vast arc from Northeast China to western Sinkiang.

Without delving into a detailed history of early relations between the CPSU and the CCP after the formation of the latter in Shanghai in 1921, it is perhaps sufficient to say that the early advice the Soviet party offered its counterpart in China on the best way to promote the success of their revolution resulted, in fact, in a series of disastrous developments for the CCP. It was only after Mao Tse-tung became undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party in 1934 and, ignoring Soviet advice, proceeded to introduce his own revolutionary ideas, based on local conditions, that the Party started on the road to successful revolution.

### **Post-War Relations**

Some of the actions of the Soviet Union toward the end of, and immediately after, the Second World War also served to increase the CCP's distrust of Soviet intentions and to further substantiate its inherent suspicion of foreign motivations. The Soviet occupation of Manchuria in 1945 and the subsequent dismantling and removal to Russia of much of its industrial equipment made the post-war renewal of the Chinese industrial base much more difficult. In addition, Stalin, by maintaining diplomatic relations with the Chinese Nationalist Government and by ad-

vising the CCP to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Kuomintang, seemed to have doubts, in those early years, about the eventual success of the drive by the Chinese Communists to assume power. After the Peking regime took control of the Chinese mainland late in 1949, Sino-Soviet relations appeared to settle down on a comparatively even keel with such developments as the signing of the Treaty of Friendship in February 1950, the provision of Soviet economic aid to the Chinese and the creation of the first Chinese Five Year Plan for industrial expansion on a Soviet model, and with extensive Soviet technical assistance.

The period from 1949 to 1956 was an era of consolidation for the Chinese leaders in both economic and political terms. It was after the end of the Korean and Indochina wars and the launching of the first Five Year Plan that the Chinese appeared to start taking a greater interest in developments within the international Communist movement and particularly in the activities of those Soviet leaders who, in the interim, had emerged as the successors of Stalin.

### **A Turn for the Worse**

It is difficult to choose a particular moment at which Sino-Soviet relations took an abrupt turn for the worse. The Chinese claim that the turning-point came in 1956 when Khrushchov denounced Stalin and the "personality cult" and started a new era in ideological thinking by stating that times had changed since Lenin's day, that the socialist world had now grown so strong that no one would attack it and that war was therefore no longer inevitable. Furthermore, Khrushchov suggested that it was conceivable that in certain countries Communism would be achieved not through violent revolution but by evolution. It would seem that the Chinese did not in fact challenge the Khrushchov thesis, which appeared to be based on a realistic analysis of the influence of new economic and nuclear factors, until at least a year and a half later at the Moscow Conference of Communist parties in November 1957. They were, however, obviously disturbed by Khrushchov's "de-Stalinization" moves, and played an active role in urging on the Soviet leaders caution in the case of the incipient Polish revolutionary development in 1956 and forceful action in the case of the Hungarian revolt in November of that year. During this period of disarray in the Communist movement, the Chinese leaders started to stake out their formal claims to leadership in the movement by affirming the superior manner in which they had adapted the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism to Chinese conditions, and admitting to no significant errors throughout the period of Mao Tse-tung's leadership. The Chinese published a number of basic theoretical works in support of their claims and it is these works — "On the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship" and "More on the Historical Experience of Proletarian Dictatorship" — that mark the beginning of the flood of words that have since been produced by both sides to prove the validity of their ideological positions.

The facade of international Communist unity was maintained by the Moscow declaration of November 1957, which seemed to indicate Sino-Soviet agreement



on the path to be followed in the wake of the 1956 difficulties. But, soon after, there were practical developments that aggravated relations. These included the Chinese decision in 1958 to ignore the Soviet example and leap forward on a short-cut to Communism and the Soviet failure to support the Chinese in the 1958 crisis in the Taiwan Straits.

In 1959 it became apparent that the Chinese leaders were resisting Khrushchov's efforts to reach an accommodation with the U.S.A. At the same time, the Soviet leaders clearly revealed their disapproval of Chinese behaviour toward India, where the Sino-Indian border dispute had for the first time flared into limited armed conflict. We also know now that it was in 1959 that the Soviet Union unilaterally abrogated the military technical co-operation agreement with the Peking regime and decline to co-operate with the Chinese in their effort to produce a nuclear device. Although the Chinese were already entering a period of serious economic crisis resulting from a combination of natural and man-made disasters, Soviet economic aid was at the same time being drastically reduced. By mid-1960 almost all Soviet technical assistance had been withdrawn.

### **Split Becomes Public**

From 1960 on, the difficulties into which the Communist movement has been thrown by the Sino-Soviet dispute and the outlines of the dispute itself have become increasingly public knowledge. During 1960 there appears to have been an attempt to end the dispute and to return to the primary tasks of promoting international Communism. This attempt seems, however, to have been nothing more than an effort to paper over the cracks. These were revealed to be of increasing width and depth by heightened Soviet pressures on Albania (then acting as "proxy" for its Chinese protector) and by an equally strong Chinese propaganda attack on Yugoslavia, in which the latter served as stand-in for the Soviet Union.

It was during this period that the Chinese published their series of *Red Flag* articles, entitled "Long Live Leninism", in which they clearly outlined their position in support of Lenin's views regarding the inevitability of war and the need for violent revolution to bring about the triumph of Communism. Sino-Soviet differences on ideological fundamentals were also aired at a series of world Communist meetings: Bucharest, June 1960; Moscow, November 1960; and Moscow, October 1961. At the Twenty-Second CPSU Party Congress in Moscow in October 1961, the Chinese countered Khrushchov's public denunciation of Albania by Chou En-lai's pointed laying of a wreath on Stalin's tomb. In subsequent months there were even clearer signs of open criticism of the personalities involved in the dispute, and the Chinese started singling out Khrushchov as the "arch-revisionist" of the Communist movement.

### **Sino-Indian Conflict**

The autumn of 1962 saw an abrupt deterioration in Sino-Soviet relations when China's attack on India occurred almost simultaneously with the Cuban episode.

In the latter instance, the Chinese expressed open contempt for the “adventurism” and subsequent “capitulationism” of the Soviet leader. At the same time, the Soviet Union took an equivocal position on the Sino-Indian border question but appeared, in public statements and in offering military and economic assistance, to be supporting the Indian side.

There followed a series of European Communist Party congresses at which Chinese representatives were openly criticised and sometimes humiliated. The written polemics also increased with a series of direct and sharp attacks in the form of authoritative Soviet and Chinese pronouncements on Marxist-Leninist doctrines, in which the Chinese emphasized that the future of international Communism depended on the encouragement of national liberation movements of a revolutionary character while the Soviet experts spoke of the need for peaceful co-existence to allow the consolidation of the socialist world’s economic gains—gains that could be passed on to the developing countries through economic aid. Much of 1963 was devoted to arrangements to bring the Soviet and Chinese representatives together in Moscow in July to try to reach a settlement of their differences. However, the CCP’s open letter of June 14, 1963, which appeared almost as an ultimatum to the CPSU to abandon its “revisionist” policies, gave an advance indication that the July meeting would be a failure, as indeed it was. Almost simultaneously, the Soviet Union came to an agreement with the Western powers on the partial test-ban treaty, to which the Chinese reacted violently on the ground that this treaty represented Soviet collusion with the enemy at the expense of Communist China and the rest of the Communist world.

### **Historical Record as a Weapon**

It was after the July meeting that some of the most startling revelations regarding the earlier course of the Sino-Soviet dispute appeared. In a series of published exchanges of increasing vituperation, both sides revealed the texts of documents and statements dating back to 1956 and described their attitudes and reasoning in an apparent attempt to set the historical record straight to the disadvantage of their opponents and possibly without an exact regard for the true sequence and course of events. It was during this period also that the Soviet leaders attempted, unsuccessfully, to foster a world-wide meeting of Communist Party representatives, with the probable aim of censuring the CCP. There then followed a relative lull in the exchange of polemics, at least so far as the Soviet side was concerned. The Chinese, however, continued their attacks on Soviet leaders and policies in a series of articles which they claimed were necessary to reply completely to the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU published at the time of the July 1963 Moscow meeting. This series of replies is perhaps now one of the longest on record, the eighth instalment, numbering over 60 pages, having appeared on March 31, 1964. Since then, the CCP has informed the CPSU that it has still not finished replying to the CPSU’s Open Letter.

A series of letters exchanged during the past winter and published unilaterally

by the Chinese brought to light a CPSU proposal of last November for a cessation of polemics and for an effort by the parties and the two governments to improve their relations by the reinstitution or increase of various cultural, commercial and scientific contacts. The CPSU also proposed the holding of a preliminary bilateral conference in May 1964 between Soviet and Chinese representatives to prepare for a world conference of Communist parties later in the year. In their eventual reply, the Chinese rejected Moscow's proposals and suggested that, in view of the vast amount of preparation that must be made for such a conference, preliminary talks should be held in about a year's time, i.e. in May 1965, and that the full conference of world Communist parties might then take place four or five years later. The CCP warned that any attempt on the part of the CPSU to press on with plans for an earlier conference without the agreement of the Chinese party would be illegal. In the meantime, the Soviet authorities, having it seems, awaited the results of an unsuccessful Roumanian attempt to mediate the dispute in Peking, added their contribution to the war of words by publishing, on April 3, a lengthy statement by their expert on relations with foreign Communist parties, M. A. Suslov, delivered to the CPSU Central Committee on February 14, 1964.

### **Soviet View Expressed**

In the effort to determine the exact nature of the points at issue between the Russians and the Communist Chinese, it is perhaps worth quoting a paragraph of Suslov's statement just mentioned, which outlines his view of what China's leaders have been up to:

New appraisals and conclusions worked out by the collective effort of the fraternal Parties on the basis of the creative application of the Marxism-Leninism principles to the present-day conditions — on the role of the world socialist system, on the ways of building socialism and Communism, on the possibility of averting a world war, on peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, on the necessity of struggle against the ideology and practice of the personality cult, on the forms of transition to socialism in the developed capitalist states and in the countries which have liberated themselves from colonialism — all this is perverted by the Chinese leaders.

Having described the "dogmatism" of the CCP in the above terms, Suslov goes on to say that, having departed from the Leninist line, the Chinese leaders have proclaimed a course which is a "mixture of petty bourgeois adventurism and great-power chauvinism". He accuses the CCP leadership of adopting a Trotskyite position and of trying to impose its specific platform upon the whole of the world Communist movement. In addition, Suslov accuses the Chinese leaders of worsening Soviet and Chinese inter-state relations, of undermining the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples and grossly interfering in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Suslov then claims that the vital interest of the Communist movement calls for an ideological exposure of the anti-Marxist position of the Chinese leadership and for a resolute rebuff of their activities, which are aimed at splitting the movement. It is presumably to accomplish just such an exposure and rebuff of Chinese intentions that the Soviet leaders desire a world meeting of Communist parties.



## Expression of Chinese Stand

On the other hand, in their eighth "comment" on the CPSU position, the Chinese *Red Flag* editorial of March 31, 1964, gives the Chinese point of view in the following terms:

In fact, as a result of Khrushchov's revisionist rule, of the open declaration that the Soviet state has changed its nature and is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the execution of a whole series of erroneous domestic and foreign policies, the capitalist forces in Soviet society have become a deluge sweeping over all fields of life in the U.S.S.R., including the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields. The social source of Khrushchov's revisionism lies precisely in the capitalist forces which are ceaselessly spreading in the Soviet Union.

... The whole history of the dictatorship of the proletariat tells us that peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism is impossible. However, there is already the Yugoslav precedent for the "peaceful evolution" of socialism back into capitalism. Now Khrushchov's revisionism is leading the Soviet Union along this road.

This is the gravest lesson in the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All Marxist-Leninists, all revolutionaries and the generations to come, must under no circumstances forget this great lesson.

Having thus warned their readers of the great lesson to be learned from the Soviet example, the editorial then proclaims that it is high time to repudiate and liquidate Khrushchov's "revisionism". The following piece of advice is then offered to the leading members of the CPSU:

Since so many opportunists and revisionists have been thrown on the rubbish heap of history, why must you obdurately follow their example.

These words are close to those quoted earlier from the New Zealander, V. G. Wilcox, when he describes Mao Tse-tung's future as compared to that of the modern revisionists on whom Chinese Communist and other "pure" Marxist-Leninists are concentrating their fire. Such statements are made in support of the thesis that has appeared frequently in recent Chinese writings to the effect that splits in the Communist movement are an inevitable aspect of the system as the new and emerging forces discard those who have lost their revolutionary fervour. As part of this argument, it is claimed that the shift of the "centre of revolution" to the East was inevitable and was predicted by Lenin. Mao Tse-tung, as the defender of the purity (and by implication, the revolutionary fervour) of Communism, is thus the legitimate heir to the mantle of the early Communist leaders. This thesis is of course reminiscent of Mao's now famous statement in Moscow in 1957 that the East Wind would prevail over the West.

The differences of opinion that have arisen between Chinese and Soviet leaders can be attributed to a variety of reasons, which include important ideological differences, vastly different historical and social experience, and conflicts of national interest. At dispute now are the methods by which Communism is to be spread throughout the world and "imperialism" is to be combated and, perhaps just as important, which power in the Communist movement is to prevail, not only which sets the dogma but also which is to influence the Afro-Asian and Latin American worlds. Although they are plainly not prepared at the moment to respond affirmatively to the Soviet proposal for a conference of world Communist parties, the Chinese leaders have themselves called in the not too distant past for

such a conference. Their hope at a conference of this nature would be to obtain an amendment of the 1960 Moscow Declaration of Communist Parties in order to move the conception of violent revolution into the first rank as a means of Communist expansion. The Soviet leaders, on the other hand, speak of a conference that would expose the dogmatism of the Chinese position, bringing their leaders back into the fold by the force of Communist opinion.

### **Effect of Dispute on Satellite Parties**

The Sino-Soviet dispute has, of course, had a marked effect on other Communist parties. There is a tendency for the antagonists, having failed to dominate the whole movement and to force the unconditional surrender of the other side, to try to consolidate their main spheres of interest and to force other parties to take sides. That none of those parties is really anxious to take such action is made abundantly clear by their lack of enthusiasm for manœuvres designed to put one side or the other beyond the pale. But despite their general reluctance to see a definitive and final split in the international Communist movement, these parties have tended to support one or other of the ideological positions on the basis of their geography, race, historical experience and the current state of economic development of the country in which they are located. Thus, the European Communist parties, either in or out of power, have tended, with the exception of Albania, to side with the CPSU, while the Communists of Asia in the immediate periphery of Communist China have tended to support the Chinese thesis. This includes, as has already been noted, the infinitesimal New Zealand Communist Party, and a splinter group of the Australian Communist Party. Both in India and Ceylon, the dispute has had the effect of splitting the local organizations along pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese lines. These divergent views probably now exist in all Communist parties, and have become increasingly apparent also in Communist front organizations. In this field, the Chinese have been active in helping to set up separate but somewhat parallel organizations whose membership is for the moment restricted to the Afro-Asian community.

An outstanding by-product of the dispute has been the recent argument between the Soviet and Communist Chinese Governments as to whether the Soviet Union qualifies as an "Asian" state and, therefore, as a participant in the Second Afro-Asian Conference (the successor to Bandung), which is to be held in Africa in March 1965. This acrimonious exchange included, on the one side, Soviet charges against the Chinese leaders of using racism to achieve their ends, and, on the other, what amounted to Chinese notification to the Soviet Union that the latter, as a European power, had no role to play in the leadership of the Afro-Asian world. It is probably this festering dispute over the Soviet Union's role in Asia which caused the bitter debate at the March meeting of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Algiers, from which Gafourov had just departed when he made the outburst quoted at the beginning of this article.

It would be foolish to hazard a guess as to the specific way in which the Sino-

Soviet dispute will develop in the coming months. "To have a conference or not to have a conference" is a question to which only time will reveal the answer. But it seems safe to say that little improvement can be expected in the foreseeable future in the relations between these two giants of the Communist world. They differ fundamentally not only on how Communism should be achieved domestically but also on the tactics the Communist movement is to employ in expanding its influence throughout the world. It looks as if the present Communist framework is simply not big enough to hold such diametrically-opposed views. Conflicting national interests are also playing their part, with border differences starting to assume a greater importance. Chinese and Soviet interests in Asia already have been shown to be opposed in the case of India, and it is to be expected that rivalry between the two countries for a leading position of influence both in Asia and in Africa will become increasingly apparent. The dispute has clearly revealed, even to Communists, that the international Communist movement is no longer a monolithic force and that an ideology over which there can be so much dispute and difference of interpretation may not be the panacea for the ills of the world that has so long been the claim. On the other hand, the past 40 years having served to reveal the intricacies, aspirations and intentions of the Moscow-directed Communist movement, a new period of study will now be required to determine the fundamentals of the movement emanating from Peking.



# *Canadian Aid to the West Indies*

## A NEW DOCK FOR ST. VINCENT

SINCE SHIPPING is vital to the economy of the West Indies, much of the development assistance for the region provided by Canada since 1958 has related to this industry. The St. Vincent Dock Project, which was officially opened on July 11 by the Canadian High Commissioner to Trinidad and Tobago, will help considerably with various shipping activities at the key port of Kingston on the island of St. Vincent. Kingston already receives 650 vessels a year, of which 250 are deep-sea ships; but, hitherto, these have had to be loaded and unloaded by lighter, and warehouse space has been inadequate. St. Vincent's expanding shipping trade, both abroad and among the islands, will be facilitated by the new dock installations.

Canadian material and services for the Kingston dock, two warehouses and related facilities, which were built by Canada, in co-operation with the local administration, under the Canada-West Indies aid programme, have a value of \$1 million; the local administration has provided some \$300,000-worth of labour and materials. The engineering study design and supervision were carried out by an Ottawa firm, and construction was under the direction of a company in Van-



*New dock facilities at port of Kingston, St. Vincent, donated by Canada.*

couver, British Columbia. The new wharf has two deep-water berths, four berths for island ships and schooners and space for small boats.

Trade between Canada and the West Indies, which is now more than 200 years old, is carried on mostly by sea. Just before the Second World War, total Canadian trade with the West Indies — both imports and exports — was valued at \$33 million; by 1956 it had increased to \$113 million. The value of the annual exchange of goods is now approximately \$160 million. Canadian exports to the West Indies in 1961 were valued at \$60.2 million, in 1962 at \$62.3 million and in 1963 at \$68.2 million. Imports from the West Indies increased from \$83 million in 1962 to \$107.7 million in 1963.

The principal Canadian exports to St. Vincent are flour, codfish, cotton piece goods, boots and shoes, tobacco, paper and paperboard. From St. Vincent Canada receives bananas, arrowroot, copra, cassava starch, cotton and cocoa.

# *Nyasaland Achieves Independence*

**A**FTER 73 years of British colonial rule, the Protectorate of Nyasaland achieved independence within the Commonwealth on July 6, 1964, as the new nation of Malawi. Canada was officially represented at the independence celebrations by Mr. Jean Chapdelaine, the Canadian Ambassador to the United Arab Republic.

## **Location**

Malawi is approximately 520 miles in length and varies in width from 50 to 100 miles. Although small in size, it embraces a wide range of physical and climatic conditions. The main geographical feature is a deep depression forming part of the Great Rift Valley which extends the length of the country. The greater part of this depression is occupied by Lake Nyasa. High plateaux on either side range in height from 3500 to 4500 feet.

The country is land-locked, and comes closest to the sea at its southern tip, where it is 130 miles from the Indian Ocean.

## **Population**

The total population was estimated in 1962 at 2,950,000, including 11,400 Asians and 9,500 Europeans. The principal town, Blantyre, has a population of 35,000, while the capital, Zomba, has an estimated population of 14,000. With a population density of 78 per square mile, Malawi is one of the most densely populated countries in Africa.

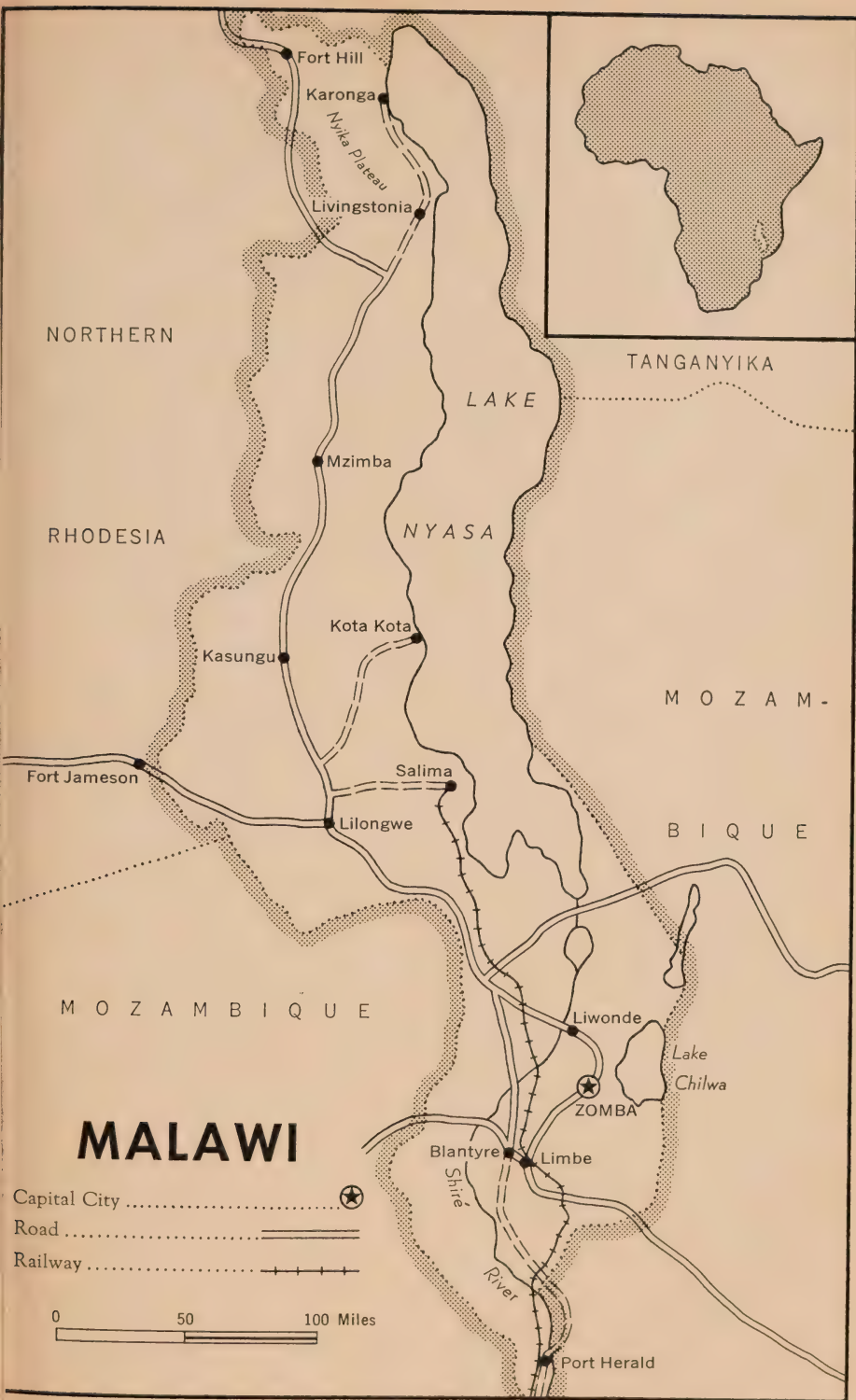
Most Africans are engaged in subsistence agriculture. A very high proportion of the men seek employment in neighbouring countries, principally Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. About 170,000 men are working outside the country at any one time.

The European and Asian populations live mainly in urban areas. The majority of the Europeans are civil servants and missionaries, while several hundred are farmers. The Asians are almost all merchants.

## **History**

There are records of overseas journeys across the southern end of the country by the Portuguese in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but none of these left any lasting traces. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the country was the scene of Arab slave raids and tribal wars. The pacification of the country and the extension of British influence were due, in the first instance, to missionary penetration. In 1859, the missionary-explorer David Livingstone discovered Lake Nyasa. Various missionary societies took an interest in the area, and Scottish missionaries arrived in the 1870's. Traders followed, and, in 1891, Britain proclaimed a protectorate over "the land of the lakes".





In 1953, the British Government included Nyasaland in the new Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, together with the self-governing colony of Southern Rhodesia and the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia, on the grounds that the economies of the three territories were complementary and that, by linking them, federation would bring benefits to all three participants. However the majority of Africans in Nyasaland were opposed to federation, as they feared that it would prolong the political dominance of the white minority.

### **Constitutional Development**

Although the Nyasaland African Congress was organized to promote the political aims of the African majority as early as 1943, the campaign for independence received its greatest impetus in 1958, when Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda returned to Nyasaland to assume the leadership of the Congress after 43 years of self-imposed exile in Britain, where he established a successful medical practice, and on the Gold Coast. Dr. Banda had had a distant but guiding hand in the Congress from its earliest days. His return was followed by political demonstrations which, in 1959, led to riots and several deaths. A state of emergency was declared, the Congress was banned, and most of its leaders were imprisoned. Several months later, the Malawi Congress Party was formed as the successor to the Congress and, in April 1960, Dr. Banda emerged from prison as the acknowledged leader of the nationalist movement.

The campaign for secession from the Federation and for independence as a separate nation within the Commonwealth was intensified, and a constitutional conference in 1960 resulted in a compromise agreement on a constitution which was to lay the foundation for self-government and eventual independence. Under the constitution, the African nationalists were, for the first time, assured of a majority in the Legislative Council. When elections were held under the new constitution in August 1961, the Malawi Congress Party polled more than 90 per cent of the votes and won 23 of the 28 seats in the Legislative Council and control of the Executive Council. By the beginning of 1962, Dr. Banda, as Minister of Lands, Natural Resources and Local Government, was recognized as Chief Minister and the leader of the Government.

At a second constitutional conference in November 1962, agreement was reached on a new, two-stage constitution designed to lead to self-government and independence. Nyasaland became fully self-governing for all internal matters, with Dr. Banda as Prime Minister, in February 1963. In June, agreement was reached on the terms of the dissolution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the Federation was formally dissolved on December 31, 1963, setting the final stage for Nyasaland's independence.

### **Economy**

The new Government is confronted with formidable economic problems. Most of the land is too steep or too rocky for successful cultivation, and only one-tenth is



*During the state opening of the Parliament of Malawi at Zomba, Dr. Hastings Banda, the new nation's first Prime Minister, hands the Speech from the Throne to Prince Philip, who represented the Queen at the independence celebrations.*

considered arable. There are no known mineral deposits which could be economically exploited. More than 80 per cent of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture, while the cash crops — tea, tobacco, and cotton — are dominated by Europeans. The wages of the large numbers of Nyasas who have sought work outside the country make an important contribution to the country's economy.

In 1962, the Government announced a three-year development plan, which contemplated an expenditure of \$54 million for education, urban development, and agriculture and fisheries development. Malawi's potential for agricultural diversification is greater than that of most African countries, since adequate rainfall and differences in elevation make it possible to grow a variety of crops. Industry has been inhibited by the limited internal market and by difficulties of transportation.

Malawi arrives at independence confronted by problems common to most emerging African states. However, with a wealth of human resources in the form of a hardworking, industrious population united under a strong national leadership, the country is entering upon the task of nation building with resolution and confidence.



## *“Caribou” Aircraft for UN Operation in Kashmir*

**I**N RESPONSE to a request from the Secretariat of the United Nations, Canada has provided a “Caribou” aircraft, with air and ground crew, to support the United Nations Military Observation Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP).

A Royal Canadian Air Force “Caribou” was flown to Kashmir in June 1964 following investigation of the request by two RCAF officers. Three pilots and five ground-crew technicians will operate and maintain the aircraft. It will be based in Srinagar, Kashmir, on the Indian side of the demarcation line, during the summer months and in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, from November to April. It will be under the operational control of the Chief Military Observer of UNMOGIP. All RCAF personnel will have the status of military observers.

UNMOGIP was established by the UN in 1948 to supervise the cease-fire line in Kashmir. Forty UN observers are stationed on either side of the line to oversee the disengagement of the Indian and Pakistani military forces and to be available to investigate incidents that may occur. Because of the mountainous terrain, movement along and across the cease-fire line is difficult and slow. During



*A “Caribou” aircraft of the type donated by Canada to the United Nations Military Observation Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP).*

the monsoon period from June to September, the mountain roads of Kashmir are often impassable because of washouts. For this reason air transport is required to move supplies and personnel. By having its own aircraft, UNMOGIP is able to move about its limited number of observers for the investigation of incidents. During periods of international tension, the Commission aircraft, with its UN insignia, remains free to move across the cease-fire line, while commercial aircraft are unable to do so.

Eight Canadian Army officers have been serving with the UN Commission in Kashmir on one-year assignments since 1948. An additional officer was sent in 1963 at the request of the UN Secretary-General. With the addition of the eight RCAF personnel, Canada will have a total of 17 serving with UNMOGIP, the largest national element in the Kashmir Commission.

# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **The Crisis in Cyprus**

*Asked on July 2 "to bring the House up to date on the Cyprus situation," in particular concerning the "foundation for press reports that 4,000 Greek troops have landed secretly on the island" and the effect, if this were true, "on the continuance of the United Nations Force and the Canadian presence in that Force", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, replied:*

. . . The situation in Cyprus is certainly not free from serious concern. The Secretary-General of the United Nations was in touch this morning with our representative at the United Nations. I was in touch with the Secretary-General before Sunday last, following the talks I had with the Prime Minister of Greece and the Prime Minister of Turkey. The Secretary-General of NATO is in Ottawa today and we are glad to have the opportunity of discussing this matter with him, particularly in view of his visit on June 4 to the Governments of Greece and Turkey.

I cannot say whether the press reports mentioned . . . are exactly in accordance with the facts. There are reasons for believing, however, that there have been importations of one kind or another. Beyond that I do not want to go at this time.

. . . I will say that the introduction of regular army units by one or both sides involved in the Cyprus dispute would be contrary to the Security Council resolution of March 4, which calls upon all member states to refrain from any action likely to worsen the situation. It would be contrary also to the obligations undertaken by all members of NATO. If such regular forces from the mainland were introduced on Cyprus a new and dangerous situation would be created for the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force, as it has neither the mandate nor the strength to interpose itself between large, well-equipped forces if hostilities should break out. Indeed, the Force was not established for that purpose.

In my discussions with Prime Minister Inonu and Prime Minister Papandreou last week, I stressed our concern over the possibility of such a development. I stressed the responsibilities of both Greece and Turkey to abide by their obligations to the United Nations and to NATO.

Our mission to the United Nations in New York has been instructed, as I have already indicated, to keep in close and continuous contact with the United Nations Secretariat in order to make known our concern about the position of the Canadian contingent in the Peace-Keeping Force, because of the possibility that additional troops are being landed on Cyprus from the mainland. The Canadian forces participating in the United Nations peace-keeping operation are



under the command of the United Nations Commander pursuant to the Security Council resolution of March 4. Any action taken by Canada will be as a member of the United Nations Force.

*On July 7 Mr. Martin was asked "whether it is not becoming increasingly apparent that, to use the language of the street, the United Nations is being played for a sucker by the Government of Cyprus with reference to the landing of Greek troops and preventing the United Nations forces from viewing what is going on . . .". The questioner went on to ask "if the Canadian Government intends to make representations to the United Nations with a view to having that body make clear to the Government of Cyprus that these violations of the Security Council resolution (establishing the role of the Peace-Keeping Force) will leave the United Nations no alternative than to take steps to discipline those who are violating the resolution or to withdraw the peace-keeping forces from Cyprus . . .". Mr. Martin replied as follows:*

. . . The United Nations Force was established by the United Nations primarily to assist in keeping the peace in Cyprus. It was not sent there for the primary purpose of preventing an invasion, but there is no doubt that the decision to establish the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force on the 13th of March did assist very considerably in making invasion from any quarter impossible or undesirable.

There is also no doubt that the operations of the United Nations Force have been made more difficult by a number of the factors. . . . The Canadian Government, not only within the last few days but even before the NATO ministerial meeting at The Hague, has taken a firm position with regard to any action that adds to or complicates the work of the Peace Force. As I mentioned yesterday, there have been important negotiations this week, with one meeting going on in Geneva, another in NATO and discussions elsewhere.

I have had occasion to call on the Ambassador of Greece, with whom I had a long talk yesterday, and I have made it clear, as has the Secretary-General of the United Nations, that these involvements that add to the task of the Force are not in the interests of the United Nations peace-keeping operation. I can say that, notwithstanding all these difficulties, the United Nations continues to serve a very important purpose on that troubled island.

*In reply to a subsequent inquiry as to whether he had been "in direct contact with the Greek Government concerning the landing of Greek nationals in Cyprus", Mr. Martin replied:*

In answer . . . may I say that all the stories that appear in the news media are not necessarily correct. I may say to the House that Cyprus is one of the most serious problems to face us in many years, certainly since the end of the Second World War. In a matter of such vital importance, I would not be properly discharging my responsibilities as Secretary of State for External Affairs if I did

not weigh as carefully as I can what I say in this House and the possible effect of my words in certain other countries. Our position has been made known with regard to actions taken by particular forces and by particular personalities. I can say that, as a result of the position taken by Canada and other countries, an effort is being made to bring about a solution to this problem under conditions that I hope will not cause a serious situation on the island to further develop.

It is one thing to conjecture without responsibility. . . . I do not give all the details, because I cannot in these circumstances discharge my obligations if I speak in anything but the most general language. As long as I hold this responsibility I propose to take this course. . . .

*Asked on July 9 "whether a contribution is going to be made by the other nations within the United Nations in connection with Canada's further participation in the Cyprus Force for an additional period of time", Mr. Martin replied:*

. . . Voluntary contributions have been made by a number of states, notably by the United Kingdom and the United States. Canada is not the only country which has undertaken to pay her own expenses. Ireland is in that category. With regard to the three-month period, both Canada and Ireland have taken the position that, if the financial situation in the United Nations should become such that reimbursement could take place, we would expect that there should be reimbursement.

*The Minister answered a further inquiry as to "what other nation is contributing its force and paying the cost of that force, other than the United Kingdom" as follows:*

I said that in addition there were Ireland and Canada. Other countries are receiving assistance out of the voluntary fund.

*A repetition of the request for information regarding what had been done "in recent weeks to assure that other nations will provide the necessary funds, or at least a portion of the funds, to meet the cost of the Canadian force . . ." elicited the following reply from Mr. Martin:*

As I said, in the first three months assistance was given by the United States and some other countries providing enough money to pay for the operation of the Force, subject, of course, to the undertakings and commitments made by Canada, Ireland and . . . the United Kingdom.

With regard to the second three-month period, there have been further contributions made by a number of the original contributing states. When the question of a renewal of the mandate was considered, the financial aspect of the problem was examined, and it would not have been possible for a renewal to take place if the participating countries had not proceeded on the basis established previously.

As I stated in this House, it is regrettable that other states in the United Nations have not recognized their obligations under the Charter and made the contributions which membership in the organization involves. However, because other countries have refused to live up to their obligations, that is no reason . . . why Canada should be delinquent with regard to its commitment.

*On July 17 Mr. Martin was asked whether, in view of the "expanding and threatening military build-up" in Cyprus, he had "any word for the House to assure us, first of all, as to the safety of our own Canadian troops . . . and also, in a general way, with regard to the situation that is continuing there". His reply was as follows:*

. . . As I previously intimated, there have been discussions in Geneva and, as a matter of fact, in the NATO Council with regard to this matter, in addition to the consultations which were taking place even this morning between certain countries, including Canada. There is no doubt that the fears with regard to infiltrations about which we spoke in the House, both by way of interrogation and response, some days ago, were justified and, notwithstanding the assurances by the two countries concerned, have been confirmed. Various assessments have been made by the United Nations and by individual countries as to the extent of these infiltrations. The information that Canada passed on 10 days ago to the United Nations has been confirmed.

Very important negotiations are under way in three different places. I hope that as a result it will be possible even at this date to bring a moderating influence to bear on all parties concerned, including Greece and Turkey, having regard to their membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, let alone their membership in the United Nations.

Our forces are there as part of the United Nations Force and the directions issued to that Force come from the Commander of the Force, General Thimayya, the distinguished Indian soldier who has relieved General Gyani. He acts under the authority given to him by the Secretary-General pursuant to the latter's directions from the Security Council. Every consideration is being given to the position of our force and to its place in the United Nations operation itself.

I believe that is as far as I can go at this time. I think that what I have said will indicate that the build-up which has taken place, notwithstanding the protests made in the NATO Council, and notwithstanding the requests made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, is, in the judgment of Canada, and I think in the judgment of all countries who have been considering this matter, contrary to the requests made at the last ministerial meeting of the NATO Council in May and at subsequent meetings of the NATO Council. I would hope that a second appeal made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations only yesterday in Geneva, where he is meeting with the Mediator and with representatives of the Governments of Greece and Turkey, will elicit a suitable response so that the Force may be given the opportunity, in spite of difficult



circumstances, to discharge its responsibility in trying to maintain some semblance of order in that disturbed island. I am happy to say that the intervention of Canada's forces, even within the last few days, as we all know from Colonel Amy's statement, has been productive of some results. The Government continues to watch this situation with great care.

*A question was asked on July 20 regarding "the apparent deterioration . . . in the relationship between the Cypriots and the United Nations Force and the contemplated or threatened withdrawal by the contingents of Sweden and Denmark". Mr. Martin made the following reply:*

. . . I would like to say in answer that the movement of troops and war material into Cyprus is of course a cause for legitimate concern. The concern of the Canadian Government has been made crystal clear to the United Nations and to the countries directly concerned. Sweden and Denmark have now done likewise.

In my statement to the House on Friday, I indicated the action which we had taken, in concert with certain other governments, to bring appropriate pressure to bear so that the arms build-up would be brought to a halt. In taking these actions, we felt we were acting consistently as a member of the United Nations Peace Force in the performance of a task which at the beginning we all recognized in this House would not be an easy one. However, we did not anticipate at that time that the task would be made infinitely more difficult by clandestine action to build up the war potential on the island.

This is a matter of collective interest to all the contributing countries, and we are therefore taking collective action to obtain strict observance of the terms of the Security Council resolutions. Our Permanent Representative at the United Nations is today seeing the representatives of other contributors to the Peace Force, and at Canada's suggestion the group will be meeting tomorrow with senior United Nations officials concerned with the Cyprus operation. The object of what we and other contributors have been doing is to induce those directly concerned to refrain from exacerbating an already dangerous situation.

I said on Friday that the Secretary-General of the United Nations had made an appeal to Greece and Turkey and to the Cypriot communities. By that time there had developed a common appraisal of the extent of the arms build-up. The Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Papandreou, has now replied to the United Nations Secretary-General and his Ambassador gave me that reply this morning. I give part of it to the House. The reply, in part, reads:

I fully agree —

(this is in answer to the Secretary-General)

— that the arms build-up in Cyprus must be halted. I am accordingly issuing a statement in which I call upon all concerned to rely upon the efforts of the United Nations Peace Force and the Mediator for a final and lasting solution to the problems confronting Cyprus and I declare that I am looking forward to the full implementation of your programme.

I may say . . . that this morning I saw the Greek Ambassador and the Turkish Ambassador as well.

*To a supplementary question as to whether Canada had "joined with Sweden and Denmark and expressed a view similar to those views expressed by the other two countries, namely that unless there is favourable action in this regard the Canadian forces would be in an impossible position under the perilous circumstances surrounding their operations", Mr. Martin provided the following answer:*

A close examination of what was said by the Foreign Minister for Denmark in the statement he issued on Saturday, and of the communication addressed to the Secretary-General on Friday by the Foreign Minister for Sweden, will reveal that there was no decision to withdraw. What was involved in those communications was the suggestion, in the one case, that a Security Council meeting be held, and depending on the outcome, the Government of Sweden would then give consideration to its future participation.

I may say . . . that some six weeks ago I indicated in no uncertain terms that the Force must be given an opportunity to carry out its obligations and that, if it was clear that this could not be done, the United Nations would have to give considerations to the position of the Force. However, I do not want to say anything which would suggest that in the face of great difficulties the United Nations, called upon to deal with a difficult situation, is not prepared to meet that situation. The very suggestion of withdrawal could open up speculation which I do not believe would be justified. Suffice it to say, having in mind contingency plans, the United Nations is taking every step to discharge its responsibility under the most difficult circumstances.

*On July 23 the observation was made that "belatedly", the UN Secretary-General had promulgated "rules . . . which would empower the United Nations Force in Cyprus to prevent . . . incursions by troops from outside the country". Mr. Martin, asked concerning these rules "what is the nature thereof, and will these rules enable our forces, as part of the United Nations Force, to keep out those who surreptitiously find their way into Cyprus. . .", replied as follows:*

The authority of the Force does not extend to the right to prevent the ingress of arms or men from outside. The Government of Cyprus asserts that this is a right that belongs to it as the duly-constituted authority. The view of the United Nations Commander, and the strong view of the participating governments, is that the terms of reference laid down in accordance with the Security Council resolution provide for the free movement of the United Nations troops, and that there should be no denial of access of those troops to any area on the island for the purpose of discharging their functions. In a communication I sent quite recently to the Secretary-General, I indicated that I thought this point ought to be taken up very strongly through the Commander, and that is now being done.

*The same questioner then asked if it was, therefore, "a fact that Archbishop Makarios places himself in the position of taking the stand that the United Nations forces are not allowed to do anything to prevent incursions from the outside" and declared that, if such were the case, "the United Nations Force is completely powerless, and the situation will become worse and worse as Makarios becomes more and more defiant of the United Nations". Mr. Martin answered:*

. . . I will say I am firmly of the view, as are the other participating governments in the Force, and the Commander and the Secretary-General, and as both the Prime Minister of Greece and the Prime Minister of Britain confirmed yesterday, that, but for the presence of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, the situation would be much worse. Great as the difficulties are, we must continue to support the presence of that Force, notwithstanding the position taken by particular authorities. If the United Nations Force is not able to discharge its responsibilities this will be serious not only for Cyprus but also for NATO, and as serious for the United Nations and for the ultimate role that we hope it will play in situations like this in the future in other places.

*A report said to have been carried by a Toronto newspaper on July 28 to "the effect that Canadian troops would not be needed in Cyprus after the autumn" occasioned a request on the same date that the Minister "make a statement and advise us whether this article . . . is the result of well-informed speculation or just pure speculation". Mr. Martin replied in the following words:*

I have already indicated that Canada has been in consultation with the other contributors to the Force, and that, as a member of the United Nations Force, whatever the decision is it will be taken by the United Nations and not by any individual country contributing to that Force.

With regard to the statement attributed to the Head of the Government of Cyprus, this statement has not, I am advised by United Nations authorities, been received by them. It was made, as reported in the newspapers, prior to the meeting between the Head of the Government of Cyprus and the Prime Minister of Greece. I would be interested in knowing the conclusions reached between the heads of these two governments before I make any final observation on what might be considered to be the trend of events.

I have already indicated to the House that there are discussions going on elsewhere, and while one would not want to exaggerate the possible consequences of those, I would be distressed if, as a result of those discussions, there was not progress being made. I want to make it clear that by the terms of Section 32 of the agreement as to the status of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, which was concluded by an exchange of letters on March 31, 1964, the Force and its members, together with its service vehicles, vessels, aircraft and equipment, shall enjoy freedom of movement throughout Cyprus.

The reported decision, and I emphasize the word "reported", by the Government of Cyprus to deny freedom of movement to the United Nations Force is



clearly contrary to the formal agreement entered into with the United Nations. It is contrary also to the spirit and letter of the Security Council resolution which calls upon the communities in Cyprus, and their leaders, to act with the utmost restraint. The Canadian Government has been in communication with the United Nations and is pursuing the matter.

*"Does the Minister then admit," the question resumed, "that there has been a change in attitude on the part of Archbishop Makarios, and that today the position of the UN Force is that, without that freedom of movement it enjoyed to a certain extent in the past, it will not be able to discharge its responsibilities?" Mr. Martin replied:*

I would not agree that the United Nations Force, by its very presence, is unable to discharge the responsibility which it has assumed. Undoubtedly, the denial of freedom of movement impairs its full opportunity to carry out its mandate. However, I would recall . . . that in other peace-keeping operations, notably the Congo and even the United Nations Emergency Force, there were periods of resistance when the force was not able to carry out its responsibilities. If the force in this instance is denied freedom of movement, unfavourable results will not be due to United Nations efforts. I believe that more than ever the United Nations Force is required in the circumstances.

### **Soviet Proposal for Permanent Peace Force**

*The Secretary of State for External Affairs was asked on July 7 "whether any representation has been made by the U.S.S.R. to the Government of Canada, as apparently has been the case with Japan, to show the acceptance by the Soviet of a peace force under the United Nations whereby all the nations except the five permanent members of the Security Council would make a contribution". "I would also ask him," the questioner concluded, "whether, other than the press dispatches, there has been any communication from the Soviet Government in this connection to the Government of Canada." Mr. Martin's reply was as follows:*

. . . There has been no formal communication between the Soviet Union and the Government of Canada. The Foreign Ministry of Japan announced yesterday that it had received a proposal from the Soviet Union, and an Associated Press dispatch indicated that this proposal would be circulated to members of the United Nations. That proposal has not been received yet, but I would say that, subject to careful further examination, we would regard this proposal as an important statement in principle by the Soviet Union, and particularly so because of the Canadian interest in the principles of UN peace keeping.

The Soviet proposal seems to be a restatement by the Soviet Union of its position with regard to Article 43 of the Charter of the United Nations. The

proposal as reported suggests that the Soviet Union would be prepared to support the financing of a permanent peace-keeping force under the auspices of the United Nations but that there is no indication, in anything which has yet been made public, that the Soviet Union is prepared to meet the financial obligations which the International Court of Justice says are due from the Soviet Union in respect of peace-keeping operations already undertaken by the United Nations.

. . . If this proposal is presented to Canada formally, we shall give it very careful consideration.

*The topic came up again on July 14, when Mr. Martin was asked "whether the apparent change of attitude on the part of the Soviet Union in connection with peace-keeping operations has been followed up by any action by the U.S.S.R. to place itself in a position of responsibility in the United Nations by arranging to pay its membership dues and its share of expenses in connection with peace keeping". He replied:*

There has been no change, since the distribution of this proposal by the Soviet Union for a permanent United Nations peace force, in the amount of money with the International Court of Justice, by way of an advisory opinion, has said is owing by the Soviet Union to the United Nations. There have been some discussions with the Soviet Union with regard to the confrontation that will inevitably face that country at the next General Assembly under Article 19 of the Charter, if some moneys have not been paid by the Soviet Union to reduce its total indebtedness to a figure less than the assessment owing by the Soviet Union to the United Nations for the previous two years. The Secretary-General himself is leaving tonight on a tour that will take him to a number of countries, including the Soviet Union. I do not know what will be the nature of their discussions, but I would be surprised if this were not one of the subjects to be discussed at that time.

## **Wheat Sales Behind the Iron Curtain**

*On July 14, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, made the following announcement of the sale of Canadian wheat to Poland:*

The Canadian Wheat Board is announcing in Winnipeg today that it has negotiated a contract for the sale of approximately 200,000 metric tons of wheat for shipment to Poland. This sale, totalling about 7.4 million bushels, is for shipment during the period August to November 1964. This is the second sale made to Poland under the provisions of the long-term agreement signed on November 5, 1963, and completes the quantities Poland had agreed to buy during the first year of the three-year agreement.

Payment for the wheat is to be made on the basis of 10 per cent at time of shipment, with the remaining balance to be paid in equal instalments, plus interest at two, two and a half and three years respectively. These credit arrangements were authorized by the Government of Canada under the provisions of the Export Credits Insurance Act.

*On July 16, the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Harry W. Hays, announced as follows a similar sale to Czechoslovakia:*

I wish to inform Hon. Members that the Canadian Wheat Board is announcing in Winnipeg today that it has negotiated a contract for the sale of approximately 500,000 metric tons of wheat for shipment to Czechoslovakia. This sale, totalling approximately 18.4 million bushels, is for shipment during the period August to November 1964.

This is the second sale made to Czechoslovakia under the provisions of the long-term agreement signed on October 29, 1963. Of the 500,000 metric tons purchased, 230,000 tons represent the completion of the quantity that Czechoslovakia had agreed to buy during the first year of the agreement, and the balance of 270,000 tons applies against the second agreement year, which commences October 30, 1964.

Payment for the wheat is to be made on the basis of 10 per cent at time of shipment, with the balance to be paid in equal instalments, plus interest, at two, two and a half and three years respectively. These credit arrangements were authorized by the Government of Canada under the provisions of the Export Credits Insurance Act.

## **Canada, Cuba and the OAS**

*On July 27 Mr. Martin was asked whether, in view of the condemnation of Cuba by members of the Organization of American States and their approval of economic and diplomatic sanctions against that country, the Canadian Government had "received any direct word from the OAS in relation to Canada's stand as it concerns the situation". He replied as follows:*

There has been no formal communication between the Organization, or the meeting in Washington, and the Government of Canada. I have an advance text of the principal resolution adopted yesterday at the ninth meeting of the Consultative Council of the foreign ministers of the OAS countries. It was adopted by a vote of 15 to 4. In substance the resolution provides for the following measures against Cuba: that the governments of the American states shall not maintain diplomatic or consular relations with the Government of Cuba; that they shall suspend all trade with Cuba except in foodstuffs, medicines and medical equipment; and that they shall suspend all sea transportation with Cuba. There is a paragraph urging states not members of the OAS that are animated by the



same ideals of the inter-American system to examine the possibility of effectively demonstrating their solidarity in achieving the purposes of the resolution.

Successive Canadian Governments, in common with most other Western governments, including virtually all members of NATO and the OECD, have consistently taken the position that diplomatic and trade relations do not signify approval of a particular regime. That continues to be the view of the Government at the present time.

As we were not a participant in the discussions and decisions that have taken place in Washington, we are not fully aware, of course, of all the considerations which may have been taken into account. We shall give careful study to the conclusions reached on the basis of such information as may be available to us. The House is aware that it has been the policy of this Government, as it was of the previous Government, to continue diplomatic and commercial relations with Cuba.

As far as trade is concerned, the export of arms and strategic materials to Cuba has been forbidden for several years; indeed, well before the decisions of this effect were reached by the OAS itself in Washington on Saturday.

## **FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

- Third UN Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, July 31 to September 9.
- Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States: Mexico City, August 22 to September 30.
- Third Commonwealth Education Conference: Ottawa, August 21 to September 4.
- Third Meeting of the Parties to the International Convention for High Seas Fisheries of the Northern Pacific Ocean: Ottawa, September 9.
- Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting: Kuala Lumpur, September 1-2.
- Opening of IAEA General Conference: Vienna, September 14.
- Legal Sub-Committee of the UNGA Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, resumed third session: New York, October 5-23.
- Meeting of the International Joint Commission: Ottawa, October 6-13.
- Plenary Meeting of the UNGA Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, fifth session: New York, October 26 to November 6.
- Opening of UNESCO General Conference: Paris, October 20.
- United Nations General Assembly, nineteenth regular session: New York, November 10.
- Governing Body of ILO and its Committees, 160th session: Geneva, November 9-20.
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## **APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RETIREMENTS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE**

- Mr. H. B. Stewart resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective May 29, 1964.
- Mr. E. G. Drake posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur, to Ottawa. Left Kuala Lumpur June 3, 1964.
- Mr. G. G. Riddell posted from the Canadian Embassy, Cairo, to Ottawa. Left Cairo June 3, 1964.
- Mr. J. M. Touchette posted from the Canadian Embassy, Beirut, to Ottawa. Left Beirut June 4, 1964.
- Mr. G. Cox, Commissioner to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, posted to Ottawa. Left Saigon June 5, 1964.
- Mr. W. N. Lawton posted from the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, to Ottawa. Left Buenos Aires June 8, 1964.
- Mr. J. S. Roy posted from the Canadian Embassy, Prague, to Ottawa. Left Prague June 11, 1964.
- Mr. M. D. Copithorne posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur. Left Ottawa June 16, 1964.
- Mr. J. A. Dougan posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo. Left Ottawa June 19, 1964.
- Mr. F. X. Houde posted from the Canadian Embassy, Montevideo, to Ottawa. Left Montevideo June 19, 1964.

- Mr. R. N. Nuttall appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 22, 1964.
- Mr. P. A. Joncas posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington. Left Ottawa June 23, 1964.
- Mr. R. E. Collins appointed Canadian Ambassador to South Africa. Left Ottawa June 26, 1964.
- Mr. J. A. McCordick, Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, posted to Ottawa. Left Prague June 26, 1964.
- Mr. A. J. Young posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo. Left Ottawa June 26, 1964.
- Mr. J. C. G. Brown posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow. Left Ottawa June 29, 1964.
- Mr. D. G. Bishop appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 29, 1964.
- Mr. P. Croft appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 29, 1964.
- Mr. L. Duclos appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 29, 1964.
- Miss J. E. McPhee appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective June 29, 1964.
- Miss P. Owen appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 29, 1964.
- Mr. C. C. Pedersen appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective June 29, 1964.
- Mr. W. T. Delworth posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam to Ottawa. Left Saigon June 30, 1964.
- Mr. R. H. N. Roberts posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Berne. Left Ottawa June 30, 1964.
- Mr. J. Robichaud posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa. Left New York June 30, 1964.
- Mr. S. A. Banks appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Administrative Officer 3, effective July 1, 1964.
- Mr. D. R. T. Fraser posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam. Left Ottawa July 1, 1964.
- Mr. D'I. Fortier posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council to Ottawa. Left Paris July 2, 1964.
- Mr. P. E. Laberge posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa. Left Washington July 2, 1964.
- Mr. R. Garneau appointed Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland. Left Paris July 12, 1964.
- Mr. J. W. Gilbert appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective July 13, 1964.
- Mr. F. W. Stone posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington. Left Ottawa July 14, 1964.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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# Current International Developments

## A REVIEW

*The following are extracts from a general review of the present international situation made by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, on July 9, 1964, to the Standing Committee on External Affairs of the House of Commons in the course of its discussion of the 1964-65 estimates of the Department of External Affairs.<sup>1</sup>*

Mr. Chairman, I think it is useful for the Secretary of State for External Affairs to give this Committee his impressions of the international political situation. It is a developing situation, and one which can quickly change from one apparent position to another. . . .

### Improved East-West Relations

In the post-war period we have been accustomed to assessing the international climate in terms of the current state of relations between the Western coalition and the Soviet bloc. A variety of temporary factors on both sides of the Iron Curtain can exert an influence on the state of those relations. For example, between now and the next session of the United Nations General Assembly, which, in all probability, will begin on November 10, world events may appear before us in a new perspective. There will be elections not only in the United States, but, looking a little further ahead, there will be national elections in both France and Germany. . . . There will be elections in Great Britain.

By past experience, we can expect no significant moves from the Western side, perhaps, on major world problems until these four major elections have been held, provided, and this is a significant reservation, there are no major provocations on the part of the Sino-Soviet bloc. However, it is to be expected that these elections will generate a good deal of lively public debate, and occasional misunderstandings abroad as one or another party states an extreme position, perhaps for domestic political reasons; but I believe that these hazards of the democratic process are understood by the Soviet bloc and will not be taken as indicative of the mainstream of the common Western posture or policy.

If this assessment is accurate, I should expect the Soviet bloc, for its part, to refrain from major initiatives that might provoke an unpredictable response at this time. It is perhaps worth noting that almost a month ago the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of friendship with the East German regime in place of the oft-threatened peace treaty that could have plunged Europe once more into a crisis atmosphere.

<sup>1</sup>The complete record of the Standing Committee's proceedings can be purchased through the Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

It seems to me that the Government of the Soviet Union had decided that, to bolster the cohesion of their East European grouping in the face of challenges elsewhere within the Communist world, it was necessary to conclude such a treaty with the East Germans as they had already done with most other countries of Eastern Europe. Three years ago such a treaty might itself have been the first sign of a renewal of a test of wills over Berlin, but on this occasion the wording of the treaty and the explanations that have been given from Moscow and from Pankow would lead us to believe that no dire consequences are likely to follow. I stress the situation in Germany, because it is the problem on which hinges so much of the division between East and West.

As I see it, at this time there is no desire on the part of the Soviet Union, any more than there is on the part of the United States, for an intensification of tensions. We seem to be on a sort of plateau in our relations with Soviet Communism, in which there is no immediate likelihood either of a major crisis or a major breakthrough in any of the outstanding problems which remain under negotiation with the Soviet world. Such moves as are being made seem calculated to promote and perpetuate the improved relations which now have existed for over a year, particularly, I suppose, since the Cuban confrontation in October of 1962.

The proceedings of the Disarmament Committee in Geneva . . . provide a significant weathervane of relations with the Soviet bloc and tend to confirm this estimate. A constructive atmosphere now appears to prevail at these meetings with some prospect of useful progress on a number of tension-easing proposals, but there is a tendency to mark time on major outstanding issues. I say this in spite of the fact that Chairman Khrushchov is represented the other day as having said that, in the absence of a settlement of the Berlin problem, there could be no progress made in this particular area. He may have been speaking of fundamental agreement. What I am thinking about, of course, are limited agreements — that is, moving from one step to another; moving, for instance, from the test-ban treaty of last August to the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States with regard to the limitation on the production of fissionable material and likewise to the agreement between these two countries with regard to the outlawing of nuclear weapons in outer space.

I should put in a similar category the recent proposal of the Soviet Union with respect to the creation of an international peace-keeping force under the authority of the Security Council of the United Nations. This proposal may or may not, on close examination of its details, prove to be an advance, but I am sure one can already say with some assurance that it was not designed to worsen the international atmosphere. Canada has not as yet formally received this communication, but we know its substance and we have had an opportunity to examine it in some detail. . . . I think it does represent a very important development in a matter which vitally concerns Canada.

In short, by tacit consent, relations with the Soviet bloc are, for the time being, on a fairly even keel. The fact that there are plenty of problems within the Sino-



Soviet bloc exerting powerful pressures in the same direction should not detract from the satisfaction we all derive from the better climate which, I hope, will be of some duration.

No one can be dogmatic in these things, but I do not think one serves the cause of international relations by failing to recognize there is an improvement in the relations between East and West. Use that term in the sense of relations between the Western powers, so-called, and the Soviet bloc.

Marring this relatively stable international scene are the serious situations in Cyprus and in Southeast Asia. The latter is dangerous to international peace precisely because the challenge there is from an adversary that has become so isolated from the West that it cannot be counted upon accurately to assess the purpose of the United States and the determination of the United States.

### **Serious Situation in Indochina**

The present problem in Indochina interests us because for ten years we have served on the International Control Commissions in Vietnam, in Cambodia and in Laos at considerable expense to our personnel, both political and military, as well as at considerable expense to the Canadian taxpayer.

The present problem in Indochina has its origin in the unwillingness of the North Vietnamese and Chinese to recognize the Geneva Agreement of 1954 . . . and the Geneva Agreement of 1962, agreements which, I believe, if faithfully carried out, would have protected the legitimate rights of all sides by removing the region from the politics of the Cold War. The task now is to make those agreements work — in Vietnam, to put an end to the interference from the North that has been the motivating force behind the war in the South and, in Laos, to build a truly neutral and independent state which would be a threat to no country, least of all China.

In Laos — a country of a million and a half people, the smallest of the three — we are told by the Communist side, following their repeated breaches of the cease fire and their refusal to co-operate with a government of national union, that it is now necessary to convene a further conference. It is not clear to me what this conference could do that was not already done by that of 1962. This is not necessarily the position of other Western powers but, as Canada sees it, there were commitments made in 1954 and 1962 and, if these commitments were observed or lived up to, there would be no need for a conference. I can see no need for either a conference on Laos or a wider conference. What I do see as the way to solve this problem is for all parties concerned to live up to the agreements of 1954 and 1962. However, if it should be decided, as Poland has proposed that a conference should take place on Laos, we would be prepared to participate. This would apply, of course, to a wider conference such as has been proposed by France and by the Soviet Union, and as was urged yesterday by the Secretary-General, U Thant.

In Vietnam there is no need for a new agreement to call a halt to the civil

war. The agreement already exists; it is now almost ten years old. The responsibility of North Vietnam for fomenting rebellion in the South was condemned two years ago by an International Commission on which Canada, Poland and India serve, but this has not prevented a steady increase in the pace of North Vietnamese support of the rebellion. With this sorry record of Communist unwillingness to co-operate in Laos, I do not think it is surprising that we now are wary of proposals implying that neutralization may be a possible solution in Vietnam, which is, of the three countries, the largest and the one that is divided.

The situation is more serious than it has been for some time. It could lead to a great crisis. It need not lead to a crisis, however, unless the North Vietnamese and their friends underestimate the firmness of the intentions of the United States Government. The United States has stated publicly and confirmed privately that it seeks no selfish advantage in Vietnam — no territory and no bases. It seeks only the consolidation of a government free from outside attack and at liberty to determine its own future. If Hanoi and Peking do not accept this objective as a legitimate one, the risk is that they may, in pursuing expansionist aims, provoke a dangerous confrontation.

It seems to me that the developments we have been witnessing in Southeast Asia in recent months bring into particularly sharp focus the considerable importance we must continue to attach to finding a way out of the impasse in relations between the West and Communist China. If Communist China would make a clear and positive gesture of moderation and of a desire to co-operate in a genuine search for neutrality for Southeast Asia, I believe that they would meet with a generous Western response.

So far as Canada is concerned, we are certainly determined to do what we can to hasten an improvement in Chinese relations with the West, and particularly with the United States, since after all it is the state of Sino-American relations that may prove to be of first importance in the context of world peace.

Canada has limited opportunities, but it has opportunities in this particular area. It is not anxious to accept additional obligations nor will it shirk responsibilities which may be imposed on it; but I may say we are not anxious to continue participating in these International Control Commissions in Indochina if it is thought that they have served their purpose, or that they have not been fully efficient.

The other day Mr. Adlai Stevenson in the Security Council, when the question of the Vietnamese and Cambodian border was under discussion, observed that the Commissions had outlived their usefulness and that some other vehicle should be provided to deal with that particular situation. If it is thought that the Commissions still can serve a useful purpose, Canada will accept its responsibilities; but, I want to repeat, we are not anxious to carry on an undertaking if it is thought that the operation is not a useful one.

One of the reasons the Commissions have not been fully successful, we believe, is attributable to the fact that one of the parties has insisted that no

action be taken by the Commission except on the basis of a unanimous decision among the three members of the Commission. We have felt — and this is particularly true in the case of Laos — that, unless the Commission could operate on the basis of a majority decision, it is simply not possible to meet the problems that face the Commission. The attitude taken by Poland in this regard made difficult the operation of the work of the Commission there.

The Committee will recall that about three months ago I made a special appeal to Poland to understand the difficulty under which the Commission was operating, particularly in Laos.

### **The Challenge of Cyprus**

. . . It is nearly four months since the Parliament of Canada approved almost unanimously a resolution authorizing participation of Canadian forces in the international force on Cyprus. I believe that this was a sensible decision, and I believe that, if we had to do it all over again, I should recommend the same decision, because what is the alternative? If the United Nations had not gone in under its responsibility for preserving peace, there would have been intervention, inevitably, from private national sources, and that, I contend, is contrary to the desired development of international relations in the interdependent nuclear age in which we live.

Our decision demonstrated once again the willingness of Canada to support the United Nations in its efforts to maintain peace through emergency action where small fires must be contained lest they become wider conflagrations.

That decision was not taken lightly. It was recognized by all parties that the task of keeping the peace is not an easy one, and that the lot of a policeman is often not a happy one. . . .

. . . The volume of inquiry directed to this question, the problem of Cyprus, must be accepted, I think, as a sincere manifestation of the concern of the Canadian people respecting the safety and effectiveness of the Canadian troops who have been sent 5,000 miles away to help to preserve peace. But it is also a reflection of doubt that the United Nations and we, as stalwart supporters of that organization, are, in the words of a Member of this House, being “played for suckers”. In my view and in the view of the Government, such is certainly not the case, and I feel that I should state it. That is not to mean that we do not face a difficult situation. But we knew what we were doing.

Our action was part of the process of building international peace machinery, which, ultimately, is the only way by which this world can be kept at peace. We must look upon the Cyprus situation as we looked upon the Congo, which was a more difficult operation, as being an inevitable phase in transition in trying to keep for the international community the authority of maintaining justice rather than leaving it in the hands of individual powers, great or small. I know of nothing nobler, nothing more worthwhile, for the defence forces of our country to undertake than the task of trying to build the peace even in the midst of the



complicated and difficult situation that prevails in a situation like that now faced in Cyprus.

To begin with, we should remember the limitations which, by their very nature, are imposed on any international peace-keeping force directed by the United Nations. The United Nations Force on Cyprus, in which our troops are playing a commendable role — and I would ask you to look at what General Gyani said about this yesterday — is not an occupation force sent into the island to take over all the sovereign rights of an independent country. It should be remembered that the United Nations Force was dispatched to carry out its peace-keeping task on the island with the consent and with the approval of the Government of Cyprus, and that its responsibilities and obligations are limited by the terms of the Security Council resolution of March 4.

It will be recalled that the functions of the Force, as defined in that resolution, should be in the interest of preserving international peace and security, that it should use its best efforts to prevent the recurrence of fighting, and, as necessary, contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions.

. . . Obviously, the function of the Force, as defined in the terms of the Security Council resolution, is not to usurp the powers and the responsibilities of the Government of Cyprus and by force of arms to impose peace on the two warring communities. It is because this is not fully appreciated that sometimes it is difficult to understand the reasons why the effort of keeping the peace has moved so slowly on Cyprus. We had the same problem for four years in the Congo, and we should not forget this. However, difficult as the Congo operation was, no one today, looking back on that very difficult exercise, can help but say that it was part of the inevitable and necessary experience on the part of the international community in its efforts to prevent war. In the same way, violence was prevented in individual communities in historical times by justice assumed and imposed by the community instead of by aggrieved individuals.

The function of the Force on the island of Cyprus is clearly that of a peace-keeping body, nothing more. It is not that of a heavy-handed army, determined to impose its will on a sovereign people regardless of its wishes. This is one of the points that I made the other day when I saw the Prime Minister of Turkey and the Prime Minister of Greece and when I told them that Canada believed the Force was not in there to impose a solution, not in there to take sides, but to assist in trying to keep the peace. It was with that as a background that I urged, for the third time, as spokesman for Canada, that they should not take any action that would in any way complicate or make more difficult the role of the Peace Force. Yesterday, as you will recall, the Secretary-General, U Thant, made an appeal again to Turkey and Greece asking them to exercise every moderating influence that they could. He said that he proposes to report the response made to his appeal to the Security Council, noting, at the same time, that Mr. Tuomioja, the Finnish diplomat, will be meeting tomorrow with both

sides, and the representatives of other interested countries are there to participate both in respect of what the Secretary-General calls the long-term and the short-term aspects of this difficult question of Cyprus.

### **Three Avenues of Approach**

With these fundamental situations before us, there are three avenues of approach that, as major contributors to the force on Cyprus, we might consider. First, we might take the view that it is mandatory for the two communities on Cyprus to follow the instructions and directives of the United Nations Commander, with the result that internal security and national defence would be fully controlled and directed by the United Nations Command. This would, in effect, constitute abrogation of national responsibility in the essential fields constituting independence, and it has been made abundantly clear that both Archbishop Makarios, as President of Cyprus, and Vice-President Kuchuk are no more willing to do this than most leaders would be.

The second course open to the United Nations, and to the countries which truly believe in the peace-keeping potential of that world organization, is to accept to the full the implications of the Security Council resolution and to endorse the present approach of the United Nations on Cyprus. This approach, under the direction of that dedicated international servant, U Thant, follows the course of negotiation and compromise — a sometimes frustrating, irritating and, occasionally, a humiliating way of waging peace, but there it is. However, if our goals can be achieved in this way, without needless bloodshed and suffering — and I would point out that the bloodshed and suffering on the island within the past four weeks has been very minimal — patience and self-restraint by all directly concerned, I think, is a small price to pay. Now, this is not an easy role for any government to endorse, and it is not an easy role for us to endorse, but all men of goodwill must admit that the principle is sound, even if the application is difficult. We heard such questions at the beginning as “Why don’t they shoot?”. The United Nations did not go there to shoot. It went there to keep the peace, and, as the Secretary-General of the United Nations said, right at this table, that to shoot would have been to do the very thing the Force was established to prevent. Perhaps I should remind the Members that at times those who are far from the scene of bitter strife on that unhappy island find it difficult to restrain their distress over the incidents which occur.

What I am trying to explain is that the suggestion is often made that the UN forces should not hesitate to shoot. I am simply saying they were not sent there for that purpose. The Force was sent there to keep peace. This does not mean that there are not occasions when it yet might have to, but the initiative must not be that of the United Nations.

We have a third alternative, and this is obviously the easiest one. In simple terms, this is to say that, if the protagonists refuse to obey the orders of the United Nations and will not negotiate on our terms, we could withdraw our

troops. This has been suggested. However, despite some recent statements and some of the comments that I have heard from time to time (but not very widely, because the dominant view is otherwise), I do not believe the Canadian people would wish to initiate a move which would create a tragic failure for the United Nations and constitute a setback to one of the most promising chapters in mankind's long search for a means of preventing war, the role of the United Nations in keeping the peace. If that course had been taken in the Gaza Strip, if that course had been taken in Lebanon in the observation group in 1958, if that course had been taken in Indochina, if that course had been taken a year ago in June, we would not have had this peace-keeping role of the UN. If it had been taken in the Congo, there would not, in all probability, be a United Nations and we certainly would not be talking of peace keeping. We would go back to the old international methods of the jungle, which was the way peace was kept up until we established the United Nations in 1945.

I do not know that I can add much more to that than this. We know that this is a difficult problem, that a political solution is one that rests with the Mediator, who has full authority to make an interim or a final report. He is now conducting a very important series of talks in Geneva. These will have their formal beginning tomorrow, and we can only hope that out of all these difficulties a solution will be made available to us.

We must remember that it is the United Nations that directs the course of the United Nations Peace Force, it is not the Government of Canada. The Government of Canada decided to commit its stand-by unit to the Force but, as long as it is under the Force, under the Commander, and under the authority of the United Nations, the United Nations authorities are responsible. This does not, of course, mean that the Government of Canada cannot make recommendations to the United Nations. It does not mean that recommendations are not being made. There is the fullest consultation almost every day in this matter with the United Nations and with all participating countries. There is also the fullest consultation continually proceeding in other bodies such as NATO, but the final responsibility is one that rests with the Secretary-General pursuant to the powers given to him under the Security Council.



## Canadian-German Relations

CHANCELLOR Erhard's visit to Ottawa from June 9 to 11, 1964, and the visit to Bonn in mid-May of the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs have served to draw attention in Canada to the problems and achievements of the Federal Republic of Germany and to the community of interests and the close relations that have developed between the two countries in recent years.

Considering the legacy of conflict between Canada and Germany in two world wars, the development of a constructive and friendly relation between Canada and the new German democracy is both remarkable and encouraging.

When hostilities ended in 1945, Germany lay in ruins. In the last two decades, the German people in the western part of the country, which now forms the Federal Republic of Germany, have succeeded in building a highly prosperous and expanding economy within the framework of a stable parliamentary democracy. While massive economic aid from the United States played an indispensable part in this recovery, a very large share of the credit must be given to the German people themselves, for their discipline, hard work and sense of responsibility.

In 1948, after German civil administration had been restored at the state and local levels in the Western zones of occupation, the heads of government of the *Laender* (provinces) were asked by the allied powers to summon a parliamentary council to draw up a constitution for a federal state. This legislation entered into force on May 24, 1949, and is known as the Basic Law. Following general elections, the Federal German Government was constituted, with its seat in Bonn, in September 1949. The limitations imposed by the occupation regime on German sovereignty were then gradually removed. The last of these vanished on May 5, 1955, when the Bonn Conventions and the treaties regarding the entry of the Federal Republic into NATO and the Western European Union came into effect.

Under the Basic Law, West Berlin is regarded as a *Land* but, because of the four-power agreements of 1945, it cannot belong to the federation *de jure*. For most practical purposes, the city is an integral part of the Federal Republic. Legally, however, West Berlin remains under occupation status, though, for the most part, governmental powers are exercised in practice by the West Berlin authorities, subject to the legal right of veto (rarely exercised) of the three Western "occupying" powers. West Berlin representatives in the Federal Parliament have only consultative status; federal laws apply in Berlin only after they have been specifically approved by the city parliament and only so far as they do not infringe on Berlin's special status.

Only a little more than half the area of pre-war (1937) Germany is governed by the Federal Republic. The remainder is divided between the Soviet zone of occupation (the so-called "German Democratic Republic" known more familiarly

as East Germany) and areas beyond the Oder-Neisse line that are under direct Soviet and Polish administration. The Potsdam Agreement of 1945 reserved the final settlement of Germany's post-war boundaries until the conclusion of a peace treaty with a reunited Germany. Canada, with other Western countries, recognizes only the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and maintains no relations with East Germany.

The forceful division of the German people into two distinct and antagonistic political systems is understandably the foremost issue in the Federal Republic's foreign policy. This situation constitutes a continuing source of international tension and a potential threat to peace. Successive Canadian Governments have expressed their sympathy for the plight of the German people and have consistently supported the Federal Republic's efforts to reunite Germany by peaceful means under conditions of freedom and on the basis of self-determination.

### **Economic Relations**

Apart from the problems created by the division of Germany, the Federal Republic has probably attracted most attention abroad for its remarkable economic recovery and expansion. With a population of 56 million — nearly three times that of Canada — and an area about half the size of Manitoba, the Federal Republic's economy is based on a diverse and efficient manufacturing industry, which, with personal and business services, employs the bulk of its working force. It is self-sufficient neither in food nor raw materials, and must obtain these in large quantities from other countries. Its manufacturers are, however, highly competitive on world markets. As a result, exports and imports have more than kept pace with the economy's enormous growth. Today the Federal Republic's total foreign trade is the second highest in the world. In 1963 it reached a record of \$25.6 billion (U.S.), a figure exceeded only by the U.S.A. itself.

The German economy is to a considerable extent complementary to that of Canada, which can supply many of the goods the Federal Republic needs. German-Canadian trade has consequently shown a generally rising trend since 1945. For the past ten years the Federal Republic has been Canada's fourth-ranking supplier, and, with the exception of three years, its fourth largest market; from 1956 to 1958, Germany was Canada's third largest customer. For the Federal Republic, Canada is also an important market and source of imports, though it does not occupy as high a position on the list of Germany's trading partners.

Last year Canada sold goods worth \$171 million to the Federal Republic. Wheat accounted for well over a third of this total, while other grains, aluminum, copper, asbestos, iron ore, synthetic rubber and wood pulp made up another third. During the same period Canada bought from the Federal Republic goods to a value of \$144 million. Automobiles accounted for about a quarter of that total, while the remainder was composed mainly of a wide range of highly-manufactured products. Though the balance of trade has traditionally been in Canada's favour, preliminary statistics for 1964 indicate that the gap may be narrowed, or possibly reversed, this year.

Commercial relations between Canada and the Federal Republic are governed by the GATT, under which each country grants the other most-favoured-nation treatment. Both countries firmly support the objective of reducing barriers to trade in the "Kennedy round" of tariff negotiations.

Another important aspect of the economic relations between the two countries is German investment in Canada. Since 1948, German businessmen have placed more money in Canada than in any other country except Brazil. They have established branch plants for the manufacture of a wide variety of products, such as steel tubes, photographic lenses, and hand tools, and have joined Canadian and other firms in large-scale developments in such fields as potash extraction, iron-ore mining, and pulp manufacturing. Both as individuals and as business organizations, Germans have shown considerable interest in Canadian real estate. In addition, many Canadian plants are manufacturing German-designed products under licence. To a lesser extent Canadian firms have also become engaged in manufacturing their products in Germany. In 1956 an agreement was concluded to protect businessmen active in both countries from having to pay taxes to both governments.

Canada and the Federal Republic also share the belief that less-developed countries must be helped along the road to prosperity and both have substantial development-aid programmes. Both directly and through the OECD, they exchange information and ideas in this field with a view to co-ordination of their efforts.

In 1957, the Federal Republic became the first country to sign a bilateral agreement for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy with Canada. Under this agreement, Canada and Germany have exchanged information on nuclear research and reactor development, and Canada has supplied substantial quantities of nuclear materials, chiefly in the form of uranium oxide. The main reactor of the German Nuclear Centre at Karlsruhe was modelled on the NRU reactor at Chalk River and is powered by fuel of Canadian origin.

### **Defence Co-operation**

In 1955, the Federal Republic joined Canada and 13 other countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to defend the Western world. Both countries have continued to be strong supporters of NATO as a defensive alliance and as the foundation of an enduring Atlantic community. In terms of manpower, the German contribution is second only to that of the United States. Both Canada and Germany support the idea of an integration of forces under joint NATO command, and the Federal Republic has assigned all combat-ready formations to NATO.

As part of Canada's contribution to NATO in Europe, there are stationed in Germany a reinforced brigade group of about 6,000 military personnel and two Royal Canadian Air Force wings of approximately 2,260 military. In addition, some 15,000 civilian dependents and employees are at present living in



Germany. The total number of Canadians, both military and civilian, associated with the presence of Canadian forces in Germany is, therefore, close to 24,000. In no other country does Canada maintain a defence establishment of this magnitude; two-thirds of all Canadian armed forces abroad serve in West Germany.

Apart from their professional contacts with the German armed forces, many Canadian servicemen and their families have established close personal relations with the German civilian population. In addition, many hundreds of Canadian soldiers and airmen have returned home with German wives. One of the most striking indications of these good relations was the recent granting of the Freedom of the City of Soest to the Royal Canadian Regiment — the first foreign regiment ever to be so honoured by a German city.

Canada and the Federal Republic also enjoy close relations in the field of defence production. In 1962, the two governments concluded arrangements to facilitate procurement of defense equipment by Canada in Germany and by Germany in Canada. In addition, the Canadian decision to re-equip the RCAF in Europe with the aircraft chosen by the Federal Republic for its air force, the Lockheed F-104 "Starfighter", to be built in both countries under licence, has led to close co-operation in all aspects of production. As a result, Canadian industry has been able to provide German manufacturers with aircraft component parts, as well as with ancillary equipment.

### **Immigration**

Over 200 years ago, the first German immigrants to Canada settled in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia; they were followed by numerous other settlers who established German communities in other parts of the country. The largest influx of German immigrants has taken place in the past 16 years, during which nearly 250,000 Germans have come to live in Canada. After Britain and Italy, Germany has been Canada's greatest source of immigrants since 1945. In recent years, however, there has been a sharp decline in migration from Germany, mainly as a result of the full-employment conditions and prosperity in the Federal Republic. About one million, or five per cent, of Canada's population are of German origin. After the British and French, they constitute our third largest racial group.

Since 1952, well over 100,000 Canadians have come to know the Federal Republic during their periods of duty with NATO forces. Thousands more have made their acquaintance with it on business trips, study tours or simply as tourists. For some years the German Government has operated a tourist promotion office in Montreal. This year the Canadian Government Travel Bureau opened an office in Duesseldorf to encourage more Germans to visit Canada.

### **Cultural Relations**

Canada and the Federal Republic have no formal agreement covering cultural relations, which have, to some extent, been limited by linguistic, geographical and historical factors. The larger Canadian universities have German departments,

which teach German language and literature. They are aided in their work by the "Goethe Houses" established in Montreal and Toronto by the Goethe Institute (a semi-official organization for the encouragement of German language and culture abroad) and the German Embassy and consulates. In turn, the Universities of Marburg and Cologne and the German-Canadian Society in Hanover have established important libraries of Canadian books. The two universities have also become centres for Canadian studies in specialized fields.

Substantial numbers of Canadian students and professors have spent periods of a year or longer at German universities, frequently with the assistance of the German Government. This year, for example, on the initiative of the German authorities, a group of 150 Canadian students spent their summer vacation working in Germany and getting to know the country. A number of German scholars have obtained scholarships and fellowships in Canada from Canadian universities, the National Research Council, and various foundations. Though there is, at present, no organized or regular exchange of cultural groups, a number of German and Canadian artists have made successful tours in each other's countries. The joint communiqué issued at the close of Chancellor Erhard's visit in June noted that both governments had agreed on the desirability of increasing cultural contacts, and that discussions to this end should take place in the near future.

The importance of relations between Canada and the Federal Republic is also reflected by the number of official missions they have exchanged. Besides the Embassy in Bonn, Canada has a Consulate-General in Hamburg, a Consulate in Duesseldorf and a Military Mission in Berlin. The Federal Republic has, in addition to its Embassy in Ottawa, Consulates-General in Montreal and Toronto and Consulates in Edmonton, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Canadian citizens also act as honorary German consuls in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Kitchener, Ontario, and St. John's, Newfoundland.

During their meetings in Bonn and Ottawa, German and Canadian leaders had frank and thorough discussions about issues of common concern. As Chancellor Erhard pointed out, "bilateral problems were settled in about ten minutes", and the talks were devoted mainly to subjects of broader scope. The opportunity for a further exchange of views at the head-of-government level will be afforded by Chancellor Erhard's invitation to Mr. Pearson to visit Germany, perhaps next year, though no date has yet been fixed.

The growth of personal relations, with the expansion of the areas of common interest and a broadly similar approach to many international problems, indicates an increasing closeness in relations between the Federal Republic and Canada within the framework of a flourishing transatlantic partnership.

# *Canada's Bilateral Grant Aid Programmes*

*The following are extracts from the report on Canada's bilateral programmes of grant assistance to less-developed countries, submitted by Mr. H. O. Moran, the Director-General of the External Aid Office, to the Standing Committee on External Affairs of the House of Commons in July 1964. The report is a survey of Canada's various bilateral programmes and does not, therefore, deal with the sizeable Canadian contributions to multilateral programmes under the United Nations and related organizations.*

## **Introduction**

This report describes activities under Canada's various bilateral programmes of grant assistance to developing countries. Funds voted by Parliament for these programmes, for which the External Aid Office is responsible, are as follows:

<i>Programme</i>	<i>Estimates 1963-1964</i>
Colombo Plan	\$41,500,000
Special Commonwealth Africa Aid Programme	3,500,000
Commonwealth Caribbean Programme	2,100,000
Educational Programme for French-Speaking African States	300,000
Technical Assistance for other Commonwealth Countries	20,000
Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan	1,000,000

A number of trends are evident in Canada's aid operations. A major feature has been a sharp increase in technical assistance, including a much greater emphasis on educational assistance, particularly in the newly-independent African countries, which place high priority on a rapid expansion of their educational facilities. As an illustration of the increase in this kind of aid, it may be noted that, whereas only about a dozen teachers were sent abroad in 1960, during the academic year 1963-64 some 187 Canadian teachers, educational advisers and university staff were serving in the developing countries. During the academic year 1964-65, this number is expected to climb to over 300. Details of educational projects are set out in the sections of this report dealing with specific programmes.

An increasingly important part of Canadian educational assistance is the assignment of professors to the universities in the developing countries. As more students in these countries graduate from secondary schools and seek entrance to universities, the provision of additional university facilities becomes more urgent. If this expansion is to take place at a satisfactory rate, the developing



countries must have outside support, and an increasing number of requests for university staff is now being directed to Canada. In response to these requests during the last academic year, 29 Canadians were sent to serve in universities in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean area. It is expected that this number will double during the next academic year.

Some university professors have been sent abroad on the basis of individual contracts or seconding arrangements with the External Aid Office. Others have been sent as members of teams by their universities, under a general contractual agreement between these universities and the External Aid Office. Two such arrangements have already been made. The first was with the University of British Columbia in 1961, to establish courses in accounting and business administration in the Kuala Lumpur and Singapore divisions of the University of Malaysia. A similar arrangement was made with the University of Toronto in 1963, to assist with the development of a Regional Engineering College at Mangalore in India. In most cases, those who are assigned to universities overseas are pioneering the establishment of new faculties. For example, during the coming year Canada will help to establish a Faculty of Education in the University of Lagos in Nigeria. In Rwanda, Canada is supporting the establishment of a national university at Butare; eight Canadians are engaged on this project, which is under the supervision of the Reverend Father Levesque.

By combining capital and technical assistance, Canada has also helped to construct, equip and staff a number of educational institutions abroad. In Malaysia, for example, Canada has provided staff and equipment for a teacher-training college and has undertaken an extensive programme of supplying technical education equipment for many schools across the country. In the Caribbean, Canada has constructed a university residence in Trinidad, is building four schools in the Leeward and Windward Islands, and is supplying educational equipment to Jamaica. In Africa, Canada is building a trades-training centre in Ghana and a secondary school in Sierra Leone, helping to develop a technical college in Tanganyika, supplying handicraft-training equipment to Uganda, and providing audio-visual educational equipment to nine Francophone countries.

In addition to assistance in the academic fields, some 73 Canadian technical advisers were serving in the developing countries under Canadian aid programmes as of March 31, 1964. These advisers were working in a number of fields such as agriculture, fisheries, forestry and mineralogy. Most of them were instructing local personnel, and thus helping to increase the supply of skilled and trained manpower so vital to all the developing countries.

Technical assistance also includes bringing students to Canada for training, and this too has substantially increased in recent years. During the past three calendar years the number of persons trained in Canada with aid funds has doubled, climbing from 711 in 1960 to 1423 in 1963. Again, the fields of training range all the way from accountancy to zoology.

As described in the following sections, the projects range in size from very

large to very small. Canada is continuing with the third phase of the massive Kundah hydro-electric project in South India, the total Canadian contribution to which will be about \$43 million. In recent years particularly, however, Canada has been undertaking a number of less spectacular but equally vital projects. These include crop-spraying in Pakistan to improve agricultural production, testing a new hardboard process invented by Burma to use local bamboo, training local personnel by means of a forest inventory in Kenya, and drilling freshwater wells in the West Indies. Though such projects as these do not often make the headlines, they constitute a very important and effective form of development assistance.

Because Canada attaches great importance to the principle of self-help, most projects are undertaken only on the understanding that the recipient country will also contribute to their success. In other words, aid projects are considered to be joint efforts, in which Canada and the recipient countries participate according to their ability. The local government is normally expected to meet all local currency costs of capital projects, including local labour and local materials, and at the same time is required to make personnel available who can be trained during the carrying out of the project so that they can later operate it properly. The total financial contribution agreed to by recipients for the projects now in progress is slightly higher than the total Canadian contribution agreed on. The proportion does, of course, vary from project to project, depending on the nature of the project and local capabilities. The Indian share of the Kundah project, for example, will be \$80 million, or nearly double the Canadian share, since much local labour and local material are involved. On the other hand, a project such as the Sukkur thermal-power plant in Pakistan involves a large amount of imported machinery; here the Canadian contribution is some \$12.5 million, compared to a Pakistani contribution of \$9 million.

Besides supporting the United Nations in its many multilateral programmes, Canada works closely with other international institutions designed to effect co-ordination of the bilateral programmes of donor countries. Today, aid has become a joint international undertaking in which nearly all the industrialized countries have agreed on common objectives and a concerted, integrated approach to problems. Under the aegis of the World Bank, for example, regular meetings are held of consortia and consultative groups for countries such as India, Pakistan and Nigeria, at which members can make a common assessment of the development needs of individual countries and can work together in the most effective way to meet those needs. The Development Assistance Committee of the OECD is now probably the most important of the co-ordinating international forums; its members, which include most Western European countries, the United States, Japan and Canada, account for about 98 per cent of the total flow of aid from the free world. Canada's aid programmes, like those of all other members, are subject to close scrutiny and review in the DAC, and Canada has both contributed to and benefited from the pooling of experience.

The external Aid Office also co-operates closely with many voluntary agencies in Canada providing assistance to developing countries. Some of these agencies are sending abroad large numbers of Canadians who wish to make a personal contribution to the welfare of less fortunate peoples. Other organizations have arranged for the collection and transmission of books and equipment. Still others bring students to Canada for training.

### **1964-1965 Programme**

On November 14, 1963, the Government announced that, beginning in 1964-1965, Canada would be expanding its external aid programmes. The increase will occur mainly through the institution of a new Special Development Loan programme on terms comparable to those of the International Development Association. Provision for this programme at a level of \$50 million in 1964-65 has been made in the supplementary estimates. Canada's bilateral grant aid programmes and its grant contributions to the multilateral aid programmes of the United Nations and related agencies are provided for in the main estimates. They total \$85.182 million, compared to \$57.624 million in 1963-1964, or an increase of nearly 50 per cent. In addition, under existing Canadian legislation, the Canadian contribution to the International Development Association in 1964-1965 is expected to be about \$8 million. For purposes of international comparison, long-term loans at commercial rates of interest are also generally included as aid, and for this reason Canadian financing under Section 21A of the Export Credits Insurance Act is included in international figures. New commitments of such export credits this year are expected to total about \$90 million.

A Canadian effort of the nature and size described above will result not only in significantly expanded Canadian aid operations in 1964-1965 but also in a programme the terms of which will be more favourable than those of most other donor countries. The proportion of grants is high, while the terms of the special development loans will be as soft as those provided by any national or international agency. The Canadian aid programme has been designed to meet the needs of the developing countries, both by placing a minimum of burden on their debt-servicing obligations and by providing the types of assistance most urgently required.

### **The Colombo Plan**

The Colombo Plan for Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia, of which Canada was a founding member, marked its twelfth anniversary in 1963. The Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting held in Bangkok, Thailand, in November 1963, noted in its annual report that there had been general economic progress in the area the previous year, though the performance of individual countries had been uneven. Changes in national *per capita* incomes



ranged from increases of up to 5 per cent to actual decline in a few cases. It was acknowledged that international co-operation through the provision of capital and technical assistance, amounting to \$1,820 million during the year, continued to play an important role in the development process, and that the task ahead for all members of the Plan, in raising standards of living, remained great.

Since 1951, and including the fiscal year 1963-64, Canadian contributions under the Plan have amounted to \$464.7 million. The chief recipients of Canadian aid under the Colombo Plan have been the Commonwealth countries of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Malaysia, which have accounted for over 90 per cent of Canadian expenditures. Non-Commonwealth countries in the area, however, such as Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, the Philippines, Thailand and South Vietnam, have been given considerable assistance. All Canadian assistance under the Colombo Plan, as with other bilateral aid programmes undertaken by Canada, takes the form of grant aid.

### **Burma**

The total value of assistance, including technical assistance, to Burma from 1950 to the end of the fiscal year 1963-64 was \$5,249,000.

The Thaketa Bridge over the Pazundaung River at Rangoon, which was begun in 1962, is scheduled to be completed in 1965. The Canadian contribution of \$1,440,000 toward this project includes Canadian steel, construction materials, bridge machinery and some construction equipment, as well as the services of engineers. Burma has allocated \$1,730,000 in counterpart funds derived from sales of Canadian wheat provided earlier under the Plan. Burmese engineers were brought to Canada to work with Canadian engineers during the design stage as part of a training programme associated with this project.



*Canadian radio-therapy supervisor, Rangoon*

py unit previously given to Burma and training Burmese technicians in its operation.

A project involving the testing of a Burmese hardboard-manufacturing process, started in 1962-63, has been completed, as have a number of smaller projects.

Since 1951, \$2,300,000 in commodity assistance has been given to Burma in the form of wheat and flour. In 1963-64 the value of commodity assistance was \$325,000.

As of March 31, 1964, 20 Burmese students were studying in Canada under the Plan. One Canadian adviser continued to serve at the Rangoon General Hospital, treating cancer patients with the Canadian cobalt-thera-

## **Cambodia**

Assistance to Cambodia, which has been mainly technical, has totalled \$484,000 since the inception of the Colombo Plan.

During 1963-64, 19 training programmes were arranged in Canada for Cambodian scholars. Most of the Cambodians studying in Canada under the Colombo Plan are in engineering courses at Laval University and the École Polytechnique in Montreal, although there are also Cambodian students enrolled at the Institut de technologie in Trois-Rivières, the University of Montreal and MacDonald College in Montreal.

## **Ceylon**

To the end of the fiscal year 1963-64, Ceylon had received from Canada, under the Colombo Plan, assistance for economic development amounting to a total of \$25,676,000.

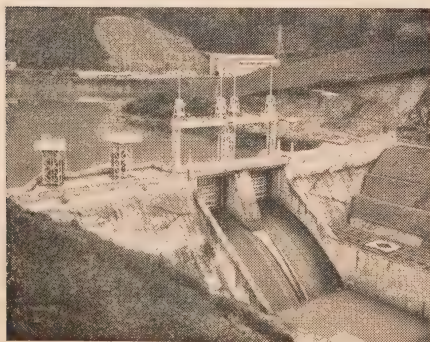
Over the last few years, Canada assisted Ceylon through the carrying out of an aerial and geological survey and through the construction of capital projects such as a fish-refrigeration plant and the expansion of power-producing facilities. During 1963-64 Canada agreed to assist Ceylon with the extension of the Katuanayake airport and the expansion of the Mutwal fish-refrigeration plant, which was built earlier as a Canadian Colombo Plan project.

In 1963-64 flour to a value of \$1 million was given to Ceylon under the commodity-assistance programme, raising the total for this commodity to \$9,500,000.

There were seven Ceylonese trainees studying in Canada under the Colombo Plan during 1963-64, including a social worker, a community planner and an agricultural economist.

## **India**

Total Canadian assistance to India under the Colombo Plan to the end of the fiscal year 1963-64 was \$238,956,000.



*Kundah Dam, India*

In the South Indian state of Madras, Canadian and Indian engineers continued during 1963-64 to work on the third stage of the Kundah hydroelectric project, which will provide an additional 240,000 kilowatts of electrical generating capacity for the area. Canada's contribution in services, equipment and other materials for this third stage will total some \$24 million over a five-year period.

During 1963-64 Canada agreed:

- (a) to expand the Umtru hydro-electric power plant in the state of Assam;
- (b) to provide Indian hospitals with cobalt-therapy units for the treatment of cancer;
- (c) to supply power-transmission equipment for the expansion of the country's electrical facilities;
- (d) to assist India with the development of the Idikki hydro-electric power project.

A summary of the Canadian 1963-64 capital and commodity assistance programme is as follows:

Umtru power project	\$ 650,000
Idikki power project	3,000,000
Gamma cell units	60,000
Cobalt-therapy units	200,000
Power-transmission equipment	2,800,000

### Commodities

Wheat	\$1,500,000	
Copper	3,000,000	
Aluminum	3,000,000	
Zinc	2,150,000	
Asbestos	2,000,000	
Nickel	500,000	\$12,150,000
		<hr/>
	Total	\$18,860,000

In 1963-64 three Canadian university professors were assigned to India to assist with the establishment of the Regional Engineering College in Mangalore. A metallurgist and a mining superintendent in the Bureau of Mines at Nagpur and a professor of mining engineering at the Indian Institute of Technology in Khuragapur are continuing their work.

Engineers, scientists, medical doctors and nurses were included among the 100 Indian trainees studying in Canada during the year under the Colombo Plan. Also included were 44 technicians and engineers studying steel production and methods at a Canadian steel mill.

### Indonesia

Since 1950, Canada's total aid to Indonesia has been \$4,496,000. In 1963-64, \$325,000-worth of flour was made available, bringing the amount of this commodity assistance to \$2,200,000 since 1950.

Among the 42 Indonesian trainees studying in Canada in 1963-64, the largest groups included undergraduate students in science, engineering, and medicine. Others included students of public administration and school inspectors.



## Malaysia (Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah)

Since the Colombo Plan began, aid funds totalling \$12,556,000 have been made available to Malaysia by Canada. More than \$8 million of this amount has been in capital assistance, and the rest in technical assistance. No commodity assistance has been provided. During the year the installation was completed of eight refrigerated storage depots for the East-Coast Fisheries in Malaysia. A study to determine the potential pulp-and-paper production capacities of the country was also completed. The Malaysian National Television project, for which Canada is providing consulting engineering services, as well as technical assistance, progressed satisfactorily and is scheduled to be completed later this year.

During 1963-64, 47 Canadian teachers and advisers served in Malaysia, a larger number than in any other Colombo Plan country. At the University of Malaysia a team of Canadian university professors who arrived in 1961 continued to help in the establishment of a School of Business Administration. This project, which also involves Malaysians training in Canada as replacements for the Canadian staff, is being carried out by the University of British Columbia under contract with the External Aid Office.



*Technical Teachers Training College, Kuala Lumpur*

Canada has undertaken to help Malaysia establish a training college for technical teachers at Kuala Lumpur. The team of teachers from Manitoba who were sent to Malaysia early in 1962 for this purpose will be maintained or replaced as required until the Malaysians are able to staff the school with qualified personnel. Canada has also provided equipment for this college.

Canadian advisers served in a number of other fields as well. A medical team consisting of four doctors and a nurse worked in Malaysia during the year. An economic adviser in industrial economics completed his one-year assignment and returned to Canada in March 1963. Other advisers included a

Canadian transport economist, a soil surveyor, and teaching specialists.

The number of Malaysian trainees brought to Canada increased from 83 in the previous fiscal year to 134 in the period under review. As before, scholarships and fellowships were made available to undergraduate students in sciences, engineering, and medicine, and to audio-visual aid instructors, co-operative officers, trade-union officials, and two prospective instructors for the Malaysia Technical Teacher Training College.

**Pakistan**

In 1962-63 Canada agreed to assist Pakistan with two major transmission-line systems, a hardboard plant and a feasibility study of the Sangu power and irrigation project. By the end of the year under review, the Sangu project had been completed, as well as the engineering design of the transmission lines and the hardboard plant. Construction of the three projects has been started and is scheduled to be completed by early 1966. Several new projects were accepted for Canadian participation in 1963-64. They include:

- (a) a land use study of the Chittagong Hill Tract region in East Pakistan;
- (b) equipment for a hospital in Rawalpindi, West Pakistan;
- (c) equipment for the Pakistan fishing industry.

A summary follows of the Canadian 1963-64 Colombo Plan for Pakistan (including the use of funds carried over from the previous year):

Bheramara-Goalpara transmission line	\$ 1,000,000
Comilla-Sylhet transmission line	2,500,000
Hardboard development project	900,000
Sangu multi-purpose scheme	150,000
Refugee housing project	1,000,000
Aircraft and spraying equipment	400,000
IBM equipment for Atomic Energy Commission	250,000

**Commodities**

Wheat	\$ 750,000
Pesticides	700,000
Fertilizer	4,000,000
Woodpulp	1,300,000
Copper	1,500,000
Aluminum	1,800,000
Total	\$16,250,000

Training programmes for 79 Pakistani students were arranged during the year. Study and observations programmes were provided for a wide range of subjects including science, engineering, farm management, patent laws and medicine. Among the Canadian advisers in Pakistan in 1963-64 were an adviser on the problems of machine accounting, an agriculture agronomist, a plant pathologist, and a teacher of cost accounting for the Pakistan Institute of Industrial Accountants.

**South Vietnam**

Canada's total allocation to South Vietnam under the Colombo Plan, to the end of the present fiscal year, was \$1,998,000. This has been predominantly in the form of technical assistance, though \$640,000-worth of wheat flour has also been made available. In 1963-64 there were 93 South Vietnamese students at French-

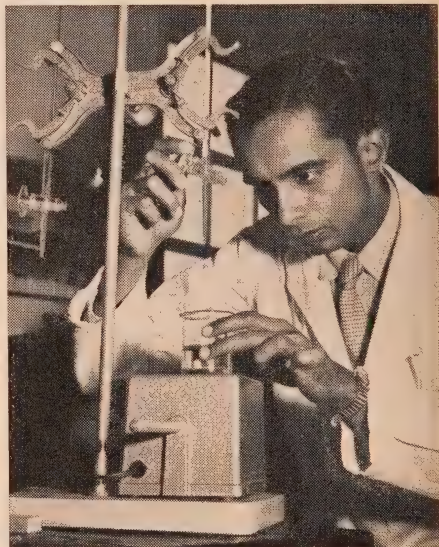
language universities in Canada, 14 of whom arrived during the year under review.

### **Laos, Nepal, Philippines, and Thailand**

The Canadian contribution under the Colombo Plan to these countries has been almost exclusively in the form of technical assistance. Total funds used for this purpose in these countries to the end of March 31, 1964, amounted to \$1,175,000. As of March 31, 1964, there were in Canada under Colombo Plan arrangements two students from Nepal, 22 from the Philippines, and 25 from Thailand. Three Canadian teachers were serving in Laos, one teacher in the Philippines, and one neurologist in Thailand.

### **1964-65 Programme**

Economic assistance to countries of the Colombo Plan will be increasing in 1964-65 under the terms of the expanded Canadian aid programme. A number of projects already under way will be continued or completed during the present fiscal year; larger allocations of funds, in both grants and special development loans, will make possible the undertaking of many new projects. The separate food-aid programme will permit a restoration of wheat and flour shipments to Colombo Plan countries at the same levels as in 1961-62. In technical assistance, present commitments indicate an increase in the number of students to be brought to Canada; 684 Colombo Plan students are expected in 1964-65, compared to 564 in 1963-64.



*Indian trainee at the University of British Columbia*

### **Commonwealth Caribbean Programme**

Because of its substantial interests in the Commonwealth territories of the West Indies, Canada agreed to carry out certain projects in these islands.

After the original undertaking of a \$10-million, five-year programme expired on March 31, 1963, the Government agreed that Canadian aid to the West Indies area should continue to be maintained at the same average level as in preceding years. Accordingly, Parliament was asked to provide \$2.1 million for Canadian aid to the Commonwealth countries and territories of the Caribbean area in 1963-64.



At present, Canadian capital assistance is being given in connection with a variety of projects:

- (a) The deep-water wharf and warehouse project for the island of St. Vincent, to which Canada contributed \$1 million, was completed early in 1964.
- (b) A university residence in Trinidad was completed late in 1963, at a cost to Canada of \$700,000.
- (c) Port handling equipment for the islands of Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica and St. Kitts, costing \$450,000, was delivered early in 1964.



*Model of primary school for Grenada*



*Saguenay Steamship vessel at St. Vincent dock*

- (d) Construction has begun on schools for the islands of Grenada, Antigua, and Dominica, and on port warehouses for the islands of St. Lucia and St. Kitts. The Canadian cost is estimated at nearly \$1.5 million.
- (e) In the fresh-water wells project for the islands of St. Kitts, Nevis,

Anguilla and Montserrat, Phase I has been completed, at a cost of about \$400,000. Storage and distribution facilities are now being installed.

- (f) An aircraft-guiding system, costing Canada some \$150,000, is at present being installed at Piarco Airport in Trinidad to make air traffic possible during periods of poor visibility.
- (g) A fishing vessel costing \$50,000 is being purchased for Jamaica to help in the development of its fishing industry.
- (h) Other projects recently completed include the provision of technical education equipment for Jamaica and St. Kitts, construction equipment for British Guiana, and survey equipment for British Honduras.

In addition to this project assistance, Canada has provided substantial technical assistance. Since the programme began, 64 advisers and teachers have been sent to the Commonwealth Caribbean, 25 of whom were still on assignments on March 31, 1964. Most of them are teachers or teacher trainers in subjects such as mathematics, chemistry, physics, and industrial arts. In British Honduras, Canada has been maintaining a land-surveying team to help develop new areas of the country.

On the training side, 123 students have been brought to Canada for instruction in both academic and practical subjects. Of these, 64 were still in Canada on

March 31, 1964. Their training ranged through public administration, medicine, forestry, agriculture, fisheries, engineering and other subjects.

### **1964-1965 Programme**

The Government has announced its intention of instituting a more comprehensive and sizeable programme for the Commonwealth Caribbean in the fiscal year 1964-65. Some of the above-mentioned capital projects are being carried into the present fiscal year and the technical-assistance programme will continue to expand. Detailed discussions are now taking place with the governments of the countries concerned, and a large number of additional projects are under study, particularly for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

## **Special Commonwealth Africa Aid Programme**

In the autumn of 1960, the Canadian Government undertook to contribute \$10.5 million to a Special Commonwealth Africa Aid Programme over a three-year period beginning April 1, 1961. This programme, known as SCAAP, is a counterpart in Africa of the Colombo Plan in Asia, though SCAAP is entirely a Commonwealth scheme. All the Commonwealth areas of Africa, independent countries and dependent territories alike, qualify for assistance under SCAAP. Though it has been the Canadian practice to concentrate assistance in the independent Commonwealth countries of Africa, limited amounts of assistance have been given to the smaller dependent territories.

Because of the need of the African countries for trained manpower, a large part of the Canadian aid effort has been in the field of education. During 1963-64 a total of 127 Canadian secondary-school teachers, teacher trainers and university professors were serving in Commonwealth Africa. Two major educational projects — the construction of a Trades Training Centre in Ghana and a Boys' Secondary School in Sierra Leone — will combine capital assistance with technical assistance.

A number of Canadian advisers and experts have been working with Africans in other fields, such as agriculture, fisheries, mineral development, pest control and statistics. The largest single capital-assistance project is an aerial-survey and topographic-mapping project in Nigeria costing \$1.85 million. Canada is also carrying out a forest inventory in Kenya, and has provided a variety of vehicles and equipment to Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar.

### **Basutoland**

At the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Swaziland, one Canadian lecturer in co-operatives and adult education was maintained from SCAAP funds during 1963-64. Seventeen students from Basutoland were studying in Canada during the same period.

## **Bechuanaland**

One Canadian adviser, a nursing tutor, served in Bechuanaland during the year, and there was one student from that country on a training award in Canada.

## **Gambia**

One Canadian teacher trainer was on assignment in Gambia in 1963-64.

## **Ghana**

During 1963-64, three capital-assistance projects were under way. Additional agricultural equipment was provided to the Agricultural and Community Development Project at Damongo in Northern Ghana. Work continued on the Trades Training Centre at Accra, in the establishment of which Canada is participating by providing architectural services, pre-fabricated Canadian building materials, workshop equipment, instructional staff, and training for Ghanaian staff members. Construction began in April 1964 and is expected to be complete toward the end of 1965. The third project was a chemical analysis of the properties of cocoa leaves and beans, which was carried out at a Canadian laboratory.

There were 41 teachers and university professors serving in Ghana during the year and 32 technical advisers. The advisers included entomologists and entomology technicians, television instructors, doctors, a social-welfare adviser, two economic-planning economists, a radio-isotope research technician, and advisers in road transport, irrigation and land reclamation.

Forty-seven Ghanaian students arrived in Canada in 1963-64. The total number under SCAAP in this country at the end of the fiscal year was 57. In all, 82 Ghanaians were on SCAAP training awards in Canada during the year.

## **Kenya**

The forest-inventory and training programme, begun in January 1963, continued during the fiscal year under review. Two Canadian firms are carrying out this work under contract with the External Aid Office. The initial phase was completed by the end of May 1964.

There were seven Canadian teachers in Kenya during the past year and seven advisers, of whom five were foresters. Sixteen students from Kenya were in Canada during 1963-64 in forestry, public health, pharmacy, engineering and co-operatives courses. Two had arrived in 1962-63.

## **Mauritius**

One Canadian adviser in fish technology served in Mauritius in 1963-64 and there were two Canadian teacher trainers. One student from Mauritius was training in Canada during the year.

## **Nigeria**

Work on an aerial-mapping and airborne geophysics survey is being carried out



under contract by two Canadian companies, and is expected to cost \$1.85 million. The Nigerian Government is co-operating in this project by providing local transportation and accommodation for the Canadian personnel.

A smaller project, the provision of data-processing equipment for the Nigerian Meteorological Service, was completed during the year. As part of this project, two Nigerians were trained in Canada by the Meteorological Service of the Department of Transport, and a Canadian adviser was sent to Nigeria. Technical co-operation under this project is continuing.

Canada has agreed to undertake a study of the development and use of natural-gas resources in Nigeria. Work began during the year and is expected to be completed early in 1964-65.

Twenty-eight Nigerians arrived in Canada during the year to study education, nursing, fisheries and engineering. During the year 43 Nigerians were on training awards in Canada.

### **Northern Rhodesia (Zambia)**

Four Northern Rhodesians received training in Canada during 1963-64.

### **Nyasaland**

In 1963-64 three students from Nyasaland (which on July 6, 1964, became the independent state of Malawi) were on training courses in Canada.

### **Sierra Leone**

Two Canadian teachers were sent to Sierra Leone in 1963-64, to bring the total there during the year to four. Five trainees were brought to Canada during the year, making a total of 28. Most trainees were studying at university level, and their courses included medicine, economics, agriculture and engineering.

Design work continued on the construction of a secondary school for boys at Koyeima, for which Canada has agreed to supply architectural services, pre-fabricated building materials, some equipment and staff.

### **Swaziland**

Two trainees from Swaziland were studying in Canada during the year under review.

### **Tanganyika**

Canada supplied a variety of vehicles and equipment to Tanganyika during the year, including ten cinema vans for the Tanganyikan Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development, road-building equipment and trucks for the Ministry of Forestry, and general-purpose vehicles for various development purposes.

Six Canadian teachers arrived in Tanganyika during the year, to bring the total number of teachers and university staff serving there to 15. Three advisers, on game-biology, legal-drafting and aerial-mapping assignments, served in Tan-

ganyika. Five Tanganyikan trainees were studying in Canada on engineering and public-administration courses.

## Uganda

During the year Canada provided the Uganda Geological Survey with a number of trucks and four-wheel drive vehicles, as well as precision instruments for use in a national geological survey. Canada also supplied staff for this survey. In addition, Canada agreed to supply handicrafts equipment for 100 junior secondary schools and a gill-netter fishing boat to the Ministry of Fisheries.



*Presentation of gill-netter boat, Entebbe.*

During the year there were in Uganda nine Canadian advisers, of whom five were geologists. Seven Canadian teachers, four of whom arrived during the year, served in Uganda in 1963-64. Eight Ugandans on SCAAP training awards in Canada followed studies in agriculture, co-operatives, engineering and commerce.

## Zanzibar

During 1963-64 Canada supplied Zanzibar with three ambulances. Though Canada has so far supplied no advisers or teachers to Zanzibar, one student from Zanzibar was in Canada during the year.

## 1964-65 Programme

Many of the capital-assistance projects begun in previous fiscal years are continuing in 1964-65. These include the aerial-mapping and airborne geophysics survey in Nigeria, the forest inventory in Kenya (for which an extension was approved in April 1964), the construction of educational institutions in Ghana and Sierra Leone, and the supply of equipment in Ghana and Uganda. In addition, a number of new projects are under consideration, including an extension of the aerial-mapping project in Nigeria, a mapping project in Southeast Tanganyika, an airborne geophysics survey in Kenya, and the equipping and staffing of a technical college in Tanganyika. Some of these new projects may begin during the current fiscal year.

Expenditures on technical assistance, which in 1963-64 amounted to \$2.256 million, are expected to increase substantially during 1964-65. In 1962-63, expenditures on technical assistance were \$1.418 million. During 1963-64, 127 Canadian teachers and university staff members, and 59 technical advisers, served in Africa under SCAAP. These figures compare with 89 and 36, respectively, in 1962-63. The number of training-award holders in Canada rose from 145 in 1962-63 to 211.

## Assistance to French-Speaking African States

Canada provides assistance under the Colombo Plan not only to French-speaking areas in Asia but also to the independent French-speaking states of Africa. Under this programme, which began in April 1961, \$300,000 a year has been given for educational assistance. The provision of Canadian teachers for Africa has continued to be the main emphasis in the programme. So far 31 secondary-school teachers and university-staff members have been sent to Africa, of whom 20 are still on assignment. These educational advisers were assigned to Cameroun (12), Rwanda (7), Mali (4), Congo (Brazzaville) (3), Togo (3), Morocco (1), and Senegal (1). Details of the programmes in individual countries are set out in the following paragraphs.

### Cameroun

During 1963-64, 11 Canadian secondary-school teachers served in Cameroun. One student from Cameroun underwent training in Canada in broadcasting.

Canada also supplied Cameroun with a film van and six sets of film-projection equipment during the year.

### Central African Republic



*Presentation of a film van*

In 1963-64 Canada supplied the Central African Republic with one film van and four sets of projection equipment.

### Congo (Brazzaville)

Two Canadian teachers were on assignment in the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) during the year and one student from that country received a training award to attend a Canadian university.

Canada supplied a film van and five sets of projection equipment to the Congo.

### Dahomey

No Canadian teachers have so far served in Dahomey and no Dahomians have studied in Canada under the programme. Canada supplied a film van and film-projection equipment during 1963-64.

### Ivory Coast

During the year Canada agreed to supply four sets of film-projection equipment to the Ivory Coast, which will be delivered during 1964-65.



## **Mali**

During 1963-64, four Canadian teachers were on assignment in Mali, three of whom are still there.

## **Morocco**

One Canadian university professor was on assignment in Morocco during the year and one Moroccan on an engineering course in Canada.

In addition, Canada provided Morocco with a film van and film-projection equipment.

## **Niger**

No Canadian teachers have so far served in Niger, but during the year a trainee from Niger underwent a course in film production at the National Film Board. In addition, Canada supplied two film vans and projection equipment to the Niger Republic.

## **Rwanda**

One of the major projects under this programme is the assistance being provided to Rwanda in establishing its National University at Butare. The Government of Rwanda nominated a Canadian, the Very Reverend Father Georges-Henri Levesque, as Rector of this university, to plan its establishment and guide it during its formative years. During 1963-64 the Canadian Government met the costs involved in supplying eight members of the staff of the university, including Father Levesque, and it is considering a number of other proposals for development of the university's facilities.

## **Togo**

Three Canadian teachers were on assignment in Togo during the year; one is still there. Canada also agreed to supply Togo with film-projection equipment, which will be delivered in 1964-65.

## **Upper Volta**

Canada agreed to supply three sets of film-projection equipment to Upper Volta. No Canadian teachers have yet served in Upper Volta, and there have been no trainees from that country in Canada.

## **1964-1965 Programme**

In the context of the expanded development programme for Francophone Africa announced in November 1963 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, it is expected that 1964-65 will see a marked increase in the levels of expenditure for technical assistance, which in 1963-64 amounted to over \$295,000. This will involve more Canadian teachers and advisers serving in the area and more students in training in Canada. New projects in the capital-assistance field are also envisaged.

By the end of September 1964, over 50 Canadian teachers and university staff are expected to be on assignment in ten French-speaking African states: Cameroun, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Morocco, Rwanda, and Togo. At present, requests for advisers in a variety of fields are being considered for Tunisia, Guinea, the Central African Republic, Algeria, Morocco and Cameroun. Canadian assistance for the University of Rwanda is scheduled to be significantly augmented. Canada is at present discussing with UNESCO the possibility of embarking on co-operative projects in Senegal, Dahomey and a number of other French-speaking African states. Many of these projects will involve the provision of Canadian advisers and equipment.

### **Commonwealth Technical Assistance Programme for other Commonwealth Countries**

This appropriation was initiated in 1958 for the purpose of giving Canadian technical assistance to those Commonwealth countries not included in Canada's other bilateral aid programmes, such as the Colombo Plan. As separate programmes were initiated for Africa and the Caribbean, this programme has dwindled in size. In 1963-64, only Hong Kong received assistance under it, the appropriation being \$20,000. One Canadian adviser in social work served in Hong Kong and two students received training in Canada during the year.

### **Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan**

The Plan provides opportunities for Commonwealth students to pursue advanced courses of study in other Commonwealth countries, and is intended for men and women of high intellectual promise who may be expected to make a significant contribution to their own countries on their return from abroad.

When the Plan was conceived in 1958-59, it was agreed that 1,000 scholarships would be made available, of which Britain was to provide half and Canada a quarter. The sum of \$1,200,000 will be required in 1964-65 to meet this Canadian commitment.

In Canada the Plan is implemented by the External Aid Office, in conjunction with the Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Committee and the Canadian Universities Foundation.

During 1964-65 it is expected that 250 students will be on scholarships in Canada, an increase of 20 over last year's number.

In the first four years of this Plan's operation, 127 Canadians were awarded scholarships for study abroad. Approximately 70 more Canadians will take up scholarships during the fifth year.

## *Visit to Northern Cameroun\**

THE CAMEROUN is two countries. The south, still covered by tropical rainforest, is known for its coffee, cocoa and banana plantations and is inhabited by a largely Christianized population which has been much influenced by European civilizations. The north, in contrast, is a dry open land peopled by the pastoral Moslem Peuls and by the largely pagan Kirdi tribes. It is an area in which tribes still live as they did centuries ago and where old customs prevail.

It was from the rainforest belt, from Yaoundé, capital of the Federal Republic of Cameroun, that this trip began, taking the writer as far north as the fringes of the Sahara at Fort Lamy and the shores of Lake Chad. The season for travelling north is limited to the dry period between December and April when roads are generally passable, for in the rainy season a vast plain south of Fort Lamy is flooded by the Chari and Logone rivers, forming a huge extension to Lake Chad.

From Yaoundé we drove north in a Land Rover to Bertoua, and on the second day we covered 350 miles over rough red laterite roads from Bertoua to the Adamaoua plateau and the city of Ngaoundéré. We were up early the next morning to see the Lamido of Ngaoundéré pay a formal call on the Prefect (the district governor). The Lamibés are Moslem chieftains who are almost feudal lords, rarely leaving their compounds (sarés). When a lamido does issue forth, he is preceded by his court, sometimes numbering several hundred warriors, musicians, notables, counsellors and slaves. The Lamido, in addition to possessing the four wives permitted by Islamic law, often possesses many concubines who cultivate the soil and do most of the heavy work. The Lamido is an autocrat, at the same time a military and a religious chief, who not only dispenses justice but also collects taxes, and who theoretically has the power of life and death over his subjects.

We had stationed ourselves at the entrance to his saré and saw his procession emerge. First came the warriors dressed in multi-coloured robes, armed with spears and bows and arrows and swords of local manufacture and mounted on some of the magnificent horses raised in the Cameroun. The warriors wore leather leggings, fitting closely over the foot but with a cleft left between the big toe and the rest of the foot so that the rider could grip the stirrup firmly. The horses were caparisoned in bright silks, in a style reminiscent of the European Middle Ages. The orchestra followed. There was one man playing on a flute (agaïta), another blowing a 10 foot trumpet (kakaki), a third clanging a double gong and several others beating drums of various sizes. Finally, surrounded by spearmen who effectively controlled his horse, the Lamido appeared, protected from the sun by a large brilliant-hued umbrella. The Lamido was muffled in a rich saffron robe and was wearing a huge white turban. His face was covered, leaving only his eyes exposed. Behind him milled the remainder of his court.

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\*By a member of the Canadian Embassy in Yaoundé.





—INFOCAM

*A lamido and his court.*

We stood to one side and after the procession had passed, we drove by an alternate route through the Moslem city (with its mud walls and houses) back to the Prefecture in time to see the Lamido lifted carefully from his horse to the backs of his retainers and thence to the ground where he was greeted by the Prefect who escorted him into the Prefecture for the formalities of the visit. The bodyguard lounged about the steps of the building and we noticed one fierce-looking warrior who had leaned his 9-foot spear against a wall and was busy embroidering a skullcap!

From Ngaoundéré we drove on northward to a government-operated camp consisting of a boukharou — a circular stone hut with thatched roof — on the banks of the Benoué river. The camp was called “The Black Buffalo” and in fact the day before hunters staying at this camp had shot two buffalo and when we arrived the villagers were busily smoking the meat over fires. Groups of buzzards sat hunched and watchful nearby. We settled into the camp, washed off the layers of red dust coating us and opened up cans of corned beef for dinner. The next morning at dawn, we moved on to Garoua, a busy port on the Benoué where cotton is shipped down to the Niger river into Nigeria and where salt and manufactured articles are brought in by the flat-bottomed steamers which can navigate the river only during the months of high water. A few miles outside Garoua we visited the Sunday market held in a grove of trees on the edge of the village of Pitowa, with its fantastic blending of the almost-naked Fali tribesmen — pagans from the mountains nearby — with the tall dignified Foulbé with their vivid flowing robes. There were blacksmiths using primitive bellows, hammering out weapons and crude hoes. There were Moslem butchers slaughtering cattle on the spot and announcing

the opening of sale of the meat by an outburst of drums and flutes. Peanuts, millet, brightly-coloured Japanese enamel bowls, flamboyant Nigerian cotton prints, calabashes, cones of salt and heaps of pungent dried fish were being offered for sale with shrill competing cries.

Although we were in the shade, we found the heat suffocating and decided to go on towards the town of Léré, some twenty miles inside the southern borders of Chad where we had been told there was a hotel. After stops caused by two flat tires, we reached Léré and the resthouse with its superb view from a hill over the lake. It turned out, unfortunately for us, that the resthouse had no water for drinking or washing, and the restaurant had not functioned for months. We washed in the lake, tried to quench our thirst with warm soda water and opened up more tins. We did not sleep that night because in addition to the searing wind that blew mosquito nets into tatters, the villagers surrounding the resthouse were celebrating and the drums and singing and dancing went on till dawn. From Lake Léré with its herds of hippos and lamantin — a species of sea-cow — we went over one of the worst roads imaginable — a track that crossed dry riverbeds where one had to stop abruptly on the brink, change into 4-wheel drive to get down one bank, crawl cautiously across the riverbed and then creep up the opposite bank. But along this route we passed a number of people carrying huge baskets of loose cotton on their heads and so we turned off to visit a central depot where villagers from the whole area brought the cotton they had harvested. Here it was pounded into bales which would then be shipped by truck to Yaoundé, thence by rail to Douala and then by ship to France where it would be processed.



— INFOCAM

*Mounted warriors at Ngaoundéré.*





—INFOCAM

*Musicians at Ngaoundéré.*

Continuing north and crossing back into the Cameroun on a track which twisted around thorn bushes and over scrub and sand we reached Yagoua, in a marshy region, centre of the Cameroun's rice-growing industry. Here the Assistant to the Prefect put us up in a very comfortable and pleasant guesthouse and even provided us with a bowl of ice for our drinks.

The next morning we left at 6 a.m. and took breakfast along the road, cooking over a small spirit stove. It was just as well that we had started out early because about thirty miles from Yagoua we reached the Logone river and had to wait for the ferry to cross. There was a line-up of trucks on both sides of the river as well as a throng of people, chickens and goats but because light traffic is given priority we had to wait only an hour or so. In this case the ferry was a platform attached to four pontoons propelled by two diesel motors. This craft took us across the Logone into Chad again and soon we were in the town of Bongor. From Bongor we followed a road that had obviously once been paved, probably during the war. It is now almost covered over by sand since this area is a sub-Saharan region where thornbushes and thin scrub predominate. The heat was stifling and the road dusty and we had visions of the air-conditioned hotel in Fort Lamy, the capital of Chad and our next stop. We arrived in 112° heat and were quite prepared to pay \$2 for a bottle of cold water or beer.

After visiting various Ministries in Fort Lamy, we decided that it would be interesting to visit Lake Chad since the road going towards the lake had apparently been cleared. We nevertheless lost our way in the almost endless plain and bumped over dry fields that were surrounded by extremely low dykes constructed to keep the water in after the rainy season ends. Fortunately we came upon a vil-



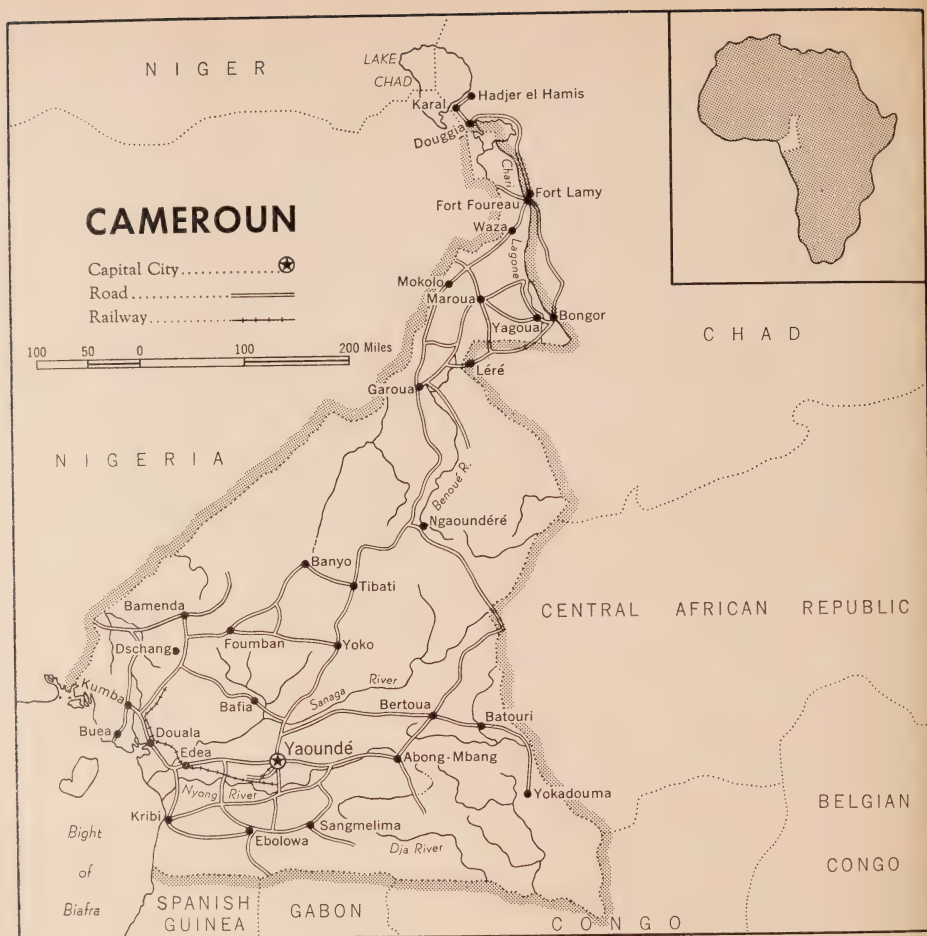
lage where a French-speaking gamewarden (everyone else speaks what is called "Arab-choix") sent someone with us to lead us back to the road. We were at least twenty miles off the track and finally reached Douggia, a village on the banks of the Chari about sixty miles from the lake, in the middle of the evening. Since darkness comes early and suddenly in Africa and in this case road signs were non-existent, we had expected to spend the night in the Land Rover. Instead we were lodged in an old-fashioned but comfortable Arab-style house built by a retired French officer, and were fed a pleasant dinner which included vegetables and fruit grown on this estate — an almost unbelievable achievement given the wild country we had just crossed.

The next morning we left at daybreak and followed a track to visit the rocks of Hadjer el Hamis on the shores of Lake Chad. Hadjer el Hamis is famous because by local tradition Mahomet ascended from these rocks to heaven and the local villagers venerate what appears to be a footprint near the summit of one of these cones. We climbed the five rocks of Hadjer el Hamis which rear up abruptly from the vast flat plain and we were able to look out over immense stretches of open water and great expanses of reeds and swamp. This was Lake Chad, teeming with wild life and exotic birds and as fabulous as one could hope. The lake itself is fantastic — in the rainy season it spreads out across three times its dry season area to flood the vast plain we had crossed.

From Hadjer el Hamis we went back towards Douggia, stopping in the town of Karal to see a feast being held by the Moslem chieftains of the area. In the middle of the open market-place the local warriors sat astride their horses in a V-shaped formation. They raised and lowered their unsheathed swords in time to the beat of a drum and a shrilling flute. In a circle within the V, the women draped in their brilliant finery shuffled rhythmically in time to the music. Every ten or twelve minutes, four or five of the horsemen would break out from the V, parade their horses to the end of the town's one street, turn, and come charging back shrieking towards the circle of women, swords and fragments of chain-mail flashing in the sun. This manoeuvre was repeated over and over again.

Karal was interesting in another way too for we were able from here to go floating on the lake in a papyrus canoe, gliding between the reeds and waterlilies and frightening the lavishly-coloured birds nesting there. We left the region reluctantly for it has a charm yet to be discovered by tourists.

We now had to head back southwards and crossing the Chari river by ferry from Fort Lamy to Fort Foureau (familiar to readers of "The Roots of Heaven") we decided to go through one of West Africa's most important game reserves, Waza, in the Cameroun. We followed a road that had been badly damaged by elephants who had left tub-sized holes in the road surface during the rainy season. After several hours of hard driving we reached Waza camp where we were put up in pleasant boukharous. Although it was as hot as in Fort Lamy, we hired a local guide called "Colonel" (his father had been in the French army) and set out to look for game. We were fortunate enough to see a herd of 75 elephants and we



abandoned the Land Rover to follow the herd at a discreet distance on foot. The next morning we set out just after dawn and saw masses of birds; then a line of ostriches skittering away in the distance; herds of antelope of different species, some with superb twisted horns; phacochères (wild pigs) with fierce tusks; a hyena which slunk away at our approach and finally a pair of lions who were startled by our Land Rover and gave us little time to observe them. But our favourites were the giraffes who roam Waza in large groups — they are surely Africa's most graceful animals.

From Waza we continued south towards Mora where a battle of the First World War was fought between native troops led on one side by the British and on the other side by the Germans. The countryside is rugged and the fighting must have been under the worst possible conditions. The market in Mora was enjoyable not only for the mixture of goods sold there but also for the wide variety of tribes represented. As always though, the smell of dried fish seemed to prevail. Heading down the route of the Centre Massif to cross the mountains to Mokolo we were in



Kirdi country — Kirdi being the collective name for the pagan tribes of this area. They are courageous and patient workers who have terraced steep stone-covered hillsides on which they grow millet, peanuts and tobacco. At one time they were almost completely isolated and kept to their hills but now they come down to the markets and send their children half a dozen miles or more to schools where they prove themselves exceptionally bright students. The Kirdi are a stubborn and proud people; no doubt the land from which they have had to scratch a living has tempered their character in this fashion. They are particularly attached to their independence and their customs and unlike the Moslem society of the plains below, the Kirdi think in terms of family or clan rather than tribe or people. From our contacts with them, they impressed us as a warm and dignified people.

South of Mokolo we paid a brief visit to the Kapsiki mountain district on the Cameroun-Nigerian frontier. This is spectacular scenery and probably the closest there is on earth to lunar scenery. From the Kapsiki we pushed on south back to Garoua and from Garoua to the government-operated Camp of the Grand Capitaine (Capitaine is the name of a pike-like fish found in the Benoué river) located in the territory controlled by the Sultan or Lamido of Rey Bouba whom we visited. After we had been admitted through the outer wall of the town of Rey Bouba and had asked for and been granted an audience with the Sultan, we were conducted through the great central gateway of the 20 feet high walls surrounding his palace (a vast mud structure) and through a corridor, lined with reclining warriors and immense mud pillars that made one think of Luxor, to the first courtyard. From here we were preceded by the Sultan's Secretary-Chamberlain to the second courtyard and led to the throneroom where we were greeted by the Sultan.



— INFOCAM

*Terraced hillsides in Kirdi country, northern Cameroun.*



The Secretary, who acted as official interpreter, remained outside the room, prostrate on the ground, never permitted by court protocol to look directly at the Sultan — who proved to be a really majestic figure. We presented the Sultan with a small gift and he — because the theory exists that all who come to the Sultan come to beg a favour — sent us away after the audience with a 20 lb. bag of peanuts and some hats woven in the town. Seeing this vestige of the Thousand and One nights was worth the whole effort we had made in going north.

From the Grand Capitaine next day we climbed to the Adamaoua plateau, reaching Ngaoundéré — which is three thousand feet up — late in the evening. It was cool and it was raining — a pleasant change after the heat of the parched north. From Ngaoundéré to Yaoundé was home territory.

During our trip through the north we met several Canadians teaching in various parts of the Cameroun and Chad. Next year there should be more in both these countries, sent under our External Aid programme. They are doing a remarkable job under difficult conditions and one must admire their dedication. They find the north a fascinating region but they point out that it is an area changing rapidly. With the building of new roads and the wide use of aeroplanes in Africa, the outside world is becoming better known and the old societies and traditions will soon vanish. Indeed it will be difficult to recognize the old north in five or ten years. The authorities recognize this and while they are anxious to modernize the country, they are also taking measures to preserve something of the rich indigenous culture.

## *Withdrawal of Canadian Contingent from the Congo*

*A rearguard of 59 Canadian soldiers left Leopoldville on the morning of June 30, 1964, bringing to an end Canada's participation in the United Nations operation in the Congo. Most of the other national contingents taking part had already left, and the operation wound up with the departure of the Canadians.*

*On the occasion of this withdrawal, the following note was received from the Secretary-General of the United Nations:*

The Secretary-General of the United Nations presents his compliments to the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations and has the honour to request him to transmit to his Government the following message:

"I have today submitted to the Security Council a report on the withdrawal of the United Nations Force in the Congo and on other aspects of the United Nations operation there. As from today, there will be no United Nations personnel of military status in the Congo for the first time since July 15, 1960. My report to the Security Council contains both a summary of recent events in the Congo in



*Members of the Canadian Signals detachment in Elisabethville leave their quarters for the airport on the first leg of the journey home.*

so far as they affect the United Nations operation and also some observations on the United Nations military effort in the Congo over the past four years.

"I wish, however, on this occasion to send a special word to those governments which have provided military contingents or personnel during the past four years to the United Nations operation in the Congo. I should like to express my appreciation to those governments for their generous contribution to this most difficult United Nations operation, a contribution which I know must at times have been far from easy for them to make. I should also wish to express through their governments to the officers and men who have served in the Congo my heartfelt gratitude and admiration for their noble efforts in the cause of peace in that deeply troubled country. In their service in the Congo they have faced many forms of difficulty and danger and have always had to exercise the severest restraint and understanding no matter how great the provocation or how ominous the risk. In performing their unusual and demanding duties in the Congo, they have been pioneers in international peace keeping and have written a new and most important chapter in the history of this art.

"Finally, I should wish to express once again to the families and friends of those who have given their lives in the Congo my deepest sympathy as well as my tribute to those who have died in the cause of peace.

"It is my earnest hope that the great efforts and sacrifices of the officers and men of the United Nations Force in the Congo, which has provided a four-year respite for the Government and people of that country from the worst results of anarchy, disorder and civil war, will also prove to have made a lasting contribution to its future peace and prosperity. May I once again express to your Government my appreciation for their contribution to the success of the United Nations Force in the Congo."



# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **The Cyprus Situation**

*The following statement was made in the House of Commons on August 10 by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin:*

The situation in Cyprus began to deteriorate rapidly on August 6, apparently as the result of a Greek Cypriot drive to close off the access to the sea and reinforcements from Turkey for the Turkish-Cypriot community in the Mansoura-Kokkina area of northwest Cyprus. Incidentally, in that area Canadian UN troops have not participated. They are located in another area. In this particular instance, the contingent of Sweden played a notable part.

As has been the case now for some months, and, of course, since the most recent developments, the Government has been in close touch with events in Cyprus, with developments at the United Nations, with the action taken by the NATO Council, with developments in Ankara and Athens and, of course, particularly with our United States and United Kingdom friends.

The Canadian High Commissioner in Nicosia has reported fully on the events as they took place in Cyprus, and I am in receipt of a report from him as of two hours ago. I may say that he has been in constant touch with the Government of Cyprus during these and other days.

On August 9, a message was delivered to Archbishop Makarios from the Prime Minister of Canada expressing concern at the developments which were taking place, and urging that the fighting on the island cease and that use be made of the United Nations forces to supervise a cease-fire.

We are also, of course, in close touch with the United Nations authorities in respect of the Canadian force on the island. My colleague the Minister of National Defence has taken all necessary steps, as he announced yesterday, to ensure that the Canadian troops are prepared for any contingency; but, as he said, any decision in that regard is one that rests with the United Nations. Action with respect to the deployment of our troops would, of course, follow decisions by the United Nations.

Our Ambassador in that body has been in close contact with the Secretary-General himself and with senior United Nations officials, and I spoke this morning by telephone with the Secretary-General himself. The Security Council met on the night of August 8 and passed a resolution . . . appealing for a cease-fire. A further meeting of the Security Council was called for today at the instance of two of the parties, but I understand the Government of Greece has withdrawn its application for this meeting. It is not now probable that a meeting will take place today. A further meeting of the Security Council possibly may take place tomorrow.

I attach the greatest importance to the effectiveness of action by the Security Council, bringing to bear as it does the pressure of world opinion in favour of immediate action to prevent further violence on Cyprus. I am sure the House will share with me the view that, if it were not for the fact that the Security Council met and that there was a United Nations which made such action possible, the events of the last two days might not have taken the more favourable turn that has since developed.

Naturally I have likewise been in touch with members of the NATO Council, because two of the countries involved are members of the alliance. Yesterday the Prime Minister telephoned the President of the United States and he later had a further call on behalf of the President from the Secretary of State. I myself had a conversation later in the afternoon with Mr. Rusk.

The Canadian Chargé d'Affaires in Athens was received by the Foreign Minister of Greece on August 9, and here in Ottawa I asked the Ambassador for Greece and the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires to come and see me. I made known to them Canadian views with regard to this situation and asked both of them to urge on their Governments the need to take every precaution to avoid a continuation of the hostilities that had begun. Although I had sent a message to the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, I thought it well to supplement this by conversations with the heads of their missions in Ottawa.

Also on Friday I addressed a message to the Foreign Minister of Turkey asking him, in the name of the Government of Canada, to take every step to cause a cessation of hostilities, and particularly to hold back the air force operations of his Government. I added to that a call yesterday directly to Ankara to Mr. Erkin, the Foreign Minister, explaining our concern at the way in which the situation was developing.

Throughout this crisis we have, of course, been in constant touch with the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as the authorities of other governments. On a number of occasions we have been in close consultation with the State Department of the United States, directly and through our Ambassador in Washington. As I mentioned, this was supplemented by the important call that the Prime Minister made to the President. We have exchanged information with the President of Mexico and with the Prime Ministers of Nigeria and India.

I also spoke to the French Ambassador in Ottawa and addressed a message, as Foreign Minister for Canada, to the French Foreign Minister. The United Arab Republic Ambassador called on me on Sunday. This morning I was in close touch again with the Canadian missions concerned. I have also had the advice of M. Barrette, the Canadian Ambassador to Greece, who is in Ottawa and will shortly be returning to his post in Athens.

The reason for our concern is obvious to the House. The continuation of hostilities in Cyprus could have the gravest consequences for the effectiveness of the United Nations and its peace-keeping and mediation roles. The solidarity of NATO as a defence alliance is also being strained. It can be understood, there-

fore, that the Government has felt obliged, particularly in view of the large contingent of Canadian soldiers now serving on the island, to make certain that we were at all times fully informed about the situation and that our views, as the crisis developed, were made known quickly and effectively.

We have had three major objectives during these negotiations: to help in bringing a halt to the hostilities that have so far taken place; to preserve and if necessary strengthen the authority of the United Nations to assist in resolving the crisis; and to prevent the spread of the conflict, keeping in mind all the while the need for action which would, if possible, lead toward a longer-term solution of the pressures which produced the crises.

Yesterday afternoon the Security Council accepted a resolution, put forward by the United States and supported by the United Kingdom, asking for a cease fire. The spokesman for the Government of Turkey accepted this resolution, as did the representative of Greece and, with some reservation, the Government of Archbishop Makarios. There is a cease-fire on the island as of the last moment when I had a chance for a full report. A formal acceptance by the Greek Cypriot Government of the cease-fire has been received by the Secretary-General; and while the formal acceptance of the cease-fire has not yet been received from the Government of Turkey I was advised, just before coming into the House, by the United Nations, that this was expected momentarily.

. . . No effort was spared by the Government of Canada during these past few days to support strongly action that was being taken in many capitals of the world to avoid the possibility of a war or an extension of the conflict that had already begun on the island of Cyprus. I need not emphasize our concern in the matter, a concern I know is shared by every Member of the House and by everyone in Canada. It is a concern that arises not only because we want to see peace on the island, and not only because we believe the United Nations has an important role to play, but because we realize that an expansion of the war in that particular theatre would have the gravest consequences for the peace of the world.

It is with this thought in mind that I make this preliminary report on the efforts of the Government during the past few days with regard to this critical situation.

. . . I believe we are all agreed in the common purpose that attends the operation of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus. I welcome the criticisms that have been made, which I believe are largely the product of understandable frustration in this very difficult situation. I may be pardoned, perhaps, as the Minister who has had the closest association with this problem for some months now, along with my colleague the Minister of National Defence, if I say that I myself have not been free from some of the frustrations, and certainly some of the anxieties, which we all share.

I have stated a number of times in this House that it would not be helpful, in my judgment, for me as the Secretary of State for External Affairs to assess blame in the developing situation in Cyprus. Canada has no special interests in



the Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus is a fellow member of the Commonwealth, now wracked by a bitter communal dispute. Greece and Turkey are our NATO allies and both enjoy strategic positions on NATO's southeast flank. A falling-out between them is much to be regretted. In so far as Cyprus is concerned I hope there can be a closer understanding between these two countries.

The Canadian contingent, as I see it, in this island can only be helpful in maintaining peace if the people there believe that Canada is there for one purpose only, and that is as a member of the United Nations Force, to assist in preserving order or something approximating order. That is why, among other reasons, it has not been possible for me from time to time, in answer to questions in this House — and I do not complain about this — to give the kind of response which may have been sought, anticipated or desired. I have had to bear in mind a number of considerations. One of them certainly was that nothing I would say should in any way cause any harm to come to any member of the Canadian force in the United Nations body or, for that matter, to the United Nations Force as a whole. . . . While I do not propose to take sides on particular aspects of this dispute, that being the general responsibility that is left with the Mediator under the Security Council resolution of March 4, I should think we would generally agree that there must be, in any settlement that ensues, certain basic elements. These would, I am sure, include a more workable constitutional arrangement than that set out in the 1961 Constitution of Cyprus — suitable guarantees for the Turkish minority in such fields as language, education, religion and the administration of justice, and an arrangement which might go some way to meet Turkey's concern that the situation in Cyprus should not develop in such way as to present a threat to its security. These are considerations which I am sure those engaged in negotiations in the United Nations and elsewhere will bear in mind. I am sure they will be considered elementary in the very difficult assignment which the distinguished Finnish diplomat is carrying out as the Mediator. He has exclusive authority to provide a solution under the terms of the Security Council resolution.

Canada has participated . . . in every peace-keeping force established by the United Nations but one. Canada is also taking part in the three International Control Commissions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. We have . . . an enviable reputation in this area, one which reflects not the point of view of any political party in this House but the consensus of the Canadian Parliament, and I believe, that of the people of this country.

We may ask ourselves the question: Why did we agree to participate in this difficult operation? Why did the United Nations intervene in Cyprus, an island of 600,000 people made up of two communities, the Turkish Cypriot community comprising roughly 20 per cent of the population, and the Greek Cypriot community representing the majority? Both have deep attachments, both historically and at present, to two NATO countries, Greece and Turkey. Why should Canada join in trying to provide stability and peace on this little island? This is a question

which many people in these days of difficulty have asked themselves. . . .

. . . The reason was . . . because it was felt that in this interdependent period there was no other way of providing for peace except through the collective effort of the United Nations. . . .

Now . . . why did we intervene at that time? It was because there was an appeal from the parties, admittedly on different grounds. There was an appeal from Greece, Turkey and even the Government of Cyprus to the United Nations for assistance in restoring peace in Cyprus between the warring communities. There was also a threat of Turkish invasion. The United Kingdom sought urgent United Nations assistance. Its troop resources were overstrained and under severe pressure in trying to keep the peace. It will be remembered that last January there was talk of a Commonwealth peace force for Cyprus. There was discussion of a NATO peace force for Cyprus. We in Canada took the position, as we told the British Prime Minister and his Foreign Minister, when they were here, that, while we regarded our responsibilities both to the Commonwealth and to NATO as vital, in the event of a peace-keeping force for Cyprus we believed that there must in any event be some link with the United Nations, and we made it clear we would prefer a United Nations operation.

What . . . was the alternative at that time? The alternative was an intensification of the intercommunal strife and probably Turkish invasion, followed by Greek intervention and widening hostilities in the Eastern Mediterranean. The United Nations, in the face of this, had an obligation to try to maintain the peace, even though the financial resources of the United Nations, I regret to say, are sadly limited. However, a number of countries, believing in international peace machinery — and Canada was among these — agreed to form a United Nations force long before one was established, and others agreed to help to finance it. . . .

Now . . . there are many facets in this whole problem. First of all, there is the fact that, while this is a peace-keeping operation, involving the United Nations, it has very important implications for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is our main defensive arrangement in this interdependent nuclear world. We know perfectly well that, if there were to be any serious involvement between Turkey and Greece, two countries in the alliance representing this Mediterranean area, it would be a very serious matter for NATO itself, let alone for the peace of the world. It was because of this that the Government instructed me to take an active role at the NATO ministerial meeting, impressing upon Greece and Turkey our concern at their involvement, understanding, as we did, the reasons why each of them would feel they had some special relationship with one of the two communities on the island. . . .

Some will say, what has the United Nations Force done? The question could be asked concerning almost any peace-keeping operation. What did the United Nations Force do in Gaza? What has it done in the Congo? What is it doing in Yemen? What is it doing in Kashmir? I think it is clear that, first of all, if the Force had not been established, we might have been faced then with an invasion

and the possibility of a war, which might well have expanded and engulfed us all. . . .

I may tell the House that, if the United Nations were now to give any indication of intention to withdraw, there would be the strongest pressure, I am sure, on the part of the three governments involved urging that this would be a regrettable and undesirable course of action. . . .

We must judge Cyprus not by the difficulties of Cyprus, not by the inadequacies of its terms of reference, but in the light of a much bigger process of which it is merely a part. There is UNEF. There is the United Nations observation group in Lebanon, our experience in the International Control Commission in Indochina and the other peace-keeping operations in which we have played a part. And now there is Cyprus. These are all parts of a necessary foundation for further peace-keeping efforts which will have to be undertaken and in which we shall have to participate — efforts which will cause us anguish but which are essential to the establishment, ultimately, of the rule of law among the nations. That is the reason, that is the justification which must attend our examination of this problem.

*Later the same day, the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, made the following statement:*

Before we proceed to the orders of the day, I wish to take the time of the House for a few minutes, largely because of a message which has come in and which I should like to place on record.

Before I do that, may I express my appreciation of the initiative of the Leader of the Opposition in bringing about this discussion on such an important subject, and of the level on which the discussion has been conducted. We have learned, I think, through this debate that there are Members on the other side who certainly appreciate and understand the difficulties and the dangers we are facing in our participation in United Nations activities of this kind. . . . Anyone who has had anything to do with international peace-keeping operations at any time in the last ten or 15 years is not likely to enter into an undertaking such as the Cyprus undertaking without an awareness of the danger and difficulties, let alone in any spirit of knight errantry. There is nothing more complicated or more difficult than operations of this kind, as we learned in the Suez crisis and as some of the Hon. Gentlemen opposite learned when they led Canadian participation in the Congo operation. Now there is the Cyprus operation, which is, in some respects, the most difficult of all.

An understanding of these difficulties is certainly widespread in the House. Similarly, we on this side of the House share the feelings of impatience and, at times, of frustration which anyone must feel at the inability of an international force to achieve clear-cut objectives in a way which is so often laid down when an undertaking is a national one. But we also know, with the responsibility of



government, that it is not possible to achieve perfection in a matter of this kind. . . . We are feeling our way; we are groping; we are going from stage to stage and we are trying, on the foundation we have laid, to build up a structure of peace keeping. It cannot be an easy or a quick undertaking, and there are things we would have liked to see done in connection with the terms of reference, the directives, the operations and the authority given to the Force, but which could not be done because of the necessity of reaching agreement with the United Nations, with the other governments concerned, and particularly with the government of the country in which the force has to operate.

Back in 1956 when we were trying to work out the terms of reference and orders for the United Nations Emergency Force in the Suez, we soon found that, in order to operate in the area, we had to achieve co-operation with the government, or the leader of the government, in the territory in which the Force would operate. You cannot have clear-cut objectives and clear-cut authority, because there has to be compromise. When the Congo Force was set up, its terms of reference were very much like those which govern the operations of the United Nations Force in Cyprus — they were to use force only in self-defence, as is the case in Cyprus. But, as the months went by, it became clear that there had to be changes in the directive. Changes were made, but it took a good many months to bring them about and it was not done until conditions in the Congo made it essential that changes should be made. And there may have to be changes in connection with the United Nations activities in Cyprus, and the crisis through which we have gone this week-end may make the necessity for these changes more obvious to certain people than has been the case up to this moment. Sometimes you can do things under the impetus of fear that you cannot do under the stimulus of reason. So, perhaps, out of the crisis of the week-end, if we can get through it without too much trouble (and things look a little better, now), we may be able to strengthen the position of the United Nations Force in Cyprus.

Certainly, this crisis has shown one thing clearly. It has shown that the United Nations, with all its weakness and imperfection, is indispensable in keeping the peace at times of crisis as well as between crises in a situation of this kind. If the United Nations had not moved in last March we might have been in a desperate situation in the Eastern Mediterranean, and who knows how far the conflict might have extended? If the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, had not been available over the week-end, we do not know what might have happened. But it was there. It was able to take up the situation on Friday and Saturday and at least bring about a cease-fire. This does not end the dispute, of course, but it has given us another chance to bring about an agreement and I hope the members of the United Nations will be able to take advantage of the opportunity which has now been afforded to them. The situation has eased, but the problem is not solved.

A message just came in which confirms the easing of the situation. It is a statement made by the Secretary-General on the Cyprus situation, and perhaps before we reach orders of the day I might be permitted to place it on the record.

This is what U Thant has to say this evening:

The President of the Security Council on 9 August, pursuant to the wishes of the Council, directed urgent appeals to the Governments of Cyprus and Turkey to end their hostile activities by a cease-fire. It is gratifying and encouraging that both Governments have responded positively and without conditions. On the morning of 10 August the President of Cyprus informed the President of the Security Council by cable that "We shall respect the appeal of the Security Council for a cease-fire", and addressed a similar cable to me.

— (that is, the Secretary-General) —

In a letter to the President of the Security Council, received on the afternoon of the same day, the Prime Minister of Turkey stated that the Government of Turkey "has decided to stop immediately the action of the Turkish aircraft over the Mansoura-Kokkina region—"

The Secretary-General goes on:

These decisions of the two Governments now afford an opportunity for definitely ending fighting and relaxing tension in Cyprus, and it will be my purpose to take fullest possible advantage of this opportunity by exerting every effort toward constructive peace-keeping arrangements in all areas of the island. In consequence, I have instructed the Commander of the Force to co-operate fully with all parties in making the cease-fire thoroughly effective and to take every initiative and to lend all assistance toward this end. I strongly appeal to the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and to the Turkish community of Cyprus to extend full co-operation and support to General Thimayya and to the United Nations Force in Cyprus which he commands in their peace-keeping efforts.

I have also asked Mr. Galo Plaza, my special representative in Cyprus, to return there promptly and it is expected that he will do so by the end of the week.

This is encouraging as far as it goes. I know, from the discussion that has taken place today, that all Members of the House will back the Government, speaking for Canada, in this matter and in its endeavours to support the Secretary-General and the United Nations in all the efforts that can be made, not only to resolve this particular crisis but to bring a solution of the problem in Cyprus.

We in this country certainly have an interest in that island. We have an interest because Cyprus is a sister nation in the Commonwealth of Nations, and it might have been possible in other circumstances for the Commonwealth to have done something to restore peace to that island, except that the two countries outside Cyprus most directly affected are not members of the Commonwealth. We have an interest in this crisis as members of NATO, and it might have been possible in different circumstances for NATO to have intervened positively and constructively in this matter, except that the country most directly concerned, Cyprus, is not a member of NATO, and NATO intervention in the circumstances which existed might not have been the most effective way of removing suspicions and bringing about peace. We are a member of the United Nations, and that is the source of our own participation in this operation.

. . . If this operation does not succeed, if this crisis had deteriorated into conflict — which I hope and believe now it will not — it would have been the end of NATO. It might also have been the end of the peace-keeping activities and endeavours of the United Nations, which are beginning to show more signs of progress than we had any right to expect a year or two ago. So, from every point of view, this crisis over the week-end was more than a crisis of peace or war in Cyprus; it was concerned with the building up of international security in

the world. We in Canada have from the beginning of the United Nations played our full part in that effort, and we will continue to do so.

We had an even deeper interest than this. We had an interest in this crisis because . . . we belong to the human race and a conflict in a small part of the world, in a small island in the Mediterranean, involving only a few hundred thousand people can, through the awful escalation of modern political and military activities, develop into global nuclear warfare. If that happens, then indeed we will find out whether we are going to belong to the human race very much longer. So from every point of view, as a member of NATO, as a member of the Commonwealth, as a member of the United Nations and as a member of the human race, I think we in this House would all want to do anything we can to bring about peace and security in this Mediterranean island.

*On August 12, in reply to a question as to whether there had been "a favourable reaction on the part of the Secretary-General to the general agreement in this House a few days ago that additional powers should be made available to the United Nations Force, so as to enable it to discharge its responsibilities properly", Mr. Martin said:*

The Secretary-General has had put before him the debate which took place in this Parliament. He has before him the representations that were made by the Canadian Government a number of weeks ago with regard to the extension of the powers of the Force. He has pointed out, as I pointed out on Monday last, that the extension of the powers of the Force depends upon two factors that we cannot overlook. The first is that an agreement for the extension of these powers by the Security Council is dependent upon the attitude that might be taken by way of veto by any one of a certain number of powers on the Council. He likewise pointed out, as the Prime Minister and I pointed out, that, in any event, if the Security Council should agree to the extension of powers, this extension in turn would have to be concurred in by the Government on the island of Cyprus.

These are not the kind of limitations I am anxious to see perpetuated, but they are there. In any event, it would be interesting to see whether, as a result of tomorrow's meeting, some further progress in this matter can take place. In preparation for tomorrow's meeting, the Canadian Ambassador at the United Nations is coming to Ottawa this afternoon, and he will return for the meeting tomorrow morning.

*To a question asked on August 14 as to whether "Canada has received a request from the Secretary-General of the United Nations to provide additional troops for the UN Cyprus Force", Mr. Martin replied:*

. . . There has been no formal request made to Canada for the supply of additional troops, although I believe General Thimayya has indicated he would



like to see the United Nations forces brought up to the strength contemplated by the permissible limits under the Security Council resolution. At present, Canada has 1,125 military personnel in Cyprus. Ours is the largest contingent in the United Nations Force except for that supplied by Britain, which is only slightly larger.

A meeting of the contributors took place yesterday at the United Nations. The Canadian Ambassador expressed the view of the Canadian Government that all possible measures should be taken to enhance the authority of the Force so it would be in a more favourable position to carry out its assigned task. There will be further consultations, and I am confident that the position taken by the Canadian Government is being urgently considered by the Commander of the Force.

In addition, Mr. Galo Plaza, a former President of Ecuador and a man of considerable experience in and outside the United Nations, is returning to Cyprus to carry on negotiations as the representative of the Secretary-General in discussions with the Force Commander, as well as with the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot authorities. Admittedly, the United Nations Force, as the Secretary-General has publicly stated, is working within fairly circumscribed limits. Failing agreement in the Security Council and, in addition, the formal agreement of the Cypriot authorities, an extension of the powers of the Force need not necessarily be expected. What we are doing is to maintain our representations to the United Nations authorities to ensure that all possible measures are pursued to enable the Force to operate effectively within its present mandate.

From the report we received from our Ambassador this morning, I can say that the Secretary-General is determined to see that the principle of freedom of movement, as embodied in the exchange of notes between himself and the Government of Cyprus, is established. To this end, Mr. Galo Plaza, as well as General Thimayya, will be engaged in consultation with the appropriate authorities.

*In reply to supplementary questions as to whether, if Canada should be asked for additional troops for Cyprus, this request would be referred to Parliament and whether the Government would "make the supplying of additional Canadian troops contingent upon some amendment of the agreement of status to include provision for disarming guerillas", Mr. Martin stated:*

I would not agree to such a condition, myself. This might be a desirable condition to impose in normal circumstances; but if it is not attainable, and if we were faced with the alternative of either having this condition accepted or of making no contribution to a situation that requires an international force, I would not be prepared to accept it even though this would be the easiest position to take.

With regard to the position of Parliament concerning an increase in the num-

bers of the Canadian force, the resolution of this House authorizes the Government to provide up to 1,200 men. If there were any disposition to go beyond that figure, then, of course, we would have to come back to this House. I have pointed out that the Canadian contribution now is greater than that of any other of the participating countries except Britain. The Secretary-General and General Thimayya are undoubtedly giving consideration to the possibility of additional contributions of forces from others of the participating countries. I have suggested that they might give consideration to the inclusion of countries not now participating.

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#### *FRENCH PRIME MINISTER PASSES THROUGH MONTREAL*

*On July 30, 1964, Mr. Georges Pompidou, Prime Minister of France, made a brief stop at Dorval Airport, just outside Montreal, on his way home from a tour of Polynesia. He was welcomed by Mr. Guy Favreau, Minister of Justice, as representative of the Government of Canada, by Mr. Lionel Bertrand, Minister of Tourism for the Province of Quebec, and by Mayor Jean Drapeau of Montreal. The above photograph shows the French Prime Minister (left) with Mr. Favreau as Mr. Pompidou prepares to board his plane for Paris.*

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- Third UN Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: Geneva, July 31 to September 9.
- Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States: Mexico City, August 22 to September 30.
- Third Commonwealth Education Conference: Ottawa, August 21 to September 4.
- Third Meeting of the Parties to the International Convention for High Seas Fisheries of the Northern Pacific Ocean: Ottawa, September 9.
- Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Meeting: Kuala Lumpur, September 1-2.
- Opening of IAEA General Conference: Vienna, September 14.
- Legal Sub-Committee of the UNGA Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, resumed third session: New York, October 5-23.
- Meeting of the International Joint Commission: Ottawa, October 6-13.
- Plenary Meeting of the UNGA Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, fifth session: New York, October 26 to November 6.
- Opening of UNESCO General Conference: Paris, October 20.
- United Nations General Assembly, nineteenth regular session: New York, November 10.
- Governing Body of ILO and its Committees, 160th session: Geneva, November 9-20.
-



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND SEPARATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. S. G. LeFeuvre posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington. Left New York June 24, 1964.
- Mr. A. F. Hart posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa. Left Moscow June 28, 1964.
- Mr. J. W. Courchesne posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to Ottawa. Left Paris June 30, 1964.
- Mr. H. F. B. Feaver, Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Mexico. Left Berne June 30, 1964.
- Mr. Y. Beaulne, Canadian Ambassador to Venezuela, posted to Washington. Left Caracas July 8, 1964.
- Mr. W. H. Holmes posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa. Left New York July 8, 1964.
- Mr. C. A. Ronning retired from the Public Service effective July 11, 1964.
- Mr. R. Stapledon posted from Canadian Consulate, Sao Paulo, to Ottawa. Left Sao Paulo July 16, 1964.
- Mr. B. L. Carbonnetto posted from the Canadian Consulate, Detroit, to Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco. Left Detroit July 20, 1964.
- Mr. L. V. Ryan posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome. Left Ottawa July 21, 1964.
- Mr. R. P. Gilbert posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Prague. Left Ottawa July 24, 1964.
- Mr. F. W. O. Morton appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective July 27, 1964.
- Mr. J. Bruchesi, Canadian Ambassador to Spain, appointed Canadian Ambassador to Argentina. Left Madrid July 31, 1964.
- Mr. R. Garneau appointed Canadian Ambassador to Switzerland. Left Paris August 1, 1964.
- Mr. D. R. Taylor posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa. Left Washington August 4, 1964.
- Mr. J. M. P. Asselin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 4, 1964.
- Mr. R. E. Caldwell appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 4, 1964.
- Mr. S. H. Heeney appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 4, 1964.
- Miss R. J. Webber appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1, effective August 4, 1964.
- Mr. R. Michener appointed Canadian High Commissioner to India. Left Ottawa August 14, 1964.

## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Denmark

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Denmark providing for the continuation of the training programme in Canada for aircrew personnel of the Royal Danish Air Force.

Ottawa June 30, 1964.

Entered into force June 30, 1964.

##### Hungary

Trade Agreement between Canada and the Hungarian People's Republic.

Ottawa June 11, 1964.

Entered into force provisionally June 11, 1964.

##### Nigeria

Agreement between Canada and the Federal Republic of Nigeria regarding the terms and conditions of service of Canadian Armed Forces personnel on secondment to the Nigerian Armed Forces.

Lagos June 25, 1964.

Entered into force June 25, 1964.

##### Norway

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Norway providing for the continuation of the training programme in Canada for aircrew personnel of the Royal Norwegian Air Force.

Ottawa June 30, 1964.

Entered into force June 30, 1964.

##### United States of America

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America concerning the phasing-out of certain radar stations of the continental radar defence system within Canada.

Washington May 25, 1964.

Entered into force May 25, 1964.

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America relating to the Agreement of March 9, 1959, concerning the tariff of tolls on the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Ottawa June 30, 1964.

Entered into force June 30, 1964.

#### Multilateral

Indonesian-Commonwealth War Graves Agreement.

Signed by Canada September 10, 1962.

Entered into force April 19, 1964.

Agreement between the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding atomic information.

Done at Paris June 18, 1964.

Signed by Canada June 30, 1964.

Agreement establishing Interim Arrangements for a global commercial communications satellite system.

Washington, D.C., August 20, 1964.

Signed by Canada August 20, 1964.

Entered into force August 20, 1964.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Third Commonwealth Education Conference*

THE THIRD Commonwealth Education Conference was held in Ottawa from August 21 to September 4, 1964. The convening of the meeting in Canada was the result of an invitation extended by the Canadian Government at the conclusion of the Second Conference in New Delhi in January 1962. The Second Conference had considered that a periodic examination of educational co-operation within the Commonwealth would be of value and the Canadian initiative for a Third Conference was welcomed by the New Delhi meeting.

At the inaugural session, held in the Chamber of the House of Commons, the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Canadian Government and people. The inaugural address was delivered by the president of the Conference, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey. On the nomination of the leader of the Canadian delegation, the Honourable Paul Martin, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul



*The president of the Third Commonwealth Education Conference, the Right Honourable Vincent Massey (centre), in conversation with the leader of the Canadian delegation, the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs (left), and the chairman of the Conference, the Honourable Paul Gerin-Lajoie, Minister of Education for the Province of Quebec (right).*

Gérin-Lajoie, the Minister of Education for the Province of Quebec, became the chairman of the Conference.

The Ottawa Conference was attended by some 200 delegates representing 20 governments. Britain (including the overseas dependencies) and Canada had the largest delegation — about 50 each. Other delegations varied in size: Australia, for example, sent ten delegates, India and Nigeria eight, Malaysia and Pakistan five, and Malawi four. Each of the delegations was led by a cabinet minister or senior official; those of Britain, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Pakistan, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda and Western Samoa were headed by ministers of education, while the leader of the Ghanaian delegation was the Deputy Minister of Education. The others were headed by educational administrators or diplomatic officials of ambassadorial rank. The secretary-general of the Conference was a distinguished Canadian educator, Dr. Freeman K. Stewart, formerly Executive Secretary of the Canadian Education Association in Toronto and currently Director of the Commonwealth Education Liaison Unit (CELU) in London, England.

### **Organization of the Conference**

Responsibility for the organization of the Conference was shared by the CELU and the Canadian Government through two Canadian committees. The Canadian Planning Committee, comprising representatives of the provincial departments of education, the university community and professional educational associations and officials of the Federal Government, was responsible for liaison with the CELU regarding the Conference agenda and Canadian participation. This committee was under the chairmanship, successively, of Mr. G. H. Southam and Miss M. Q. Dench of the Department of External Affairs. The Conference Arrangements Committee, comprising officials of the Federal Government and headed by Mr. K. W. Taylor, Special Adviser to the Privy Council Office, was responsible for handling the administrative and hospitality arrangements.

Delegates made a week-end visit by air to Quebec City, where they were guests of the Quebec government for a dinner at the Chateau Frontenac. The following week-end they went by train to Stratford, Ontario, for a performance of *King Lear*, and visited Niagara Falls. There were tours of the city of Ottawa and Gatineau Park, a viewing of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police "Musical Ride" and a picnic supper at Kingsmere, Quebec. One of the highlights of the Conference was a dinner in honour of delegates given by the Prime Minister and Mrs. Pearson in the Confederation Room of the West Block of the Parliament Buildings. Apart from the inaugural session, all plenary and committee sessions of the Conference were held in the West Block with the permission of the Speakers of the House of Commons and the Senate.

### **Conference Themes**

The deliberations of the Ottawa Conference gave evidence both of the rapid progress in Commonwealth educational co-operation since the Oxford Conference five



years before, and of a change in emphasis. At Oxford the main single objective had been to give practical shape to the imaginative proposal for a Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, which had been put forward at the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference held at Montreal in 1958. That Plan was now in full operation. It had demonstrated its value and acquired great prestige. Even at Oxford, however, the importance of Commonwealth educational co-operation in other and wider fields was clearly seen. The striking feature of the Ottawa conference was the testimony it gave both of the development of co-operation in these other fields during the previous five years and of the need for further development on similar lines.

The general progress being made in the Commonwealth in educational co-operation may be illustrated by the development of the Canadian Government's educational assistance programmes. In the 1960-61 fiscal year, approximately \$2.5 million, or about 6 per cent of the total expenditure on all Canada's bilateral programmes, was for educational aid, the greater part being devoted to Commonwealth countries. In the 1963-64 fiscal year, this expenditure had increased to approximately \$8 million, or about 18 per cent of the total expenditure involved in Canada's bilateral aid programmes. It is expected that this trend will continue and that increasing amounts of aid funds will be used to meet requests for educational assistance.

### **Teacher Training**

The most persistent theme running through the Conference discussions was the need for the developing countries to become masters of their own educational progress. This emphasis was particularly evident in the field of teacher training and teacher supply. The developing countries still required considerable numbers of teachers from overseas to help them in staffing their schools, colleges and universities, and the Conference discussed means whereby the flow of overseas teachers could be maintained and increased. It was recognized, however, that, in the long run, the supply of trained teachers to support the vigorously expanding educational programmes of the developing countries must be assured from within, and great emphasis was therefore laid on the provision from overseas of those types of key personnel who could play an indispensable part in enabling these countries to generate their own teacher supply. In this context, much importance was naturally attached to the whole question of teacher training, and, within this field, to the advancement of teacher-training programmes and the establishment of teacher-training institutions in the developing countries themselves.

Since the Oxford Conference, considerable help had been given to these countries by fellow members of the Commonwealth to help them in achieving their goal of educational self-reliance. During the Conference, a number of important announcements were made about new awards, special projects and increases in available funds with this same objective directly in view.

The same considerations underlay the emphasis placed by the Conference on the extension of education at the secondary level in the developing countries. In



this connection, importance was attached to the need for greatly increased provision of technical and vocational education, for women as much as for men, and within this field the training of technicians as well as technologists was stressed.

The very interesting discussions which had taken place on curriculum development and textbooks had similarly stressed the importance of the developing countries, with the help of the other countries of the Commonwealth, evolving their own curricula and producing their own textbooks based on their own needs. The value of a team approach in tackling this problem had been emphasized.

Finally, the Conference laid great stress on the problem of adult illiteracy. It was notable in that the present Conference was the first occasion on which it had been discussed as a matter of concern to the whole Commonwealth. The magnitude of this problem was, of course, directly related to past deficiencies in the facilities for primary and secondary education. With population increasing rapidly everywhere, adult illiteracy must also increase unless the most resolute steps were taken to deal with it; nor could it be eradicated until adequate facilities for primary and secondary education were assured.

### **Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan**

The Conference reviewed the fourth annual report on the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan for the 1963-64 academic year. It was noted with considerable satisfaction that 924 awards were current under the Plan in 1963-64 and that the goal of 1,000 awards set at the Oxford Conference was likely to be exceeded. It was thought that the next few years should be regarded as a period of consolidation, after which the number of awards to be made should be reviewed.

The Conference welcomed the decision taken by Britain to institute a new form of award, which, with the agreement of other governments, would enable British students to undertake postgraduate work abroad followed by at least one year of service. The British Government's readiness to provide substantial capital grants for the expansion of university facilities was also announced at the Conference.

The Conference learned of the institution of awards by Ghana, Jamaica and Sierra Leone, and of an increase in the number of awards being offered by Ceylon. It was also informed of the introduction of visiting fellowships by Canada.

### **Training and Supply of Teachers**

In order to meet the continuing shortage of teachers in the developing countries, the Conference recommended additional measures to establish and support teacher-training institutions by the secondment of training staff and by capital assistance. Teachers serving abroad were urged to remain for a term of at least two years.

The Conference welcomed offers of increased financial assistance towards salaries of university teachers and urged the practice of seconding teachers from universities in developed countries for substantial periods of up to five years to universities in the developing countries.

Careful consideration was given to a proposal for the establishment of a Commonwealth scheme for service overseas comparable to Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), the British Voluntary Service Overseas and the United States Peace Corps. It was decided that the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee should be invited to consider this proposal further in consultation with the voluntary organizations directly concerned, with a view to submitting a report to the next Commonwealth Education Conference.

### **Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee and Unit**

The Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee and Unit were established in London following the Oxford Conference, to supplement the normal bilateral arrangements for co-operation in education. The Ottawa Conference recommended that the Unit be strengthened through the addition of staff to enable it to carry out more effectively its role of co-ordinating and disseminating information. At the same time, the Director, having a larger staff, would be enabled to visit Commonwealth countries in his liaison capacity.

The Liaison Committee was asked to consider convening conferences of experts on mathematics in schools and on the training of technicians, and to promote an exchange of experts to study problems of curriculum, guidance, counselling, evaluation and testing. The Conference participants agreed that the provision of courses in Commonwealth countries in the theory and practice of textbook writing and production was to be encouraged and that the Liaison Unit could play a part in facilitating the establishment of links between pairs of schools throughout the Commonwealth as a practical way of increasing interest in Commonwealth ideas and schemes of co-operation.

### **Mass Media and Technical Education**

The use of mass media such as television, radio, films and other audio-visual aids was explicitly discussed for the first time. The Conference welcomed the offer to institute one or more pilot projects as a means of investigating the more extensive use of mass media. The possibility of establishing a central organization for the exchange of information on techniques and equipment for the application of mass media in education is to be considered.

The Conference recommended that considerable emphasis be placed on technical teacher training and that greater efforts be made to increase the number of training places available in industry. Further consideration should be given to the provision of training facilities for women, particularly in business studies, nursing, dress-making, catering and para-medical services.

The Conference welcomed and accepted the invitation of the Government of Nigeria to hold a Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference in Lagos late in 1967 or early in 1968.

# United Nations General Assembly

## NINETEENTH SESSION — AGENDA

THE NINETEENTH regular session of the General Assembly is scheduled to open on November 10 at United Nations headquarters in New York. Owing to the delay in opening, the session will be split into two six-week periods with a short recess in late December and early January.

The provisional agenda contain 79 items, a number of which, such as the questions of general and complete disarmament, the development programmes and aid to newly-independent countries, human rights and self-determination for all peoples, are of a recurrent nature.

Several African issues are scheduled for consideration by the United Nations. Besides the item on *apartheid*, which has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1952, the questions of the mandated territory of South West Africa and of the African territories under Portuguese administration will again be discussed.

The serious financial position of the organization will be of paramount importance at the forthcoming session. The United Nations may also be asked to consider items arising from the meetings of the Organization of African Unity in Cairo, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The question of Chinese representation will probably recur at the nineteenth session, and the inscription of further items of a political character could result from unsettled conditions in various parts of the world.

The first nine articles of the provisional agenda are concerned with the opening formalities, presentation of credentials, election of officers, adoption of the agenda and the opening of the general debate. The remainder of the provisional agenda are as follows:

10. Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the organization.

11. Report of the Security Council.

12. Report of the Economic and Social Council.

13. Report of the Trusteeship Council.

14. Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

15. Election of non-permanent members of the Security Council.

16. Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council.

17. Appointment of the members of the Peace Observation Commission.

18. United Nations Emergency Force:

(a) Report on the Force;

(b) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force.

19. Report of the Committee for the International Co-operation Year [Resolution 1907 (XVIII) of 21 November 1963].

20. Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [Resolution 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].



21. Installation of mechanical means of voting [Resolution 1957 (XVIII) of 12 December 1963].

22. Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament [Resolution 1908 (XVIII) of 27 November 1963].

23. Question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament [Resolution 1909 (XVIII) of 27 November 1963].

24. Urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests: report of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament [Resolution 1910 (XVIII) of 27 November 1963].

25. International co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space: report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space [Resolution 1963 (XVIII) of 13 December 1963].

26. The Korean question: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [Resolutions 376 (V) of 7 October 1950 and 1964 (XVIII) of 13 December 1963].

27. Actions on the regional level with a view to improving good neighbourly relations among European states having different social and political systems [Decision of 13 December 1963].

28. Effects of atomic radiation: report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation [Resolution 1896 (XVIII) of 11 November 1963].

29. Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [Resolutions 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949 and 1912 (XVIII) of 3 December 1963].

30. The policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa:

(a) Report of the Special Committee on the Policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa [Resolution 1978 A (XVIII) of

16 December 1963];

(b) Report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1978 B (XVIII) of 16 December 1963].

31. Report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [Resolutions 1785 (XVII) of 8 December 1962 and 1897 (XVIII) of 11 November 1963].

32. Accelerated flow of capital and technical assistance to the developing countries: report of the Secretary-General [Resolutions 1522 (XV) of 15 December 1960 and 1938 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

33. Establishment of a United Nations capital development fund: report of the Committee on a United Nations Capital Development Fund [Resolution 1936 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

34. Activities in the field of industrial development:

(a) Report of the Committee for Industrial Development [Resolution 1940 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963];

(b) Report of the Secretary-General [*idem*].

35. The role of the United Nations in training national technical personnel for the accelerated industrialization of the developing countries: report of the Economic and Social Council [Resolution 1824 (XVII) of 18 December 1962].

36. The role of patents in the transfer of technology to developing countries: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1935 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

37. Conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament:

(a) Report of the Economic and Social Council [Resolution 1931 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963];

(b) Report of the Secretary-General [*idem*].

38. Permanent sovereignty over natural resources: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, Section III].

39. Inflation and economic development: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1830 (XVII) of 18 December 1962].

40. Population growth and economic development: report of the Economic and Social Council [Resolution 1838

(XVII) of 18 December 1962].

41. World campaign for universal literacy: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1937 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

42. United Nations training and research institute: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1934 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

43. Progress and operations of the Special Fund [Resolutions 1240 (XIII) of 14 October 1958 (Part B, Paragraphs 10 and 54) and 1945 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

44. United Nations programmes of technical co-operation:

(a) Review of activities;

(b) Confirmation of the allocation of funds under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance [Resolutions 831 (IX) of 26 November 1954 and 1947 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

45. World social situation:

(a) Report of the Economic and Social Council [Resolution 1916 (XVIII) of 5 December 1963];

(b) Report of the Secretary-General [*idem*].

46. Housing, building and planning:

(a) Report of the Economic and Social Council [Resolution 1917 (XVIII) of 5 December 1963];

(b) Report of the Secretary-General [*idem*].

47. Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

48. Measures to implement the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1905 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963].

49. Draft International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination [Resolution 1906 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963].

50. Draft Recommendation on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages [Decision of 12 December 1963].

51. Measures to accelerate the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms [Decision of 12 December 1963].

52. Manifestations of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance

[Decision of 12 December 1963].

53. Draft Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Religious Intolerance [Decision of 12 December 1963].

54. Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum [Decision of 12 December 1963].

55. Freedom of information:

(a) Draft Convention on Freedom of Information [Decision of 12 December 1963];

(b) Draft Declaration on Freedom of Information [*idem*].

56. Draft International Covenants on Human Rights [Resolution 1960 (XVIII) of 12 December 1963].

57. Draft Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples [Resolution 1965 (XVIII) of 13 December 1963].

58. Information from non-self-governing territories transmitted under Article 73(e) of the Charter of the United Nations:

(a) Report of the Secretary-General;

(b) Report of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

59. Question of South West Africa: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [Resolution 1899 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963].

60. Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1901 (XVIII) of 13 November 1963].

61. Special training programme for territories under Portuguese administration: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1973 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963].

62. Offers by member states of study and training facilities for inhabitants of non-self-governing territories: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1974 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963].

63. Question of Oman: report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Oman [Resolution 1948 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963].

64. Financial reports and accounts for the financial year ended 31 December 1963 and reports of the Board of Auditors:

- (a) United Nations;
- (b) United Nations Children's Fund;
- (c) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;

(d) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

65. Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1964.

66. Budget estimates for the financial year 1965.

67. Pattern of conferences: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1987 (XVIII) of 17 December 1963].

68. Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

(a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;

(b) Committee on Contributions;

(c) Board of Auditors;

(d) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointments made by the Secretary-General;

(e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal;

(f) United Nations Staff Pension Committee.

69. Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions.

70. Audit reports relating to expenditure by Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:

(a) Earmarkings and contingency allocations from the Special Account of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance;

(b) Earmarkings and allotments from the Special Fund.

71. Administrative and budgetary co-ordination of the United Nations with the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency:

(a) Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;

(b) Inter-organizational machinery for matters of pay and personnel adminis-

tration: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1981 B (XVIII) of 17 December 1963].

72. Administrative and budgetary procedures of the United Nations: report of the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations [Resolution 1880 (S-IV) of 27 June 1963].

73. Personnel questions:

(a) Composition of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1928 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963];

(b) Other personnel questions.

74. Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board.

75. The United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1982 (XVIII) of 17 December 1963].

76. Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its sixteenth session.

77. General multilateral treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations: report of the Secretary-General [Resolution 1903 (XVIII) of 18 November 1963].

78. Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations:

(a) Report of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States [Resolutions 1966 (XVIII) and 1967 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963];

(b) Study of the principles enumerated in Paragraph 5 of General Assembly Resolution 1966 (XVIII);

(c) Report of the Secretary-General on methods of fact-finding [Resolution 1967 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963].

79. Technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law: report of the Special Committee on Technical Assistance to Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination and Wider Appreciation of International Law [Resolution 1968 (XVIII) of 16 December 1963].



# Canada's External Aid Programme

## BRIEFING CONFERENCE FOR TEACHERS

**D**URING the academic year 1964-65, 265 secondary-school teachers and teacher-trainers, from all parts of Canada, are serving in more than 30 countries and territories, compared to 158 last year. The size of the increase indicates the emphasis that Canada is placing on education in its external-aid programme, and in the expansion of all phases of this programme. Before this year's batch of teachers left Canada, they were thoroughly instructed on all aspects of their new duties — by teachers who had already served in the areas to which they were being posted, by Canadian diplomats, and by members of the External Aid Office, which is responsible for the administration of Canada's overseas development assistance.

More than half the teachers who attended the briefing conference held from August 28 to September 1 at Macdonald College, Ste Anne de Bellevue, Quebec, will teach mathematics, science, industrial arts, and English and French, under-



*Mr. and Mrs. Verne D. Hoffman of Victoria, B.C., with their daughters Cheryl and Colleen, examine a drawing of the new school that is being built by the Canadian Government in Accra, Ghana. The family has been posted to Sierra Leone, where Mr. Hoffman will teach at Magburaka Teachers Training College.*

taking in addition such tasks as the development of new curricula. Most of the others are teacher-trainers assigned to training colleges to help increase local supplies of teachers. The newly-appointed Canadian teachers, all highly qualified and experienced, come from eight provinces, and were recruited by the External Aid Office in co-operation with provincial authorities.

Since 1960, when the External Aid Office was created to co-ordinate all aspects of the country's external-assistance operation, there has been an increasing emphasis on technical and educational assistance under Canadian aid programmes. In a reverse flow, Canada is training students from abroad to assume key roles, often as teachers, in their developing countries. Under External Aid Office arrangements, some 250 students, three-quarters of whom come from developing countries, will be studying in Canada this year under Commonwealth scholarships. It is estimated that 1,600 students will come to Canada this year with Canadian Government aid of one kind or another.

### **Countries of Destination**

The countries in which teachers will be serving this year are the following:

Under the Special Commonwealth Africa Aid Programme: Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Southern Rhodesia, Uganda, and Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Under the Colombo Plan: Thailand, Pakistan, India, Malaysia and the Philippines.

Under the Commonwealth Caribbean Programme: Antigua, Barbados, British Guiana, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Under the Special Programme for French-Speaking African States: Cameroun, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Morocco, Rwanda and Togo.

Under the Colombo Plan for French-Speaking States: Cambodia and Laos.

### **Statement by Dr. Haidasz**

Dr. Stanley Haidasz, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in an address at the briefing conference, said:

"During the last three years, our own teacher programme has gathered momentum and has already begun to show dividends. Indeed, developing countries have expressed their deep appreciation for Canadian educational assistance. You might be surprised at the number of times the work our teachers as a group are doing, and sometimes the success of individual teachers, are brought to the attention of the Canadian authorities by representatives of the governments of the developing countries. These references have been phrased in the most laudatory and grateful terms. Indeed, developing countries have come to expect a high quality of performance from Canadian teachers. Under these circumstances, you will have a great deal of responsibility not only in carrying forward the mo-





*Dr. Stanley Haidasz (right) and Dr. Adelard Gascon of the External Aid Office (second from right), in charge of French-speaking teachers, in conversation with several of the teachers who had been chosen to serve abroad.*

mentum which has been built up in the teacher programme but also in helping to maintain the good relations Canada now enjoys with the developing countries of the world.

"As experienced teachers, you know the importance of education in the enrichment of the life of the individual and the importance of education in the life of society. You also know how important education is to the processes of democracy; and perhaps in developing countries it plays an even more vital role than it does here at home. These countries realize that the success of their efforts to create better societies and to catch up with the more advanced members of the family of nations depends greatly on the provision of their children with an adequate education, to enable them to cope with the complex problems of the future.

"Indeed, the success of the whole programme of capital and technical assistance of all donor countries and international organizations depends directly on the level of education of the people. The provision of a dam or a hydro-electric power station may sometimes appear to be a more concrete manifestation of aid than educational assistance. But I have no doubt that, in the long run, it will be you and the teachers who will follow you who will have the most decisive impact on the progress of the developing world. Not only will you help them by providing some of the keys to knowledge, but you will be in a unique position to exemplify the ideals of freedom and democracy which we cherish and which we hope will be pursued in other countries."



# *Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee*

THIRD MEETING, TOKYO, SEPTEMBER 1964

The establishment of the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee was agreed on in 1961 at the time of the visit to Ottawa of the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Hayato Ikeda. The first meeting of the Committee was held in Tokyo in January 1963, the second in Ottawa in September 1963, and the third in September 1964 in Tokyo.

In the words of the communiqué announcing its original establishment, the Committee "will not be a negotiating body but will provide a valuable means of contact between ministers of the two countries". The activities of the Committee would consist primarily of visits of ministers to exchange views on matters of common interest, particularly in the economic field, and to familiarize themselves with the problems of the other country. Since the Committee is not a negotiating body, it is not usual for any new course of action to be agreed on as the result of a given meeting. The essential purpose of the Ministerial Committee is to allow frank discussions at the ministerial level of all aspects of relations between the two countries and problems facing Canada and Japan on the international scene.

Japan was represented at the third meeting by the Honourable Etsusaburo Shiina, Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Honourable Kakuei Tanaka, Minister of Finance, the Honourable Munenori Akagi, Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Honourable Yoshio Sakurauchi, Minister of International Trade and Industry, the Honourable Mamoru Takahashi, Director-General of the Economic Planning Agency, and Mr. Hisanaga Shimazu, Ambassador to Canada.

Canada was represented by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Walter L. Gordon, Minister of Finance, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Hédard Robichaud, Minister of Fisheries, and Mr. Richard P. Bower, Ambassador to Japan.

## **Report by Mr. Martin**

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, speaking in the House of Commons on September 8, 1964, made the following comments concerning the third meeting of the Committee:

"This was a useful meeting. We made progress, I believe, in mutual understanding. The Ministerial Committee is not a negotiating body. It provides a forum in which ministers from the two countries can exchange views on relations between Canada and Japan and on international problems. We now understand better the Japanese point of view on many questions, and I think they better understand ours.

"We found that Canada and Japan have to almost all situations a common approach based on common beliefs in freedom, justice and the desirability of measures to promote world prosperity. We noted the numerous occasions on which our delegations have worked together at the United Nations, particularly in the promotion of the treaty to suspend nuclear testing. Japan shares with Canada the belief that the United Nations remains the main hope for the promotion of peace in the world, and the determination that the organization should be strengthened and its finances assured. We engaged as well in discussions on the role of the United Nations in peace-keeping operations.

### **Exchange of Views on Asian Affairs**

"The Committee had an interesting exchange of views on the various political situations in Asia. The Japanese, like us, are concerned over the Indonesian conflict with Malaysia and share our hope that the dispute will be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Committee agreed as well on the urgent necessity of restoring stability and of improving the well-being of the Vietnamese and the other Indochinese peoples. We found that, like ourselves, the Japanese were giving careful thought to the problem of Communist China. In this and many other fields, we are resolved to continue to



*The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, accompanied by an official of the Matsushita Electric Company, tours the showroom of the Company at Kadoma, Osaka. The firm exports electronic equipment to Canada under the trade name "National", and is the leading Japanese manufacturer of domestic electric appliances.*



work together in close consultation, convinced that Canada and Japan, as neighbouring countries across the Pacific, have a consequential role to play in the promotion of stability and in the economic development of the Asian and Pacific regions.

"We reviewed the current economic position and prospects for the two economies. Canadian ministers were much impressed by the determination and purpose with which the Government and people of Japan are pursuing their policies of modernization and economic growth. There is every reason to believe that Canadian exports to Japan, which have risen so rapidly in recent years, will continue to expand at a good rate as a result both of expansion of the Japanese economy and further trade liberalization.

"We discussed in some detail the various quantitative restrictions and other Japanese obstacles to trade which still limit sales of Canadian goods to Japan. We expressed our expectation of early progress in liberalizing remaining Japanese restrictions and of important and meaningful negotiations between Japan and Canada in the course of the current 'Kennedy round' of trade and tariff negotiations.

### **Trade Imbalance Problem**

"The Japanese ministers drew attention to the imbalance of trade with Canada and to the inhibition of their sales to Canada represented by the restraints they observe on exports of certain of their products to this country to avoid disruption of our market. Canadian ministers noted that nearly all Canadian exports to Japan are essential foodstuffs or necessary industrial material, which provide the sinews of Japanese economic strength. On the other hand, most Japanese exports are manufactures and directly competitive with Canadian production. In the circumstances, a trade imbalance is not unnatural.

"Both sides were agreed on the desirability of an expansion of trade in both directions. It was noted that there was a variety of opportunities for the further diversification of Japanese sales to Canada. In this regard, a high-level Japanese economic mission will be visiting Canada in October.

"Our discussions led to an improved understanding of the problem of voluntary restraints as seen from the two sides. Canadian ministers noted in this regard that no other highly-industrialized country extends more liberal treatment than does Canada to Japanese imports. The communiqué records our agreement that recourse to such restraints should be kept to a minimum and that necessary consultations in this regard should be expeditious and based on mutual understanding.

### **International Economic Matters**

"We had an excellent exchange of views about international economic matters, including the status of the 'Kennedy round', international liquidity, the trade and development problems of the less-advanced countries and East-West trade. In



all these important matters there was a remarkable and gratifying similarity of interest and outlook. We found ourselves in full agreement on the objectives of trade liberalization to be pursued through the 'Kennedy round' and expressed determination to do our respective parts to make the negotiations a success. Ministers specifically agreed to maintain close co-operation between their respective delegations throughout these important negotiations.

### **Fisheries Co-operation**

"There was useful discussion of fisheries matters. We considered the problems facing the meeting of the parties to the North Pacific Convention which opens here in Ottawa tomorrow. As a result we are hopeful that a formula will be found which will adequately reflect the interests of the three countries and result in the maintenance and development of the vital fisheries resources of the North Pacific. Other fisheries questions were considered, including the Territorial Sea and Fishing Zones Act of Canada. I am satisfied that, as an outcome of our discussions, the extent of fisheries co-operation between Canada and Japan has been enlarged and will be intensified in the years to come.

"We renewed our invitation to Japan to participate in Expo '67, and we trust that a decision will soon be taken to permit a worthy representation in Montreal of the traditional culture and modern accomplishments of our Pacific neighbour.

"The Minister of Finance took advantage of his visit to Japan to sign on behalf of Canada an agreement for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. This agreement will be submitted to the House and to the Japanese Diet for approval before ratification.

"I signed on behalf of Canada an exchange of notes covering the mutual waiver of certain visa requirements between the two countries.

"In a different field we noted the progress made in the development of communication satellites, an area which offers the prospect of extensive future co-operation between our two countries.

"I should like to express my gratitude for the conversations I was privileged to have with the Japanese Prime Minister. Mr. Ikeda added his personal views on many subjects, and I was particularly impressed with his qualities of statesmanship and his understanding of the international scene.

"I wish to mention the all-too-brief visit the Minister of Trade and Commerce and I were able to make to the city of Hiroshima. We were deeply moved. The indelible message of Hiroshima cannot be adequately expressed in words. It must never be forgotten, even though a fine new city all but covers the scars.

"Japan, after the United States and Great Britain, is Canada's most important trading partner, and these ministerial meetings have provided a valuable opportunity for developing closer relations with this great Pacific nation as a neighbour and a friend."

# *Map of the World, 1964*

*The Surveys and Mapping Branch of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys is justly proud of its new edition of the "Map of the World" now replacing the 1953 edition, which had become seriously out of date. This new map is not a revision of the old one but is a complete new drawing based on the Van der Grinten projection. This popular-size reference map measures 48" x 32", and the scale at the Equator is 1:35,000,000, or approximately 550 statute miles to the inch. For those who may be interested in its history, the following paper written by Mr. E. Mindak, formerly of our Map Compilation and Reproduction Division, is reproduced in part.*

*I should like to take this opportunity of expressing to the officials of the Department of External Affairs our appreciation for their assistance and interest in the production of this map.*

*S. G. Gamble,  
Director,  
Surveys and Mapping Branch.*

## **Historical Development**

The first Canadian Government map of the world was produced by the National Resources Intelligence Branch, Department of the Interior, and released under the title "Map of the World Showing Trade Routes" in 1922, as a preliminary edition. It was compiled on a Mercator projection extending from 60° S to 80° N and published at the scale of 1:37,000,000. The map was printed in black and white with an olive-green tint for water areas; trade routes were overprinted in red, and sailing distances were tabulated.

In this first edition only one settlement in the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory, Dawson, was considered worthy of inclusion. Cities such as Vancouver, Victoria, Montreal and Quebec were unaccountably omitted from the map, and in Europe the number of capital cities missing was equally astonishing.

Eight years passed before a second edition was published by the same office, then known as the National Development Bureau, Department of the Interior. The appearance of the map was improved by the use of colour on land areas and light blue for water areas. International boundaries were emphasized by intensified coloured bands, and place names were brought up to date. However, some of the islands in the Canadian archipelago, including Ellesmere Island, remained unnamed.

In 1936, Mr. F. H. Peters, Surveyor General, expressed his dissatisfaction with the projection in use because it greatly distorted the North Polar area. Accordingly, a new modified cylindrical projection, with curved meridians from 55° N up to 84° N latitude, was computed by Mr. H. Parry.

In 1938, two editions were published by the Department of Mines and Resources at an equatorial scale of 692 miles to 1 inch (approximately 1:44,000,000). One edition for the Department of Trade and Commerce showed the locations of Canadian trade commissioners' offices overprinted in red; the second omitted the overprint but included trade routes in black. Both maps were entitled "Map of the World Showing Trade Routes and Shortest Sailing Distances Between Canada, the British Empire and Foreign Ports". Many thousands of copies were distributed, and the maps remained in great demand right up to 1949.

In 1953 a revision of the 1938 edition was authorized, in which extensive changes were made, particularly for areas in Europe, the U.S.S.R., Canada, and the Pacific Ocean. A colour layout using new composition and new screens greatly enhanced the appearance of the map. This edition was published in 1954, at the scale of 557 miles to 1 inch (approximately 1:35,000,000), in two editions. One, entitled "Map of the World Showing Trade Routes and Shortest Sailing Distances Between Canada, Other Commonwealth Countries and Foreign Ports", showed the locations of Canadian trade commissioners' offices and Canadian diplomatic or consular posts and included tabular information on sailing distances. The other, entitled "Map of the World", retained only the table of distances between ports.

This map was distributed all over the world, and the impact was truly rewarding. Wrote the Canadian Government Trade Commissioner in Bombay: "According to replies received, a great many of these maps were to be framed and placed on public view, others were to be placed under glass on glass-topped desks while the remainder were to be held in one way or another for reference purpose. Another significant point concerning the replies was the astonishing number of instances in which these were personally written and signed by the most senior officials of the trade associations, business organizations, banks and government institutions to which the maps were sent. It is a publicity piece in a class by itself, at least in so far as India is concerned."

### **1964 Edition**

In view of the continuing demand for this map and the extensive changes in the world scene during recent years, the decision was made to compile an entirely new map. It was further decided to employ a more sophisticated projection than those used in previous editions. The final choice was the Van der Grinten projection, which has the advantage of presenting a pleasing picture of the world without great distortion of the land masses in high latitudes, even though it is not conformal and does not have equal-area properties.

The projection was drawn at an equatorial scale of 1:25,000,000 (for reproduction at 1:35,000,000), with a 10-degree spacing of grids. Only one quarter of the grid was actually drafted; this was reproduced by photo-mechanical means to give the remaining three quarters.

To facilitate compilation, a second set of the four quarters was reproduced



in red, but with 30-minute intervals for latitude and one-degree intervals for longitude. This fine grid was constructed to assist in the transfer of information from source material during compilation of geographical detail and to provide assistance to the compilers in the accurate transfer of all geographical features to the map base.

The spaces created in the two upper corners of the map by the curvature of the main projection were filled by insets. One shows the relation of Canada to Northern Europe and the U.S.S.R. across the North Pole. It was constructed on an azimuthal equidistant projection, centred on Ottawa. The second, using the same projection, portrays the Antarctic region and its relation to Australia and South America.

### **Sources of Data**

As it had been decided to include more information in this edition of the map and to make it a more useful reference map of the world, an extensive search for all available source material was carried out. The new compilation aimed at providing a more accurate presentation of hydrographic features, railway networks, and boundary classifications, and also a greater number of populated places. The investigation of source data covered at least 250 maps of various scales, many foreign atlases, current year-books and gazetteers. This material was readily available in the Map Research Unit of the Geographical Branch. The final selection of cartographic material used in the compilation ranged in scale from 1:2,000,000 to 1:20,000,000, and included publications by Canadian and a number of foreign authorities.

As none of the selected source material was based on the projection used in the compilation of this new map, and as it varied in scale, it was impossible to use direct photo-mechanical methods to transfer the information. Compilation accuracy was dependent entirely on the compiler's judgment of proportion and similarity, and his ability to transfer geographical detail from source material to compilation manuscript. In the compilation procedure, the fine grid proved a considerable asset. Great efforts were made to preserve the character of coast-lines, lakes and rivers, and to avoid over-generalization. In addition, many rivers and some canals were added to the new compilation. Considerable care was taken to include major navigable rivers, as additional means of communication. Glaciers and the limits of polar and pack ice were included in this edition for the first time.

Investigation of density and distribution of populated places led to the establishment of two categories: administrative centres — national, provincial, and (where applicable) territorial or state capitals; and urban centres — populated places up to 50,000, 50,000 to 400,000, 400,000 to 1,000,000, and above 1,000,000. In the selection of populated places the criteria were relative importance of the individual settlement to its region, its status as a communication centre by land, sea or air, and its status from an economic aspect. Obviously,

the scale of the map imposed limitations on the number of populated places shown. For example, in regard to seaports, when there were alternatives to the final selection, the choice was very frequently based on investigations carried out of such details as draft limitations, pier accommodations, repair and storage facilities, import and export volumes and development planned for the future.

### **Representation of Railways**

In view of the fact that railways are the only form of land communication portrayed on the map, a careful study was made of the networks shown on previous editions. It was evident that a more intensive portrayal should be attempted, in order to produce a map of greater reference value. To present an accurate portrayal of main rail routes throughout the world, a careful investigation was made of available atlases and maps, including many large-scale topographic maps of various countries, to ascertain the correct classification and alignment of these routes. In the final compilation, a closer network has been produced and many new rail routes added, particularly in densely-populated areas such as the Eastern United States and Western Europe.

Three main classifications of boundary have been used in the compilation: international, provincial, state or territorial (where applicable); disputed; unsettled or provisional. Research on boundary identification might appear to be a relatively straightforward task. It is often assumed that political boundaries are established and shown in their proper positions, and that to show them requires only transfer to the compilation manuscript. But this is not the case, and a most careful investigation is of paramount importance. As a minor example, it was observed that the boundary between England and Wales varied from one map or atlas to another. One would hardly consider this to be one of the disputed political boundaries of the world!\*

Close attention to current affairs as reported by television, radio and the press permitted the up-dating of political boundaries up to the final stage of compilation. During the compilation, countries such as Trinidad and Tobago, Malaysia, Algeria, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Zanzibar changed their political status and became independent. This necessitated changes in symbolization of boundaries, capital cities, and the colour composition of the map. Portuguese enclaves such as Goa, and French enclaves such as Pondicherry, became part of India, and West New Guinea became part of Indonesia. The change of boundaries between the Kazakh S.S.R. and the Usbek S.S.R. was recorded in a U.S.S.R. publication in 1963 and was corrected in this new edition.

Only the major sea-routes emanating from Canada to the rest of the world are shown on the map, and the points of destination with mileage are placed along

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\*A footnote to the map explains that "certain political features (as shown) . . . are not necessarily those recognized by the Canadian Government". An example of this is the India-Pakistan border, which, though shown on this map as a *de facto* line running through Jammu and Kashmir, is as yet undefined.

selected routes. The table entitled "Distances between Points in Nautical Miles" involved the compilation of 270 sets of figures based on the following authorities: Canadian Shipping Directory, Phillip's Marine Atlas, Admiralty Distance Tables, and United States Navy Tables.

The table "Air Distances in Statute Miles" involved the preparation of 270 great-circle distances. These spherical trigonometric calculations were computed by the Department Data Processing Section in a matter of minutes and saved approximately four months of continuous work by desk calculation.

As the colour composition used on previous editions of the map appeared to have had general approval of users, it was retained, with changes only in areas of new political development. One important change was the use of a graduated tinting (vignetting) in water areas to emphasize the land masses.

The final manuscript in four quarters, accompanied by three colour-key sheets representing nine colour densities and approximately 60 colour combinations, was transferred to the drafting-office for final negative-engravings.

This edition is essentially a general reference map. Mountainous relief, therefore, is not portrayed by contours, layer tints, or shading, although some of these were considered in the planning stages. The need for the map, as expressed by the many requests that a revision be made available quickly, may also have contributed to the decision not to use a relief presentation.

It is believed that the 1964 "Map of the World" is a contribution to the cartography of the world and will fill a pressing need in the educational field and in Canada's overseas interests.



# *The Inter-Parliamentary Union*

## FIFTY-THIRD CONFERENCE, COPENHAGEN

WELCOMING the 504 delegates from 64 countries who attended the fifty-third conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Copenhagen from August 20 to 28, 1964, His Majesty King Frederick IX of Denmark said:

More than 40 years ago, my father welcomed members of the Inter-Parliamentary Union when its conference was held in Copenhagen in 1923, and I now have the opportunity of welcoming the participants in another of these important conferences. The number of delegates has considerably increased in the past 40 years, owing to the growing number of national states, the majority of which have adopted parliamentary systems. . . . I see this as a happy sign of ever increasing interest in parliamentary ideals and the work of this Union. In response, Mr. Ranieri Mazzilli, current President of the IPU, expressed appreciation for the traditional hospitality of Denmark on behalf of the more than 1,200 persons gathered for the conference.

Canada was represented by a multi-party delegation, consisting of Senator J. M. Dessureault (Chairman), Senator A. L. Beaubien, Senator Jacques Flynn, Mr. Colin Cameron, M.P., Mr. Gérard Chapdelaine, M.P., Mr. Gilles Grégoire, M.P., Mr. Russell C. Honey, M.P., Mr. Bryce S. Mackasey, M.P., Mr. Raymond Rock, M.P., Mr. Eric A. Winkler, M.P., Mr. Eldon M. Woolliams, M.P. Mr. Alcide Paquette and Mr. Ian Imrie served as secretaries to the delegation. It will



*Members of the Canadian delegation to the fifty-third conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in Copenhagen (left to right): Senator J.-M. Dessureault, Mr. Raymond Rock, M.P., Mr. Gilles Grégoire, M.P., Senator Jacques Flynn, and Mr. Bryce Mackasey, M.P.*

be recalled that Canada became a member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 1960.

### **Extensive Social Programme**

As hosts for the fifty-third conference, the Danish national group had made elaborate preparations not only for the conduct of the sessions in Christiansborg Palace, now the home of the *Folketing* (Danish Parliament), but also in developing an extensive social programme. Heads of national delegations were received informally by King Frederick at Fredensborg Palace, some distance from Copenhagen, and all delegates and their wives were entertained by the Danish Government at a state banquet and at a command performance at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen. An extensive programme was also prepared for the wives of delegates, which included visits to famous Danish porcelain and silver factories. On the evening before the opening of the conference, the chairman of the Canadian delegation and the Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., of Canada, as co-hosts, received members of the International Executive of the IPU and the International Secretariat, members of the Danish IPU Executive Committee and the Danish delegation to the conference and the heads of national delegations.

### **New Members**

Founded in 1889, the Inter-Parliamentary Union has steadily expanded. As the fifty-third conference opened, Kuwait, Morocco and South Korea were admitted to membership, bringing to 74 the number of national groups participating. Delegations from these three countries were immediately seated. At the same time, the Executive Committee rejected the application of North Korea until such time as that country's external relations should be normalized, noting that a formal state of war continued to exist between North Korea and the United Nations. On the recommendation of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, three new members were elected to the Executive Committee — Mr. Joza Vilfan of Yugoslavia, Mr. Mathew Mbu of Nigeria and Mr. David Hacohen of Israel. In addition Mr. Maithipala Senanayake of Ceylon was elected to serve the balance of the term of Mr. Ngu Yen Phuong Theip of South Vietnam, who had retired from active political life. The Council also confirmed its acceptance of Canada's invitation that the fifty-fourth IPU conference be convened in Ottawa in September 1965.

On the basis of reports of the Council and Executive Committee, three draft resolutions were presented and passed without debate at the penultimate plenary session of the conference. These dealt with possible steps towards general disarmament, international protection of human rights and the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on Colonialism.

### **Draft Resolutions**

Following a two-day general debate, consideration was given to draft resolutions concerning the adaptation of the United Nations Charter and working methods

to the requirements of an enlarged international society, the problem of education and the fight against illiteracy, the fight against disparities in world economy and the role of members of parliament as intermediaries between citizens and government. Resolutions on each of these topics were passed unanimously at the final plenary session. In addition, 14 African states introduced a strongly-worded draft resolution condemning the racial policies of South Africa and the suppression of human rights by Portugal and South Africa, which was passed by the Executive Committee for plenary consideration. Debate on the African-sponsored resolution was subsequently curtailed when a formal motion to introduce it failed to gain the two-thirds majority required. Similarly, a Polish draft resolution that would have linked the problems of South Vietnam and Cyprus with a general statement on the development of peace and understanding among peoples failed to obtain a sufficient majority to permit its being debated. In speaking on both of these rejected draft resolutions, the chairman of the British delegation observed that it was unprecedented for an Inter-Parliamentary Union conference resolution to name specifically any particular country or area.

Commenting on the conference, the Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Mr. André de Blonay, observed:

The Inter-Parliamentary Union is not in any way a world government but, at its conferences, one sees the broadest representation of world politicians. We do not claim to be able to solve such problems as exist in Cyprus, South Vietnam or the Congo, but it is our aim to establish a peaceful atmosphere in which such problems can be solved. We hope to contribute towards the creation of a climate of confidence . . . through personal contacts and understanding.



# *Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council*

*The following is the text of the communiqué issued at the close of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council meeting, held in Kuala Lumpur:*

A meeting of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council was held at the Parliament House, Kuala Lumpur, on the first and second of September under the chairmanship of the Honourable Mr. Tan Siew Sin, Finance Minister of Malaysia. All 18 independent countries of the Commonwealth were represented. There were also representatives from Mauritius, Malta and Hong Kong.

The Council reviewed trends in world trade and payments and noted the improvement in the world economic situation and the continuing strength of the balance-of-payments position of the sterling area as a whole. The ministers referred to the economic prospects for their respective countries and the problems which they faced, in particular the need to step up the rate of growth in the developing countries. While there had been an improvement in the trading position of the sterling area as a whole, this had been unevenly spread and the basic weakness of many primary commodities pointed to the need for new approaches to the problem.

The Council recognized the importance of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It was noted that the results of the Conference were valuable only as a first step, and that much remained to be done in following up the work of the Conference. The need was also stressed for facilitating to a greater extent the access of manufactured goods from developing countries to the markets of the industrialized countries, as well as devising means to ensure stable and reasonable commodity prices. The Council expressed the hope that the "Kennedy round" of trade and tariff negotiations in the GATT would achieve positive results of benefit for all members of the Commonwealth.

In a discussion of the importance of maintaining adequate international liquidity and strengthening the international monetary system, ministers expressed the hope that the meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Tokyo would be able to reach agreement on the need to increase the resources and extend the facilities of the Fund, to whose position in international monetary matters they attached the highest importance. They stressed that due regard should be paid to the interests and problems of the developing countries.

The Council welcomed recent developments in the World Bank and the International Development Association in extending their activities to new fields and making the Bank's terms of lending more flexible. Particular mention was made of their support for education and agriculture and the supply of technical assistance, all of which are of great importance in promoting development. Ministers

noted with satisfaction the increased readiness of the Bank and the International Development Association to finance not only foreign-exchange costs but also local currency costs of development projects.

The Council stressed the need for a continuing increase in the amount of aid to developing countries. They expressed appreciation for the measures which had already been taken by certain donor countries towards making aid available on favourable terms. The view was expressed that, in the light of the increasing burden of the debt-servicing obligations and other financial problems of the developing countries, the developed countries should give consideration to the need for providing a higher proportion of their aid on more liberal terms.

In pursuance of their decision at their meeting in September 1960 to review annually the progress achieved under the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan, the Council examined with interest a report on the plan presented by the chairman of the Commonwealth Economic Committee.

Ministers reviewed possible new initiatives for Commonwealth co-operation in technical assistance and other fields, which were approved in principle by the Commonwealth prime ministers at their recent meeting. They welcomed the progress which had been made on the study of these initiatives and agreed that they should be carried forward speedily.

Ministers took note of a study which is now taking place as a result of a proposal made at their meeting in September 1963 for a collation of the economic and trade prospects of individual countries and of their development plans.

The Finance Minister of Jamaica, on behalf of his Government, offered to arrange for the next meeting of Commonwealth finance ministers to be held in Jamaica.

In thanking the Malaysian authorities for their generous hospitality and for the excellent conference arrangements, ministers also expressed their pleasure at being present on the occasion of the first anniversary of Malaysia's independence. They offered their congratulations to the Government and people of the Federation for the notable progress already achieved. In expressing their best wishes for Malaysia's future, ministers represented at the conference recalled the assurance recently given by the Commonwealth prime ministers in the conference in London of their sympathy and support in Malaysia's effort to preserve its sovereign independence and integrity and to achieve a peaceful and honourable settlement of its current differences with its neighbours.

The Council expressed their deep regret at the recent death of Mr. G. S. Dunnett, Executive Secretary of the Commonwealth Economic Committee.

*On September 8, in the House of Commons, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, tabled the above communiqué, and made the following statement:*

On the way to Kuala Lumpur, we paid short visits to Hong Kong and Singapore, meeting local government officials and businessmen interested in trade with

Canada. While in Hong Kong, we had the opportunity of discussions with representatives of the China Resources Company, which . . . has been buying substantial quantities of wheat from the Canadian Wheat Board on behalf of mainland China.

In Hong Kong, in Singapore, in Kuala Lumpur and later in Tokyo, we were enormously impressed by the high rate of economic activity. Everywhere one looked factories were being erected, roads were being built, apartment houses were rising. There can be no doubt that these Pacific countries are on the march and have great potential as markets for Canadian products.

The Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council met in Kuala Lumpur on the first anniversary of the founding of Malaysia. We were happy to join in the celebrations. I regret to say that the celebrations were marred by less happy events, and I draw attention to the text of the communiqué in which the ministers from all the 18 independent Commonwealth countries joined in recalling the assurances given by the Commonwealth prime ministers of their sympathy and support of Malaysia's efforts to preserve its sovereign independence and integrity and to achieve a peaceful and honourable settlement of its current differences with its neighbours.

The discussions at Kuala Lumpur were notable for their emphasis upon the problems of the developing countries, both within and without the Commonwealth. We were happy to be able to say that Canada is stepping up the level and quality of our external aid, particularly in the field of education, and that the Government of Canada supports strongly the international efforts that are being made to improve the trading position of the developing countries.



# *Conference of the International Law Association*

THE INTERNATIONAL Law Association is a non-governmental organization comprising teachers and practitioners of international law and those interested in furthering the rule of law among nations. Its main purpose is to foster the development and acceptance of international law as a basis for international relations. It holds biennial conferences in various countries and, in the period between conferences, an Executive Council assisted by a permanent secretary-general directs its affairs. Continuing committees conduct the elaborate studies and develop the reports which form a basis for proposals by the conferences. National branches meet regularly to discuss and study current problems of international law and, in particular, questions under study by the continuing committees. The Canadian branch has sections in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Ottawa.

The first meeting of the Association in Asia, the fifty-first conference, was held in Tokyo from August 16 to 23, 1964. Members from 35 countries attended, as well as representatives of a number of international private and governmental organizations. Twenty Canadians attended, largely from universities but also from the practising legal profession, the bench and government offices (including two officers of the Department of External Affairs, who attended in their personal capacities). The Canada Council made available grants to facilitate the attendance of law professors from the Canadian branch of the Association.

At the opening session of the conference, Judge Shigeru Kuriyama of Japan was elected President of the Association for the ensuing two years. The conference was addressed by Mr. Taizo Ishizaka, President of the Federation of Economic Organizations, and by the Honourable Kisaburo Yokota, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Japan, who made a strong appeal for the acceptance by all nations of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

## **Topics of Discussion**

The agenda comprised a variety of substantive topics:

- (1) compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice;
- (2) uses of the waters of international rivers;
- (3) legal aspects of problems of asylum;
- (4) extra-territorial application of restrictive trade legislation;
- (5) enforcement of foreign judgements;
- (6) space law;
- (7) juridical aspects of co-existence;
- (8) family relations;
- (9) international medical law.

During the week at its disposal, the conference was in the main concerned with receiving and discussing the reports of its working committees on various aspects of the topics outlined and with giving direction for the work of the committees, which will be carried forward in the period before the 1966 conference. In particular, the following were agreed on:

- (a) continued study of the uses of waters of international rivers, particularly the equitable sharing of uses;
- (b) preparation of draft rules on territorial and diplomatic asylum;
- (c) defining the extent to which actions of states in the extra-territorial application of restrictive trade legislation are limited by rules of international law and the study of practical methods for eliminating, reducing or resolving conflicts between states arising out of extra-territorial application of such legislation;
- (d) continued study by the Committee on the Charter of the United Nations of the question of the settlement of international disputes;
- (e) continued study of the problems involved in applying the Geneva Red Cross Conventions and the elaboration of a working plan for the study of international medical law;
- (f) in respect of outer space:
  - (i) a study of the problems attending the establishment of a specialized agency for outer space;
  - (ii) continued study of the problem of the demarcation of the upper limit of state sovereignty in space and the limitation of such sovereignty;
  - (iii) continued study of the legal status of space vehicles of international organizations;
  - (iv) preparation of a draft convention governing private (civil) liability for damage caused by space vehicles, particularly in connection with possible space activities by governmental or non-governmental entities on a commercial basis;
  - (v) a study of the international legal problems specifically pertaining to the establishment and operation of an international global communications satellite system.

The conference also proposed that the Model Act Respecting the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Money Judgements prepared by a committee established for that purpose, and chaired by Dean Horace Read of Dalhousie University, be submitted to the Hague Conference on Private International Law. Similarly, the conference proposed that reports on family relations dealing with foreign adoptions be transmitted to the Hague Conference for its use in reaching solutions of the problems involved.

The most controversial issue before the conference concerned the work of the Committee on the Juridical Aspects of Co-existence. The conference took note of the report of the rapporteur of the Committee, which purported to lay down

principles of co-existence. In doing so, it stipulated that it was "without prejudging the issue of the definitive character of the list of principles . . . or the question whether these principles shall be deemed to be principles of co-existence or of international law". Sharp disagreement has arisen among international lawyers about the conception of co-existence and the attempt to elaborate principles of co-existence. Some lawyers, notably from Communist countries, have insisted that such principles can be elaborated. Thus the rapporteur, a Yugoslav, had in his report presented 16 "principles of co-existence". On the other hand, other international lawyers, including many Canadians and Americans, believe that the initiative to define principles of co-existence is basically political in character and intended to rationalise a bi-polarised notion of international society whereby all states are seen to be either "Communist" or "capitalist" and in ideological struggle with each other. Implicit in this idea is the contention that existing international law is not calculated to serve the interests of the Communist countries or of the newly developing countries. The so-called principles of co-existence seek, in important respects, to place arbitrary interpretations on the principles of the United Nations Charter and sometimes deviate from the established principles of international law. A further objection is the manner in which some of the traditional principles, which find a place in the principles of co-existence, are sought to be interpreted and applied to different types of situations. Hence the conference's qualification regarding the rapporteur's report.

The conference also resolved that the Committee on the Juridical Aspects of Co-existence should henceforth be known as the Committee on the Principles of International Security and Co-operation and that it should study principles in the sphere of international security and co-operation, notably:

- (1) the Charter obligation of states to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations;
- (2) the Charter obligation of states to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;
- (3) the legal aspects of disarmament.

This resolution, like all the resolutions passed by the conference, is subject to the definitive text being established by the Executive Council.

### **International Court of Justice**

Reflecting the keynote address of Chief Justice Yokota and the comprehensive report of the Committee on the United Nations Charter, the conference called for an extension of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. In particular, it was suggested that the United Nations should consider the adoption of a General Act for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, which, in addition to the existing procedure under Article 36 of the Statute



of the International Court of Justice, would allow states to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court by means of:

- (a) declarations accepting the Court's jurisdiction with respect to ten or more areas of international law, in accordance with the comprehensive list of such areas contained in the proposed General Act, in relation to any other state which has accepted the Court's jurisdiction over the same area;
- (b) declarations accepting the Court's jurisdiction with respect to such matters as are found by the Security Council or the General Assembly to require reference to the Court in order to facilitate their settlement.

Finally, the conference adopted a resolution initiated by several Canadian members that drew attention to the importance of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the conduct of world affairs and the formulation of international law and proposed that the Executive Council continue to study the possibility of creating new branches of the Association in Asian, African and Latin American countries, and resolved that the composition of the continuing committees of the Association be altered or added to having regard to the desirability of providing adequate representation from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

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*The Soviet Minister of Agriculture, Mr. I. P. Volovchenko, tries out a combine while visiting Mr. Harry Hays, the Canadian Agriculture Minister, on his Alberta ranch. Mr. Volovchenko was accompanied by a group of Soviet experts on his three-week tour of Canadian farm lands and agricultural research centres, which ended on September 11, 1964.*

# *Commonwealth Arts Festival*

*The following is the text of a communiqué dated October 7 regarding the 1965 Commonwealth Arts Festival and Canada's part in it:*

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, announced today that the Canadian Government had accepted an invitation from the Commonwealth Festival Society to participate in the Commonwealth Arts Festival which will take place in Britain from September 16 to October 2, 1965.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh is the Chairman of the Advisory Council of the 1965 Festival. The aim of the Commonwealth Arts Festival is to forge cultural links between countries of the Commonwealth to supplement the already existing links in politics, economics, education, science, and other fields. The Festival will seek to reveal the diversity of the cultural traditions which exist in the various countries and will cover music, theatre, dancing, visual arts, folk arts and crafts, film and television film, architecture, and industrial design. It is hoped that the Festival in Britain in 1965 will be followed by Festivals every few years in other countries of the Commonwealth.

The selection of Canadian artists and artistic groups to participate in the Festival will be made on the basis of advice from sources consulted by the Canada Council.

## *Delegation to UNESCO General Conference*

THE SECRETARY of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, recently announced the composition of the Canadian delegation to the thirteenth session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which will take place at the Organization's headquarters in Paris from October 20 to November 19.

The chairman of the delegation will be Dr. Henry Hicks, President of Dalhousie University, Halifax, and President of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO. The vice-chairman will be Mr. S. F. Rae, Canadian Permanent Representative to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva. Other members of the delegation will be: Professor W. A. H. Dobson, Department of Far Eastern Affairs, University of Toronto; Professor Yves Dubé, Director of the Department of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, Laval University, Quebec; Madame Sylva LaMothe, Provincial President and National Vice-President of the Canadian UNICEF Committee, Outremont, Quebec; Mr. L. V. J. Roy, Canadian Permanent Delegate to UNESCO, Paris, France; Dr. J. Tuzo Wilson, Professor of Geophysics, University of Toronto; Mr. Gordon Selman, Acting-Director, Department of University Extension, University of British Columbia; Mr. C. B. Routley, Acting Executive Secretary, Canadian Education Association, Toronto.

Mr. D. W. Bartlett, Acting Secretary-General of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, will act as adviser to the delegation, together with other advisers drawn from the Department of External Affairs.



# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Cyprus Situation**

*On September 10, the following question was asked of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin: "In view of the statement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations . . . that the financial crisis as far as the peace-keeping forces of the UN are concerned is rapidly coming to a critical point, and as this relates also to the peace-keeping forces in Cyprus, can the Minister give us some information in respect of the first question about the overall picture, and more specifically about what is happening in relation to the Cyprus Peace-Keeping Force?" Mr. Martin replied as follows:*

*. . . I indicated yesterday that the Secretary-General is to make a report to the Security Council with his proposals for the United Nations Peace Force in Cyprus within the course of the next few days. Until that report is made, I am not in a position to comment as to future intentions.*

*With regard to the financial situation, I fully concur in the statement made by the Secretary-General yesterday, speaking to the 21-member working group set up to deal with the financing of the United Nations. Canada is a member of that committee, and the Government has instructed its spokesmen on that committee to take every step they can to bring about a solution. The Government believes that Article 19 of the Charter is automatic, and that the failure of a country to extricate itself from the application of that article means that it would lose its vote at the General Assembly.*

*On September 25, a second inquiry on the same subject was worded thus: "In view of the failure of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to obtain approval for the firming up of the authority for United Nations peace-keeping operations in Cyprus, and in view of the critical situation which has developed since to the extent that the Turkish armed forces have cancelled all leaves for this present weekend, can the Minister give us some further details about what has taken place and what we may expect in the next day or two at the United Nations?" Mr. Martin replied:*

*I do not agree with the premise contained in the first part of the . . . question. The Security Council is meeting this afternoon. It would seem now that it is not possible to have unanimity with regard to the kind of resolution some would like to see tabled in the Security Council today. It is thought that the particulars which were embodied in one of the draft resolutions being circulated informally would be such as to invite the exercise of a veto, and since this is not desirable it is more likely that the resolution finally to be placed before the Council will be of a general character. But it will be of a nature which, in the opinion of the*

Canadian Government and of other interested powers, will not preclude the conditions which the Secretary-General himself laid down in the report he circulated to the Council about ten days ago.

*Asked on September 28 to comment on press reports of an extension of the term of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force in Cyprus, Mr. Martin said:*

The United Nations Security Council . . . adopted a resolution late Friday afternoon extending the term of the United Nations Force in Cyprus. Following receipt of the official request from the Secretary-General over the weekend that Canada should continue to participate in the force for a further three months, the Government has authorized me to inform the Secretary-General that Canada is prepared to do so on the same terms that applied to the Canadian contribution in the first two three-month periods.

As a result of this decision, arrangements for the rotation of the Canadian contingent are now proceeding, and my colleague the Minister of National Defence advises me that the first flights left this morning. The First Battalion of the Canadian Guards will be going to Cyprus to relieve the First Battalion of the Royal 22nd Regiment, the "Van Doos", and a reconnaissance squadron of the Lord Strathcona Horse will relieve the reconnaissance squadron of the Royal Canadian Dragoons.

I am sure the House would wish me to take the occasion of the return to Canada within the next week of members of the Royal 22nd Regiment and the Royal Canadian Dragoons to say how very proud the people of Canada are of the exemplary way in which the members of these famous units have carried out the difficult and delicate duties which have been entrusted to them.

*To the suggestion that the UN Peace-Keeping Force on Cyprus had "been hobbled from the start", Mr. Martin replied:*

I do not agree . . . that the Force has been hobbled . . . because I am sure the evidence reveals that, but for the United Nations Force, in which Canada has played so distinguished a part, there would have been a deterioration that might well, both at the beginning, before the Force was established, and afterward, have led to war.

As the Secretary-General said in the report which he circulated ten days ago, the presence of the Force was, in his judgment, vital for the maintenance of conditions that could lead to the avoidance of war and produce a situation that might encourage satisfactory results from mediation. I may say that last Friday I met with Colonel Amy, the officer in charge of the Canadian contingent, and from what he told me, as I am sure from what he has told my colleague the Minister of National Defence, there is no doubt that the United Nations Force has, notwithstanding the great difficulties it faced, made an indispensable and necessary contribution in that troubled island. . . .

*In answer to a question as to why there had been no mention in the press of a request by Canada for the expansion of the powers of the Peace-Keeping Force on Cyprus, Mr. Martin said:*

. . . The Secretary-General did make a statement in the Security Council in which he referred to the consultations he had had with participating governments including Canada — which I may say has been very active in this regard — on the conditions which he laid down and which are embodied in the notation of the resolution passed by the Security Council on Friday last. The Security Council noted the Secretary-General's request for full freedom of movement for the Force, authority to remove military installations, and authority to separate opposing forces and create buffer zones.

It is significant, in this context, that the Security Council resolution containing such a clause received for the first time the unanimous approval of the members of the Council, including the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. It should also be noted that, in the course of the debate, the Secretary-General received explicit support for his proposals regarding these conditions from a majority of Council members and particularly that, in a statement he made after the resolution was passed, he reasserted his intention to continue to seek full freedom of movement for the Force.

In these circumstances, the Secretary-General will in Canada's view — and we have been so advised by him — be justified in proceeding on the basis that the mandate of the Force has been reinforced by the Security Council's deliberations on his proposals. He will now attempt to create more effective operating conditions for the Force.

*To a further inquiry as to whether the financial problems of the peace-keeping operation on Cyprus had been solved and whether the Soviet Union had "indicated its intention to make any contribution in this matter", Mr. Martin replied:*

The Soviet Union has not indicated its intention to make any contribution. The Governments of the United Kingdom and the United States are making sizeable, and the largest, contributions to the voluntary fund. Canada, as I indicated a moment ago, along with Ireland, is continuing to pay the costs of our contributions to the operation. The Secretary-General, however, was forced to announce — I regret that he had to do so, but it shows the state of international acceptance of United Nations obligations — that, unless the fund was large enough, he might have to withdraw the Force before December 26. The financial situation of the United Nations is such that he had no alternative but to make this announcement. I would hope that other countries in the United Nations will follow the example of Canada and Ireland and other countries and assume obligations which under the Charter are legally imposed upon them as well as upon us.

*The following statement concerning the cost of Canada's participation in the Cyprus peace-keeping operation by the Honourable Paul Hellyer, Minister of National Defence was also made on September 28:*



On August 3 I tabled figures of the estimated cost up to July 30. The estimated cost to date of Canadian participation in the United Nations Force in Cyprus, including initial and support airlift and certain costs recoverable from the UN related to Canadian personnel at UN headquarters in Cyprus who are not members of the Canadian contingent, is \$2,810,000. This figure does not include the cost of the rotation of the Canadian contingent which began this morning. This is estimated at \$190,000.

On the basis of estimated monthly costs of \$305,000, expenditures for the next three months, including cost of material, food, other supplies, support airlift and services directly attributable to Canadian participation in the UN Force, may be expected to amount to \$915,000. This does not include possible costs of repatriating our Canadian contingent at the end of this third three-month period.

### **Aid to Indonesia and Malaysia**

*Asked on September 3 whether, in view of reports that the Government of Indonesia had dropped paratroopers in Malaysian territory and that the Government of Malaysia was complaining to the Security Council of the United Nations, the Canadian Government "would now give consideration to cutting off aid to Dr. Sukarno", the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, replied:*

*. . . As the Secretary of State for External Affairs has said, this matter is now under consideration; but, as it has also been pointed out, the only aid going to Indonesia this year is, I believe, a few hundred thousand dollars worth of wheat and flour.*

*On September 9, Mr. Martin was asked "whether he will give a report to the House concerning the situation in Malaysia due to the unprovoked attack on that country by Indonesia" and, further, whether he "will let us know what request has been made by the Malaysian Government for assistance from Canada and what response Canada has made to that request", and "what aid is being given to Malaysia by other Commonwealth countries". The Minister replied as follows:*

*. . . The situation in Malaysia has taken a more serious turn within the last few days. The full consequences of the increased intervention by Indonesia are not yet clear. When the Prime Minister of Malaysia was here, the Prime Minister and I conferred with him, with the result that, as the Prime Minister announced on the 29th of last month, it was decided that a Canadian military survey group would proceed to Malaysia to determine the kind of assistance which could be provided, bearing in mind particularly the contributions which would be made by other countries. The British Government itself is engaged in a similar assessment, and . . . the Government of Malaysia has recently discussed with the Government of the United States what assistance that country might give.*

At the present time there is a Malaysian mission in Washington looking over certain possible kinds of purchases, and we anticipate that this group will be in Canada within the course of a very few days. This visit may concern a particular type of aircraft. The decision in that regard will have to be made subject to our own assessment of the situation and the wishes of the Government of Malaysia. Consideration will then be given as to the means of financing these operations. The survey group which the Prime Minister announced on August 29 is expected to leave for Malaysia very shortly.

*Next, asked whether the Government had "given consideration to the question of terminating once and for all assistance to Indonesia", Mr. Martin reported:*

. . . The matter is under consideration. I may say that, in consultation with other countries such as Australia, we have considered the matter, but no country has decided to withdraw such assistance to Indonesia, on the theory that assistance of a non-military kind given by Western countries has not traditionally borne any political motivation. However, the matter is being reviewed. In the case of Canada, part of our assistance is in respect of aid to students, some of whom are now on their way.

*The same questioner continuing that he was "not referring to student exchanges" but "to food and other such supplies which have the effect of indirectly rendering available . . . additional foreign exchange . . .," the Minister replied:*

. . . I am . . . aware that other countries have pursued the course I have indicated, and no country has yet cancelled its programme. The other form of assistance provided for by Canada in the estimates for 1964-65 is wheat flour in the amount of \$350,000. There has been no shipment of flour under this allocation. As I indicated a moment ago, this whole question is under consideration. . . .

### **Atomic Energy Agreement with Spain**

*To an inquiry on September 9 as to "what precautions and what iron-bound guarantees" existed "to ensure that the information and materials involved" in the recently-signed agreement between Canada and Spain respecting the peaceful use of atomic energy "cannot be used for other than peaceful purposes", Mr. Martin replied:*

This agreement, as the other eight or nine . . . is subject to safeguards similar to those laid down by the International Atomic Energy Agency, with headquarters in Vienna. Canada subscribes to such safeguards, which are obligatory on both countries. In the case of this agreement, Spain is obliged to maintain certain standards and subject itself to inspections to guarantee that these safeguards are observed. The result is that such atomic installations and materials are used only for peaceful purposes.

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- Third Meeting of the Parties to the International Convention for High Seas Fisheries of the Northern Pacific Ocean: Ottawa, September 9.
- United Nations Working Group of 21 on the Examination of Administrative and Budgetary Procedures: New York, September 9.
- Opening of IAEA General Conference: Vienna, September 14.
- Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee: Geneva, in recess, September 17.
- Legal Sub-Committee of the UNGA Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, resumed third session: New York, October 5-23.
- International Joint Commission, regular semi-annual meeting: Ottawa, October 6-9.
- Meeting of the International Joint Commission: Ottawa, October 6-13.
- Fifth Inter-American Indian Conference: Quito, October 19-25.
- Plenary Meeting of the UNGA Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, fifth session: New York, October 26 to November 6.
- Opening of the UNESCO General Conference: Paris, October 20.
- Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference: Kingston, Jamaica, November 3-23.
- Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting: London, November 9-20.
- Governing Body of ILO and its Committees, 160th session: Geneva, November 9-20.
- United Nations General Assembly, nineteenth regular session: New York, November 10.



## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. M. H. Hébert posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon, to the Canadian Embassy, Athens. Left Lisbon June 11, 1964.
- Mr. P. A. Bridle, Commissioner to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, posted to Ottawa. Left Vientiane June 15, 1964.
- Mr. G. A. H. Pearson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, to Ottawa. Left Mexico June 27, 1964.
- Mr. F. M. Meech posted from the Canadian Consulate General, San Francisco, to Ottawa. Left San Francisco July 1, 1964.
- Mr. J. R. Sharpe posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin. Left Washington July 5, 1964.
- Miss E. R. Laidman posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv, to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow. Left Tel Aviv July 21, 1964.
- Mr. F. Clarke posted from the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, to the Canadian Embassy, Washington. Left Tokyo July 29, 1964.
- Mr. H. H. Carter appointed Canadian Ambassador to Finland. Left Ottawa July 30, 1964.
- Mr. J. W. M. Agnes posted from the Canadian Embassy, Bonn, to the Canadian Embassy, Paris. Left Bonn July 30, 1964.
- Mr. H. W. Richardson posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Kuala Lumpur. Left Ottawa July 31, 1964.
- Mr. L. A. Parent appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Management Analyst 5 effective August 1, 1964.
- Mr. C. Moodie appointed Canadian Consul General, Seattle. Left New York August 1, 1964.
- Miss D. J. Armstrong posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Paris, to Ottawa. Left Paris August 1, 1964.
- Mr. J. D. York posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Consulate General, New York. Left Washington August 3, 1964.
- Mr. J. E. M. Hanna posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Cairo. Left Ottawa August 4, 1964.
- Mr. J. M. J. Hughes posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to Ottawa. Left Rome August 4, 1964.
- Mr. I. C. Clark posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, to Ottawa. Left Brussels August 4, 1964.
- Mr. J. R. Maybee appointed Canadian Ambassador to Lebanon. Left Ottawa August 6, 1964.
- Mr. J. H. Cleveland, Canadian Ambassador to Finland, appointed High Commissioner of Canada to Nigeria. Left Helsinki August 6, 1964.
- Mr. R. Campbell appointed Canadian Ambassador to Yugoslavia. Left Ottawa August 7, 1964.

- Mr. J. C. J. Cousineau posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rome. Left Ottawa August 7, 1964.
- Mr. H. B. O. Robinson posted from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to Ottawa. Left Washington August 10, 1964.
- Mr. T. Carter, Canadian High Commissioner to Nigeria, posted to Ottawa. Left Lagos August 10, 1964.
- Mr. K. Goldschlag posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa. Left London August 12, 1964.
- Mr. J. G. Harris posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Paris. Left Ottawa August 14, 1964.
- Mr. J. P. J. Robichaud resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective August 14, 1964.
- Mr. D. A. Anderson posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam to Ottawa. Left Saigon August 15, 1964.
- Miss G. Read posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to Ottawa. Left New York August 15, 1964.
- Mr. D. S. McPhail posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva. Left Ottawa August 19, 1964.
- Mr. W. F. Hoogendyke posted from the Canadian Consulate General, New York, to the Canadian Embassy, Bonn. Left New York August 19, 1964.
- Mr. K. D. McIlwraith posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris. Left Ottawa August 20, 1964.
- Mr. M. R. Pelletier appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective August 20, 1964.
- Mr. L. S. Clark posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner of Canada, Accra. Left Ottawa August 21, 1964.
- Mr. M. N. Bow appointed Canadian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. Left Ottawa August 21, 1964.
- Mr. C. E. Glover posted from the Canadian Embassy, Berne, to Ottawa. Left Berne August 22, 1964.
- Mr. I. G. Mundell posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York. Left Ottawa August 26, 1964.
- Mr. A. de W. Mathewson posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington. Left Ottawa August 28, 1964.
- Mr. T. M. M. Pope posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo. Left Ottawa August 28, 1964.
- Mr. S. E. Riethman appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective August 31, 1964.
- Mr. J. A. Roberts appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Deputy Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization effective September 1, 1964.
- Mr. J. H. Taylor posted from the Delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, to Ottawa. Left Paris September 1, 1964.

Miss S. M. Plouffe appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective September 1, 1964.

Mr. O. W. Dier appointed Canadian Ambassador to Colombia. Left Ottawa September 2, 1964.

Miss M. Laperriere appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective September 8, 1964.

Miss C. A. Hart appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective September 8, 1964.

Mr. J. P. Liabotis appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective September 8, 1964.

Mr. R. M. MacDonnell appointed Canadian Ambassador to Indonesia. Left Ottawa September 10, 1964.

Mr. L. M. Berry appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective September 14, 1964.

Mr. P. L. K. Hahn appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective September 14, 1964.

Mr. R. P. Sterling appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective September 14, 1964.

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## **TREATY INFORMATION**

### **Current Action**

#### **Bilateral**

##### **Japan**

Convention between Japan and Canada for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.  
Signed at Tokyo September 5, 1964.

##### **Spain**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of Spain for co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.  
Signed at Ottawa September 8, 1964.

##### **United States of America**

Treaty between Canada and the United States of America relating to co-operative development of the water resources of the Columbia River Basin.  
Signed at Washington January 17, 1961.

Instruments of Ratification exchanged at Ottawa September 16, 1964.

Entered into force September 16, 1964.

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America confirming the entry into force of the Protocol of January 22, 1964 to the Columbia River Treaty.  
Ottawa, September 16, 1964.

Entered into force September 16, 1964.



Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America authorizing the Canadian Entitlement Purchase Agreement provided for under the Columbia River Treaty.

Ottawa September 16, 1964.

Entered into force September 16, 1964.

Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America regarding the construction, operation and maintenance of a Loran C Station and a Monitor Control Station in Newfoundland.

Ottawa September 16, 1964.

Entered into force September 16, 1964.

### **Multilateral**

Amendments to the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by General Assembly Resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII) of 17 December 1963.

Done at New York December 17, 1963.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited September 9, 1964.

### **Publication**

*Canada Treaty Series 1962 No. 15.* Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America concerning the co-ordination and use of radio frequencies above thirty megacycles per second. Ottawa, October 24, 1962. Entered into force October 24, 1962.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 16.* Agreement between Canada and France concerning films and film production. Signed at Montreal October 11, 1963. Entered into force October 11, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 17.* Long-Term Wheat Agreement between Canada and Poland. Signed at Ottawa November 5, 1963. Entered into force November 5, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 18.* Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America amending the Agreement of May 5, 1961, concerning the co-ordination of pilotage services in the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River as amended February 21 and September 10, 1963. Washington, November 19 and December 4, 1963. Entered into force December 4, 1963. With effect as of August 1, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 20.* Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America on measures to ensure the orderly, efficient and safe control of aircraft operating in the air space near the common boundary of Canada and the United States of America. Ottawa, December 20 and 27, 1963. Entered into force December 27, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 22.* Agreement between Canada, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the conduct of manoeuvres and other training exercises in the Soltau-Luneburg Area. Signed at Bonn, August 3, 1959. Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited January 10, 1963. Entered into force July 1, 1963.

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 23.* Agreement between Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany on the settlement of disputes arising out of direct procurement. Signed at Bonn, August 3, 1959. Instruments of ratification exchanged at Bonn, September 21, 1962. Entered into force July 1, 1963.

# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## Royal Visit, 1964

At 5.35 p.m. on October 5, 1964, a plane bearing Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth and His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh, emerged from grey Atlantic skies to touch down at the Royal Canadian Air Force station at Summerside, Prince Edward Island. Another royal tour of Canada had begun, this one embracing, within eight days, visits to Charlottetown, Quebec City and Ottawa.

Leaving Summerside shortly after their arrival, aboard Her Majesty's Yacht "Britannia", the royal couple disembarked the following afternoon at Charlottetown for a series of engagements celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the first meeting of the Fathers of Confederation. At the official inauguration of Charlottetown's Memorial Centre, the Queen, in reply to greetings by Premier Shaw of Prince Edward Island and the Prime Minister of Canada, delivered the first of two speeches she made in Canada, describing the new building complex as "this splendid and imaginative project, to which all Canadians have contributed". During their stay in Charlottetown, the Queen and Prince Philip visited the Confederation Chamber at Province House and signed its Golden Book, attended an en-



*Disembarking from HMY Britannia at Charlottetown, Her Majesty inspects a guard of honour.*





*The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh (with his back to the camera) saunter amongst a group of officials in front of the new Memorial Centre in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.*

thusiastic children's rally at the Coliseum, where merit awards were presented to selected Girl Guides and Boy Scouts, and witnessed a royal variety performance, produced by Mavor Moore and featuring such Canadian stars as Lorne Greene, Gratien Gélinas and Les Feux Follets of Montreal, in the Memorial Centre theatre. Among the social events graced by the presence of the royal couple were a lunch given by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, a state dinner given by the provincial government, a glittering centennial ball and a reception aboard the royal yacht for the presentation of provincial and federal officials. At midnight October 7-8, a brilliant fireworks display climaxed the visit as the "Britannia" drew away from the Charlottetown pier to begin the voyage to Quebec City.

### **Arrival at Quebec**

After a respite on the water as the "Britannia" steamed round the Gaspé Peninsula and up the St. Lawrence River, the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh disembarked early on October 10 at L'Anse au Foulon (Wolfe's Cove), below the Plains of Abraham, amid elaborate arrival ceremonies, and proceeded to the Quebec Legislative Buildings. There, before a gathering of eminent guests, the Queen was greeted by the Prime Minister of Quebec and delivered in reply the memorable speech

quoted below. After lunch with the Lieutenant-Governor and Madame Comtois, Her Majesty and the Duke watched the impressive military ceremonies at the Citadel commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Royal 22nd Regiment, of which the Queen is Colonel-in-Chief. The Colonel of the "Van Doos", the Governor General of Canada, accompanied Her Majesty during the opening of a memorial chapel, where she lit an eternal flame in memory of the 1450 members of this valiant unit who had died in the service of Canada. "Baptiste Deuxième", the mantled goat presented to the Regiment by the Queen as its mascot, participated with regal dignity in many of the afternoon's manoeuvres.

The state dinner given by the government of Quebec the same evening at the Chateau Frontenac lent splendour and enthusiasm to a day on which the weather was as uncharitable as the demonstrations of a few noisy students along the route of the motorcades.

On Sunday, after divine service on board the yacht and the subsequent reception of local and provincial officials, the Queen and the Duke were relaxed and sparkling hosts to some 250 of the 1200 members of the press who covered the royal tour. After their arrival by air in Ottawa later in the day, the Governor-General and Mme Vanier entertained for them at a private dinner.

### **Reception in Ottawa**

Ottawa greeted the Queen and the Duke with warmth and enthusiasm at all royal appearances, and, at the impressive wreath-laying ceremony at the National Memorial on Thanksgiving morning, the cheering crowds surrounding Confederation Square were great both in number and in voice.

The governmental reception at the Chateau Laurier for some 1200 Senators, Members of Parliament, officials and eminent guests followed. At the lunch given by the Prime Minister and Mrs. Pearson, the Queen was presented with a chess set carved from walrus tusk and a chess board made of sealskin squares by an Eskimo couple from Igloolik, in the Northwest Territories. On behalf of his family, the Duke of Edinburgh welcomed the gift of a "Penguin" amphi-car. Earlier announcement had been made of the Government's present, the construction of the world's second largest telescope, to be housed in an observatory in the Rocky Mountains and named after the Queen in honour of her 1964 visit.

A reception for the diplomatic corps and Canadian officials connected with the tour and a state dinner at Government House that was attended by the premiers of all provinces constituted a gala termination to the 1964 royal tour.

The Duke of Edinburgh said goodbye the same day before leaving for a day's shooting at an island near Quebec, after which he was to board the "Britannia" for a cruise of the Caribbean. After departure ceremonies at Uplands the next morning, the Queen boarded an Air Canada jet for London to the accompaniment of widespread plaudits for the grace and dignity she had revealed in Ottawa and throughout the exacting events of a memorable tour.

The visit, though relatively brief, had commemorated the Charlottetown and Quebec meetings of the Fathers of Confederation a century ago. The Queen had



officiated at the fiftieth anniversary of the famous French-Canadian regiment of which she is Colonel-in-Chief. She had paid her respects to her Ottawa Government and to her Canadian people. One of the highlights of the tour was her speech to the Provincial Legislature in Quebec City, where, in flawless French, she stressed the need for flexibility and reassessment in the political philosophy of any dynamic state, and cited Canada, in particular, as the meeting-place of two great civilizations whose qualities were complimentary rather than contradictory. The



*At the National War Memorial in Ottawa, the Queen and the Duke chat with members of the Canadian Legion.*



address was praised by Dr. Lucien Boulet, President of the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Quebec City, as "un véritable cadeau royal", and, in the maturity of its wisdom regarding conditions in her changing realm, has won widespread applause both in Canada and abroad.

Its text follows:

"Mr. Prime Minister,

"I thank you with all my heart for the words of welcome which you have just addressed to me and my husband. We are very deeply touched by them. I am very happy that you invited me to come to Quebec after my visit to Prince Edward Island to commemorate the origins of Confederation — all the more in that the resolutions formulated here established the bases.

"It is pleasant for me to think that there exists in our Commonwealth a country where I can express myself officially in French — one of the more important languages in our occidental civilization.

"This language of clarity is a precious instrument in the service of comprehension; and I am certain that its greater diffusion and the appreciation of its riches cannot but be profitable to all intelligences and favour a more fruitful exchange of ideas.

"It is a great pleasure for us to return to Quebec, where on two previous occasions we have received a warm welcome. You have thus continued a tradition of cordial hospitality.

"Once before, at the time of Quebec's tercentenary, my grandfather came to pay homage to the City's illustrious founder, Samuel de Champlain. He said then, in French and in English:

It is from the bottom of my heart that I congratulate you for having had such a hero. May his statue forever ornament your historic capital to remind the citizens of Quebec, if needs be, of the eminent qualities of piety and courage, humanity, will-power and loyalty which so distinguish this faithful servant of God and King.

"I might add that my parents have often spoken to me of the wonderful memories which they have of their sojourn amongst you.

"My last visit was in June 1959, when I presented colours to the Royal 22nd Regiment, of which I am Colonel-in-Chief. It is a happy coincidence that I return during the regiment's golden anniversary. In the course of two great wars and the Korean operations, the regiment has forged a noble tradition of honour, valour and sacrifice. I am very pleased by the thought of inaugurating at the Citadel this afternoon the memorial in which will be kept the Golden Book containing the names of the 1,450 men who died on the fields of honour. To recall their sacrifice, I shall light a flame that will burn there forever.

"Today the 'Van Doos' are distinguishing themselves in the service of peace in Cyprus, as at other times they have in war.

"In going about the official functions of my visit, I attach the greatest importance to the warmth of human relations. I should like to say a word to those who are particularly close to me, to those with whom I share a particular bond of understanding: the mothers of Canadian families. I speak not only to those who are

here. I address — as if they were as close to me in fact as they are in spirit — all those who have ever held a child in their arms, dreaming of what his future will be.

“Whatever this future, we must prepare for it today. Amongst compatriots we must explain our point of view without passion, always respecting the opinion of others. The problems of today will founder in disorder if we do not know how to illuminate them with fraternity and humanity. Let the dialogue continue, and it will tend to unify all men of good faith. True patriotism does not exclude an understanding of the patriotism of others.

“The ways of democracy depend on the conscious support of all citizens. The function of constitutional monarchy is to personify the democratic state, to sanction legitimate authority, to assure the legality of means and guarantee the execution of the public will. It is my ardent desire that no citizen in my realms should suffer constraint. To be happy, a people must live in a climate of confidence and affection. But a dynamic state should not fear to re-assess its political philosophy. That an agreement worked out 100 years ago does not necessarily meet all the needs of the present should not be surprising.

“I hope that the centennial of our Confederation will be a symbol of hope to the world. To fully succeed, it must manifest an effective understanding, freely entered into, that will be an expression of our country’s maturity.

“Confederation was founded by two races, and I think it appropriate to speak in the languages of both Cartier and Macdonald. This country is the meeting-place of two great civilizations, each contributing its own genius and quality. These qualities are not contradictory, but complementary to one another. The full energy and progress of the nation can only be realized by the continued co-operation of all sections of the community.\*

“We are proud of the irreplaceable role and special destiny of French Canada. For 400 years it has maintained its strength and vigour, and whenever you sing ‘O Canada’ you are reminded that you come of a proud race. It is to this pride, to this nobility of heart, that I speak while recalling that the Fathers of Confederation aspired to a great future. Their work is worth pursuing. Thereby the hearts which so nourished such an enterprise will not have beat in vain. In serving the true interests of Quebec, you will serve those of Canada, in the same way as the true interests of Canada ought to serve those of the entire world.”

---

\*Paragraph spoken in English.

## *Franco-Canadian Relations*

**R**ELATIONS between Canada and France have traditionally been marked by sympathy and friendship. This is hardly surprising in view of the historic ties between the two countries. France is one of the two motherlands of Canada and French-speaking Canadians have natural linguistic and cultural bonds with France. Frenchmen have, in turn, been grateful for the part Canada has played in the defence of France in the First World War and in its liberation in the Second World War. Canada and France have stood side by side in NATO for the defence of the free world. These ties have provided a fund of goodwill between the two countries. On the other hand, history, abetted by distance, has also been responsible in the past for a certain lack of knowledge and understanding in each country of what was going on in the other.

Recently, there has been a remarkable increase of interest, which is by no means limited to French-speaking Canada, in France and in France's contribution to modern civilization. With this has come a wider consciousness that what the two countries share from the past is of vital importance to their present personality. An important reason for this is undoubtedly that, with increasingly rapid means of communications and increasing numbers of people travelling abroad, there has been a growing realization that in many respects the two countries are going through similar periods of rapid progress. Particularly notable in this respect has been the growth of a dynamic modern society in the Province of Quebec, which has led naturally to closer contacts with France in many fields, including education, technical training and cultural exchanges.

In recent years changes have also been taking place in France that are in the process of transforming the very structure of the country in a profound and lasting way. One of these is the increase in the birth-rate and in the population that has taken place since 1945. The population has grown from 40,000,000 to nearly 50,000,000 and the annual increase has been one of the highest in Europe. As a result, France is now a country of youth, with about 40 per cent of its population under 35 years of age. This trend has been accompanied by a new emphasis on education. From 1950 to 1960 the total school population increased from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000, and during the same period secondary-school pupils tripled in number. Great efforts are also being made to modernize higher education, with a new emphasis on science and technology. France hopes, in a few years, to produce 35,000 engineers annually to meet the needs of its increasingly complex industrial plants.

There have been tremendous strides made in economic development and social progress. In this field France has pioneered a technique of indicative planning that has become world famous. After the last war a vast programme of reconstruction and capital investment was undertaken in response to the Marshall Plan.



An important factor in its success was the co-operation which was achieved between the various sectors of the economy. Subsequent programmes have laid emphasis on "social" investment (schools and housing), "infrastructure" (roads and communications) and regional development. The progress thus achieved undoubtedly prepared the way for, and has been enhanced by, the development of the European Common Market. In the last five years French industrial production has risen 40 per cent. The gross national expenditure rose 4.8 per cent in 1963 to over \$80 billion, and is expected to rise by 5.2 per cent this year.

There have also been important changes in the pattern of French industry. Employment in the traditional industries — mining and textiles, for example — has dropped, while it has risen rapidly in the newer industries — building, chemicals, engineering, and above all electrical engineering. There has been an accompanying growth in all services, in keeping with the Western trend, and a significant change in the volume and pattern of consumption, which has been spurred by the rapid growth of the population and of personal incomes. Between 1950 and 1962 total consumption, at constant prices, rose by 76 per cent and *per capita* consumption increased by about 57 per cent. There has also been a declining proportion of money spent on food and clothing and an increasing proportion spent on time-saving devices and recreation.

While unemployment has been kept at a minimum level, there has been a remarkable movement of workers from the land to the cities, resulting in an improvement in productivity and in the modernization of agriculture. French agriculture is being transformed by mechanization and rationalization. Farming is being integrated into the industrial economy. Production techniques and marketing methods have been remodelled to gear agricultural production to commercial demand.

Another important feature of France today is the unprecedented period of political continuity that France has enjoyed under General de Gaulle's leadership. This continuity has undoubtedly made possible the process of decolonization in Africa and the solution of the Algerian problem, which has, in turn, released resources and energies urgently needed for the task of modernization at home. It has also facilitated the process of economic expansion based on monetary stability.

It is against this background that Canada and France are now making a more conscious and concerted effort to translate their traditional bonds of sentiment into contemporary links of mutual interest through an expanding programme of closer co-operation. Such an effort on the part of the Canadian Government reflects both the fact of Canada's bicultural personality and Canada's interest in developing a better equilibrium in its external relations. It also reflects the increasing importance of the role played in the world by France and by Europe.

The official visit the Prime Minister, accompanied by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, paid to France last January constituted a visible recognition of these factors.\* It also had positive results of importance to the future of rela-

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\*See "External Affairs", March 1964.



*Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson chats with General de Gaulle during Mr. Pearson's official visit to France in January 1964.*

tions between the two countries. In the first place, a more direct dialogue was opened between the two governments, a dialogue that it was agreed should be maintained and developed by means of regular ministerial consultations. The conversations took place in an atmosphere of great cordiality and a spirit of mutual understanding that enabled questions to be discussed frankly even when divergencies were known to exist. In the second place, both sides became aware as never before of the real advantages to each of getting to know one another better. The two governments indicated their desire for greater development of their relations in both the economic and cultural fields and considered various means of increasing their existing co-operation.

More specifically, the Prime Minister's visit offered an opportunity for a useful exchange of views on the major international problems of the day and for a review of bilateral questions. Approval was given to several important projects for cultural and technical co-operation and ways were discussed of improving economic and trade relations between Canada and France. It was also agreed to co-ordinate policies governing assistance to French-speaking countries in Africa and to explore projects of mutual interest in defence production.

Within the framework of regular consultations agreed on in January, the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada and the Foreign Minister of France met once in The Hague in May, on the occasion of the NATO ministerial meeting,



and will be meeting again before the end of the year. On the first occasion, the two ministers exchanged views on international problems and matters of common concern to their countries. They noted with satisfaction the progress achieved in Franco-Canadian co-operation, particularly under the programme of cultural exchanges inaugurated by the Canadian Government.

Since then the Canadian Government has decided to open two consulates general in France, one in Bordeaux and the other in Marseilles. Mr. Robert Choquette will be the first Consul General in Bordeaux and Mr. Eugène Bussière the first Consul General in Marseilles. This step is designed to further strengthen the existing co-operation between France and Canada, at the same time putting a greater emphasis on the regional activities of the Canadian Embassy in France.

### **Economic and commercial relations**

France is the world's fourth most important exporter, coming after the Federal Republic of Germany and before Canada. Three-quarters of French exports are industrial and less than a sixth agricultural. Approximately half France's external trade, both export and import, is within Western Europe, some three-quarters of it with the country's partners in the European Common Market. Suppliers in North America and elsewhere outside the franc zone buy one-quarter of France's exports and supply over one-third of its imports. France's gold and foreign-exchange reserves are at present approaching \$5 billion, and *per capita* reserves exceed those of the United States.

Franco-Canadian trade has increased some 20 per cent since 1959 and has nearly doubled since 1955, when French import restrictions were in effect. In 1963, Canada exported \$63.4 million to France and imported \$58.2 million. A growing range of products is being exchanged between the two countries, but Canada's basic purchases continue to consist of cars, steel products, alcoholic beverages, printed matter, machinery, instruments and textiles. France principally buys durum wheat, oilseeds, canned seafood, industrial minerals and chemicals, synthetic rubber and yarns, machinery, tools and instruments.

Exporters of both countries have been intensifying their activities in each other's markets. Over 500 Canadian firms sent representatives to France during 1963. Numerous trade missions of the federal and provincial governments have visited France. Canada has participated in a large number of French international trade fairs, industrial exhibitions and other local events. French officials and private businessmen have been engaged in similar activities in Canada. Of particular note was the French technical exhibition held in Montreal in 1963.

Commercial relations between Canada and France are governed by the terms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, signed by both countries in 1948, by which each grants the other most-favoured-nation treatment. Both countries are taking part in preparations for the forthcoming GATT trade negotiations known as the "Kennedy round". Canada and France are also fellow members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, with headquarters in Paris.



Direct French investments in Canada are in a variety of fields, including petroleum and natural-gas production, mining, potash deposits, chemicals and fertilizers, pharmaceuticals, textiles and a number of manufacturing and service industries. These take the form both of equity investments, through direct participation by French banking or other institutions, and privately-owned shares in Canadian corporations. A French economic mission visited Canada in 1962 to consider what opportunities there might be for other capital investments. Investments in the opposite direction have been by Canadian companies in agricultural machinery, metallurgy, synthetic rubber, banking, transport and service industries.

During the official visit to France this year, Prime Minister Pearson and President de Gaulle stressed the importance they attached to strengthening the ties between their two countries through increased investments and trade. The economic climate in France is highly favourable to this attempt. The rate of expansion of the French economy, though slower in 1963 than in 1962, remains satisfactory. Industrial production in the first half of 1964 rose by 9.8 per cent. The campaign launched in September 1963 to stabilize prices has been a substantial success. Exports moved ahead substantially early in 1964 and, though they have levelled off in the interim, imports appear to be receding from the high-water mark of the second quarter. The trade deficit is more than covered by net receipts from invisible and capital movements, as swelling exchange reserves demonstrate.

A balanced Budget was presented in September 1964, in which the Minister of Finance laid down a government policy of genuine economic "equilibrium". This went hand-in-hand with the announcement of satisfactory progress in the carrying out of the Fourth Economic Plan, which will end in 1965, and the unveiling of the Fifth Plan, which postulates an average annual rate of expansion of about 5 per cent, from 1966 to 1970.

The psychological climate in France is similarly favourable to the objective of increased investments and trade. Economic prosperity and growth have brought a renewal of business confidence in the future. This, combined with the rapid removal of tariff barriers, especially within the Common Market, has led to a greater willingness to adapt to the demands of competition. New techniques are being exploited by industry; factories are being modernized and expanded; more efficient methods and ideas are being introduced in business and in the service industries; and there is an avid interest in greater mechanization and automation. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there should be a growing conviction in economic circles in France as well as Canada that the time is opportune for developing closer co-operation between them.

Prime Minister Pearson and President de Gaulle also recorded their agreement on the importance of accelerating economic growth in the developing countries by assisting them in increasing their trade and by sustained programmes of external aid. The two governments felt that it would be useful to co-ordinate their policies in this respect in view of the considerable role France had traditionally played in this field and recent developments in the Canadian programme of aid to French-speaking countries in Africa.

One of the main consequences of this understanding has been an increasing exchange of information and views between Canadian and French officials concerned with planning and implementing aid programmes in the French-speaking African countries. Generally speaking, the Canadian aim has been to find out what the French are already doing in these countries so that aid projects will not duplicate one another; to see how Canada might usefully support or supplement existing French projects; and, most important, to discover what types of assistance are most needed (but not adequately covered by the French programmes) and what type Canada is particularly well equipped to provide.

### **Cultural relations**

Since almost a third of Canada's people speak French as their mother tongue, cultural relations between the two countries are a matter of tradition, and are developing satisfactorily.

The Alliance Française is a well-established institution in many cities in Canada, as the Association France-Canada and its many branches are throughout France. There has been a Canadian students' residence in the Cité Universitaire in Paris for more than 30 years and during that time a broad network of relations between universities and professors on both sides of the Atlantic has grown up.

There are also many long-standing ties between individuals and private organizations. Writers, artists, actors and authors are continually travelling in both directions. Moreover, Canada is, after Belgium, the second largest importer of French books in the world and Canadian writers are finding an ever larger audience in France, with publishers as well as with literary critics. There is, nevertheless, a job to be done in making known to the French public that Canada is no longer either the land of Maria Chapdelaine or the "few acres of snow" of Voltaire. On the other hand, it is true to say that, as a result of recent developments, France and Canada are already well on the way to gaining a knowledge and understanding of each other as dynamic modern countries.

The most important of these developments, on the Canadian side, has been the initiation in 1964 of a programme of cultural exchanges to which the Canadian Government is devoting an annual expenditure of \$250,000. This programme includes also Belgium and Switzerland, the two other French-speaking countries in Europe, but by far the largest part is to be used for exchanges between France and Canada. A number of activities have already been undertaken under this programme. One of the first projects was to acquire for Canada three studios in the newly-founded arts centre in Paris, the Cité Internationale des Arts. Another project was to send the theatrical company of the University of Ottawa to the University Theatre Festival at Nancy in the spring of 1964, where the Canadians distinguished themselves by winning a second prize. Finally, the Canadian Government has awarded about 30 scholarships to French citizens, mostly students, who have already enrolled in various Canadian universities or are spending the academic year 1964-65 in Canada. Thus Canada is at last able to reciprocate

in some measure the generous programme of scholarships for Canadians that France has long maintained.

While the traditional exchanges between the two countries have in the past involved students and professors, intellectuals and artists, there has more recently been a significant new emphasis on scientific and technical exchanges which reflects a growing awareness in each country of the modern evolution that has taken place in the other. For example, there are at present in France almost 100 young Canadian engineers and technicians engaged in a training programme in French industry under a special agreement.

In the field of administration, which is of growing importance in the modern world, the two governments have reached an agreement by which ten places in the National School of Administration in Paris are offered each year to Canadians, the majority, naturally, French-speaking. Though there is no equivalent school in Canada, the agreement provides for a counterpart that it is hoped will take the form of a useful tour of Canadian Government institutions for a certain number of graduates of the French school.

These are the main lines of the new and concerted policy that is now guiding cultural relations between France and Canada. The Montreal World's Fair in 1967, in which France will occupy a prominent place, will no doubt add a powerful stimulus to these activities. The French pavilion is being planned as a permanent centre which will serve to disseminate French culture in Canada long after the Fair closes.

### **Defence co-operation**

The history of co-operation between the Canadian and French armed forces can be traced back a great many years to the days when the Canadian Corps was fighting under Marshal Foch in the First World War. Again, on a number of occasions during the Second World War, whether in the Royal Canadian Air Force training centres in Canada or in operations in Europe, there were many examples of close co-operation between Canadian and French forces. This is exemplified by the Canadian war cemeteries on French soil.

With the advent of NATO, there has emerged a pattern of long-range planning and co-operation that today characterizes relations between the two countries in defence. An important manifestation of this form of co-operation between France and Canada in recent years was the establishment on French soil in 1952, within the framework of NATO, of a major part of the Canadian Air Division. Today the Air Division, with its headquarters at Metz and its important base of Marville, has over 2,000 officers and airmen and more than 4,000 dependants stationed in France. The Canadian Air Division and the French military authorities have always co-operated efficiently and relations between Canadian families and the local populations have always been friendly. Joint exercises and control of aircraft have been a common practice between the two Air Forces for many years. Another area of close co-operation between the French and Canadian Air Forces



was the training of large numbers of French pilots in Canada under the mutual-aid programme.

An increasing number of bilateral exchanges has also been taking place between the two countries. Each year has seen an increase in the number of technical and military missions exchanged. Problems of common interest ranging from civil defence to maritime patrolling techniques are the subject of regular exchanges of information. Since 1962, for instance, the French Navy and the Canadian Maritime Air Command have carried out maritime patrol training flights periodically between the two countries. In May 1962 Canada and France signed an agreement providing for the exchange of defence science information between Canada's Defence Research Board and its French counterpart, Inspection des Fabrications et Programmes d'Armement. Under this agreement exchanges of information take place regularly on a variety of subjects such as naval construction, electronic research and development, operational research, etc. The agreement also provides for the granting of scholarships.

In defence production, there is close and continuing liaison between the Canadian Embassy in Paris and the French Ministry of Defence, and special visits are made by Canadian experts to France and by French experts to Canada. In 1962 Canada decided to acquire the French SS-11 missile and the ENTAC anti-tank system. Not only was the equipment obtained from France but a number of Canadian operators and technicians received their training in that country. In 1963, the French Minister of Defence visited defence-production facilities in Canada at the invitation of the Canadian Minister of Defence Production. Since then the French authorities have been studying with interest a number of specific Canadian defence-equipment projects of potential value to the French armed forces. It is hoped that Canada and France will be able to co-operate more systematically in defence research and development to their mutual benefit.

### **Immigration**

Since 1946, when Canadian immigration activities resumed in Europe after the Second World War, over 50,000 French nationals have established themselves in Canada. In recent years it has become apparent that there is among the French population a growing interest in Canada and in the possibilities it offers. With its bicultural character, its high standard of living and the dynamic progress it has been making, increasing numbers of Frenchmen see in Canada an attractive land of opportunity.

The Canadian immigration service in France, which operates out of the Visa Section of the Canadian Embassy in Paris, has been making a constant effort to stimulate and satisfy this interest. Travelling immigration teams regularly visit large centres outside Paris, such as Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lyons and Strasbourg, and the establishment of consulates general in Bordeaux and Marseilles is expected to encourage a further upward trend in the movement of French nationals to Canada. By the end of September 1964, the Embassy in Paris had already issued

more immigrant visas to French nationals than had been issued during the 12 months of 1963.

Worthy of special note is the agreement recently reached between the French and Canadian Governments to facilitate the establishment in Canada of French farmers repatriated from North Africa. Under this agreement, the Canadian Embassy is working in close co-operation with the French authorities to prepare an initial movement of highly-qualified farmers for the early spring of 1965.

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*Independence ceremonies in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, on October 24, 1964, marked the transformation of this British colony into the Republic of Zambia — the thirty-sixth African state to obtain independence and the twentieth independent member of the Commonwealth. Delegates and guests from 68 countries and from the United Nations attended the Lusaka celebrations. Canada was represented by the Honourable Yvon Dupuis, Minister without Portfolio, accompanied by Mme Dupuis, and by Mr. Ian Smyth, Acting Canadian Trade Commissioner in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.*

*The photograph above shows the following public figures who presided at the Zambia independence celebrations (left to right): Mrs. Kaunda, wife of the President of Zambia; the Princess Royal, representing Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth; Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia; President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.*



# *The Challenge of Under-Development*

*The following is the text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, to the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Plenary Meeting of the International Committee of YMCAs of Canada and the United States at Cleveland, Ohio, on September 26, 1964:*

I am deeply honoured by your invitation to address you on this anniversary occasion. Three-quarters of a century ago, the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America set out, in a spirit of brotherhood and service, to share their resources and skills with those of other countries. Three-quarters of a century ago, a movement began which was destined to transcend colour, creed and culture. Three-quarters of a century ago, devoted and farsighted men in the United States and Canada recognized the need for a policy of hands across the continents, for helping people to help themselves, for training good citizens and good men.

The tributes that have been paid to you on your seventy-fifth anniversary by world leaders and statesmen bear eloquent testimony to the measure of your accomplishment. With a membership today in excess of five million, spread over more than 80 countries and territories, you can justly claim to be "a unique and penetrating force in the cause of world peace and justice". For peace and justice, in the final analysis, are concepts that depend upon men of just and peaceful disposition to give them substance. And it is men of that calibre and disposition who have been the products of the YMCA world service over the years — the products of teaching and example but, above all I believe, the products of that bond of universal brotherhood which permeates all your endeavours.

Looking back over the past 75 years, we are bound to recognize, I think, that the world is no longer the far-flung entity it then was. Advances in transportation and communication, in the interchange of knowledge and ideas, and in international organization and co-operation have made us all neighbours of one another. One of the consequences of this process has been to bring home to each and every one of us a problem of which we were only marginally conscious in former days — the problem of the under-developed world. I think it would be particularly appropriate for me to say something about that problem on this occasion and to a gathering such as this.

When I speak of the under-developed world, I am speaking about the vast majority of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Together they number almost 80. Most of them have only recently emerged to independent status. All of them are grappling with the problem of meeting the rising aspirations of their peoples. None of them can solve this problem in a purely national context.

We tend to look upon the challenge presented by the under-developed world as primarily an economic one. But while there is much to support such an approach, it seems to me that it is neither a complete nor an adequate one. A moment ago



I referred to the fact that many of these countries had only recently achieved their independence. It is natural that the achievement of independence should generate expectations that tend, sometimes by a wide margin, to exceed what the governments of these new countries can hope to accomplish in the realm of practical possibility. And it is equally natural that once the peoples of these countries begin to realize the full magnitude of the problems they are facing — problems of political organization, of social and administrative reform, of economic under-development, and of technological lag — there should be a degree of disillusionment and dissatisfaction with the existing order of things.

Although many of them are “non-aligned”, it is significant, I think, that so far none of these countries has of its own volition embraced the Communist alternative of pushing forward their economic development in ruthless disregard of the aspirations of ordinary men and women. But there is no room for complacency in this situation. Disillusionment and dissatisfaction do not make for stability and, unless the causes of disillusionment and dissatisfaction in these countries can be rooted out, we shall not be able to count on them to play their appointed part in the maintenance of international peace and security. For we cannot assume that the pressure for a new and different order of things in these countries will abate. And if we cannot assume that, we must accept the fact that this pressure will remain a potential source of tension and instability. Furthermore, if we fail to help the governments of these countries to meet the aspirations of their peoples, we cannot discount the possibility that others will exploit our failure to do so.

### **Population Outruns Production**

Of course, the problem presented by the under-developed world is not a simple one and it is not capable of any single or simple solution. A few facts and figures will, I think, help to illustrate its scope. In the decade from 1950 to 1960 the countries of the under-developed world were able to increase their production of goods and services from \$110 billion to just under \$170 billion. This means that, at the beginning of the decade as at the end of it, these countries accounted for only three-tenths of all the goods and services produced in the free world as a whole. Over the same period the total population of these countries increased from 1,000 million to 1,300 million people. That is a rate almost twice as high as that experienced in the advanced countries of the free world. When the growth of production is discounted by the growth of population, we find that the less-developed countries were able to increase their average *per capita* income over the decade by no more than \$25, from \$105 in 1950 to \$130 in 1960. In other words, *per capita* income in these countries rose by a mere \$2.50 a year. What is more significant is that, during this ten-year period, the gap between standards of living in these countries and standards of living in the advanced countries widened in both absolute and relative terms.

These are depressing figures. They are particularly depressing in a world which has come to accept the need for economic growth as a central objective of govern-

ment policy everywhere. The United Nations recognized the urgency of this problem at the General Assembly session three years ago, when it designated the 1960s as the "Development Decade". The specific objective of that designation was to achieve in each of the less-developed countries a minimum annual rate of growth of national income of 5 per cent at the end of the decade. Even if that objective were reached (and we must all hope that it can and will be reached), it has been calculated that it would take the less-developed countries 80 years to achieve current standards of living in Western Europe and 120 years to achieve those currently prevailing in the United States. Understandably, this is a timetable which the governments of the less-developed countries refuse to regard as practicable either in political or in social terms.

### **Need of Increased Investment**

If the less-developed countries are to achieve higher rates of growth, they will need to have available a larger supply of investment goods. They will also need to be able to meet the rising demand of their peoples for consumer goods, including, particularly, food. Since their own capacity to produce the required goods is still limited, a substantial proportion of the increase in demand for those goods will need to be imported. The problem which these countries face is where to find resources to pay for that higher volume of imports which is absolutely essential if their economic development is to go forward at the requisite rate. They recognize that the solution of this problem lies primarily within the realm of their domestic efforts. They also recognize, however, that the resources they can command for this purpose will not, with the best will in the world, be adequate to the task at hand.

In essence, these countries are caught in a vicious circle — their incomes are low because there is inadequate investment in their economy, and there is inadequate investment in their economy because the incomes which should be generating that investment are low. The less-developed countries are looking to the advanced countries to see this problem in a global perspective and to co-operate with them at the international level in creating the conditions that will enable the less-developed countries to break out of this vicious circle. They argue that, if this can be done, if the less-developed countries can be brought to the point of self-sustaining economic growth, the result will be beneficial not only to themselves but also to the advanced countries. For it would mean the enfranchisement of millions upon millions of potential consumers, the opening-up of vast new outlets for the growing productive capacity of the advanced countries, and a consequent expansion of world trade and world economic growth.

I have been trying to sketch in very broad brush strokes a problem which seems to me — as I am sure it does to you — one of the most crucial problems facing us in the free world today. In doing so I have spoken of the less-developed countries as a group. But the world does not, of course, divide so neatly into advanced countries on the one side and less-developed countries on the other. Development is

a continuous spectrum, and even among less-developed countries there are vast differences in the degree of development. Some of these countries have taken very substantial strides forward in the direction of expanding and diversifying their economies. Others are still a very long way from reaching that point. All the less-developed countries, however, will need to continue to rely for some considerable time to come on international co-operation with their own efforts.

### **Trade and the Under-developed Countries**

Before I venture to suggest what form that international co-operation could best take, I should like to say a word about trade and the part that trade has played in relation to the development needs of the less-developed countries. The fact is that these countries have not shared equally in the tremendous post-war expansion of world trade. At a time when their import requirements were becoming more and more pressing, the value of their exports increased at only about one-half the rate of those of the advanced countries of the free world. As a result, the share of the less-developed countries in world trade declined from about one-third in 1950 to just over one-fifth in 1962. Over the same period their trade balance with the rest of the world deteriorated from a sizeable surplus to a sizeable deficit.

This has happened, in large part, because of the structure of the trade of the less-developed countries. Nine-tenths of their exports consist of primary commodities. Indeed, some of these countries rely on one or two such commodities for the bulk of their export earnings. Now it so happens that the demand for primary products has not in recent years proved to be anywhere near as dynamic or as stable an element of world trade as the demand for manufactured goods. This has naturally been reflected in the level of the export earnings of the less-developed countries and in the terms of their trade with other countries. It has also convinced these countries that only a greater diversification of their economies is likely, over the longer term, to enable them to improve their position in world trade. In the meantime they feel that their weaker economic position should somehow be given greater recognition in the present world trading order.

### **Proposed Guide-lines**

I suggested earlier in my remarks that I could see no easy panacea to the problems of the less-developed countries. There are, nevertheless, some broad guide-lines that have emerged from recent experience and I should like, before concluding, to indicate to you what they are:

*First*, the less-developed countries themselves will continue to have to carry the main burden of mobilizing the resources required for their economic development. In this, however, they should be able to count on international understanding and international co-operation.

*Second*, we, as members of the international community, should do what we can to provide more aid in support of sound economic development programmes carried out by the less-developed countries.



*Third*, we should keep under review the terms on which our aid is made available to these countries to make sure that the burden of repayment being assumed by them is not beyond the measure of their capacity.

*Fourth*, we should continue to share the benefits of modern science and technology with the less-developed countries. We should do this through scientific and technical exchanges, through the provision of training and research facilities, and through the secondment of qualified experts.

*Fifth*, we should recognize the growing dependence of the less-developed countries on earnings from their exports by making access for those exports to our markets as liberal as possible. We look to the forthcoming "Kennedy round" of trade negotiations to make a substantial contribution to that end.

*Sixth*, we should take particular account of the great dependence of these countries on exports of primary commodities by looking into further possibilities of stabilizing commodity prices by international agreement. Because the problems presented by each commodity are different, these possibilities are likely to differ from one commodity to another. But, unless an effective solution is found to this problem, the less-developed countries will continue to face a situation in which they are expected to carry out long-term development programmes on the basis of uncertain export expectations.

*Seventh*, we should bear in mind that, if the less-developed countries are to achieve a more equitable share in world trade, they will have to rely more and more on exports of manufactured goods. We should be prepared each of us to play our part when the time comes in opening our markets to those goods.

We in Canada and in the United States have, I think, followed policies that have taken fair and reasonable account of the interests of the less-developed countries. We recognize, however, that more needs to be done if these countries are to be enabled to improve their standards of living at an acceptable rate. If all the advanced countries — those of the Soviet world no less than those of the free world — were prepared to share in that task, I am convinced that none of us should have to carry an unfair burden.

There is no prohibition that I know of against carrying coals to Cleveland. If there were such a prohibition, I should certainly be held to have infringed upon it. For I am well aware that your organization, which prides itself on being the oldest organization in the field of international assistance, needs no reminder of the magnitude of the challenge of a world in which affluence and poverty are so unevenly distributed. But I am also convinced that, if we are seriously to face up to that challenge, this would call for a new spirit and new attitudes. And I found it difficult to think of a gathering of men where that new spirit and those new attitudes were more likely to find reflection than in your gathering here this evening. Seventy-five years ago, your organization dedicated itself to the concept of world service. The world has changed in those 75 years, but the need for world service remains undiminished. If anything, it has become more pressing than ever before. If we have in mind — as surely we must have in mind — the urgent

aspirations of men and women the world over for a better, a more secure, a more dignified life, then there is only one conclusion for us to draw: we are all in world service today.

We have moved a long way towards what you so aptly describe, in your proclamation of policy, as "a sharpened sense of the interdependence and common aspirations of mankind". I would like to think that our progress has been progress in the Christian way of life. For, if there is any central theme to our Christian faith, it is, surely, the dignity of man and his equality in the sight of God. I know that it is this conception of world service as living religion that has guided you and will continue to guide you in all your work. As you enter upon your fourth quarter-century, may God's guidance and God's blessing be with you.

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### **CORRIGENDUM**

In the article entitled "Map of the World, 1964", which appeared in the October issue of "External Affairs", a correction should be made to Paragraph 4 on Page 485, concerning the status of a number of newly-independent countries. When Northern Rhodesia became independent on October 24, 1964, as the Republic of Zambia, Southern Rhodesia changed its name to Rhodesia but did not, as suggested in the paragraph in question, become independent. On October 29, 1964, after the article had gone to press, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar changed its name to Tanzania.

# *Disarmament: Report on the Negotiations in Geneva*

THE Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee met twice in 1964, from January 21 to April 28 and from June 9 to September 17.\* The pattern that had emerged at that time prevailed throughout the second session, i.e. broad but inconclusive discussion of general and complete disarmament on the basis of the United States and Soviet draft programmes, accompanied by fairly detailed analysis of specific proposals submitted by President Johnson to the ENDC on January 21 and by the Soviet Government in their nine-point memorandum circulated to the conference on January 28.

Although no definite agreements were arrived at to complement the partial nuclear test ban and other limited agreements achieved in 1963, some new ground was broken, particularly on pre-disarmament or "collateral" measures designed to reduce international tension. Agreement reached early in the second session by the conference co-chairmen on an agenda for the meetings devoted to collateral measures was, procedurally, a major step forward and contributed to a more orderly and constructive examination of proposals in this field.

## **General and Complete Disarmament**

No new proposals were advanced for general and complete disarmament by either side. The key problem of the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons and their vehicles continued to dominate this aspect of the negotiations, to which half the plenary meetings of the ENDC were devoted. The complexity and importance of this issue cannot be denied. The form in which it is ultimately resolved will have ramifications for all other phases of the disarmament process, both military and political. It is not surprising, therefore, that both the Eastern and Western sides have spent so much time explaining and clarifying their respective positions and that the Committee as a whole has been reluctant to pass on to other items on this part of its agenda until a substantial measure of agreement has been achieved.

At the opening meeting of the second session on June 9, the Soviet delegation proposed that a working organ of the Committee be established to consider the technical questions raised by the Committee in connection with the Soviet proposal, presented by Foreign Minister Gromyko at the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, for the destruction in Stage I of all but a "strictly limited number" of nuclear weapons vehicles to be retained on the territories of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. through the final stage of disarmament. The Western side, which had hitherto argued the need for working groups to deal with technical aspects of disarmament, responded to this seemingly construc-

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\*For the first session, see "External Affairs", May 1964.



tive initiative with suggested terms of reference permitting examination of technical problems in relation to both the Soviet proposal and the ideas set out in the United States disarmament plan on the progressive reduction of delivery vehicles in each of the proposed three stages of the disarmament process. It emerged, in the course of the summer, however, that Soviet participation in a working group would be contingent on acceptance of the proposal for a "nuclear umbrella" as the sole context in which technical questions would be considered. Several of the non-aligned members of the ENDC made extensive efforts to develop compromise terms of reference for a working group but, as of the date of adjournment, none of them had proved acceptable.

In suggesting that early consideration be given to undertaking a full exploration of the subject, both the Swedish and Canadian representatives referred at some length to the important role the development of peace-keeping arrangements must play in reaching agreement on, and implementing, general disarmament measures.

### **Collateral or Pre-disarmament Measures**

The discussion at the second session of the ENDC ranged over a number of measures that might be put into effect in advance of an agreement on general disarmament. In addition to those introduced at the first session of the conference in 1964 were proposals to ban all nuclear tests and prohibit the use of nuclear weapons that had been referred to the ENDC for consideration by the eighteenth session of the UN General Assembly.

The United States delegation submitted further details of the verification procedures envisaged in connection with its proposal for a freeze on the development and production of strategic offensive and defensive nuclear-weapons carriers. Though there was no discernible modification of the initially negative Soviet attitude, rooted in the view that it would constitute control without disarmament, it was generally considered that the further clarification of this complex issue had left the door open to possible agreement in the future.

Measures aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons were the object of special attention. The United States delegation related the proposal in President Johnson's message for the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons use to the above-noted proposal for a freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear-weapons vehicles, pointing out that together they would constitute important, practical and rapid steps toward termination of the arms race. Soviet resistance to the proposal was maintained, on the grounds that the termination of production of fissionable material would have no effect on present excessive stocks and would, therefore, be of no significance as a disarmament measure.

The non-aligned members of the Committee evinced particular interest in Soviet and United States proposals calling for the conclusion of such an international agreement as had been envisaged in the Irish resolution, adopted unanimously at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, under which nuclear

powers would refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and states not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of such weapons. Disagreement between the two major nuclear powers as to what constituted "dissemination" of nuclear weapons blocked progress on this issue and was not resolved at the conference or in private discussion between the United States and Soviet co-chairmen.

The Soviet Union continued to contend that the multilateral nuclear force planned by a number of Western countries would involve dissemination and must be abandoned before a non-dissemination agreement would be possible. The United States and other Western representatives maintained their view that a multilateral nuclear force would not involve the transfer of nuclear weapons to the independent national control of states not now possessing them and would, therefore, be consistent with the terms of the Irish resolution. The United States representative explained in some detail the proposed system of multilateral control of the force and the safeguards that would be established to prevent accidental or unauthorized firing of its missiles. Several non-aligned countries favoured a moratorium on preparations for the multilateral force pending further efforts in and outside the conference to achieve a non-dissemination agreement. It was apparent at the close of the conference that the problem of dissemination of nuclear weapons and the relation of the multilateral force thereto would be receiving further attention in the near future.

### **Physical Destruction of Armaments**

Discussion of the physical destruction of armaments continued to centre on the United States proposal that agreement be reached to destroy 480 United States B-47 and an equal number of Soviet TU-16 bombers, at a rate of 20 a month on each side over a period of two years, and on the Soviet counter-proposal for the elimination of all bomber aircraft. In the course of intensive discussion, the United States delegation indicated that, so far as its proposal for a "bomber bonfire" was concerned, it would be prepared to agree to an accelerated and more comprehensive destruction schedule if this was desired by the other side. Alternatively, if the Soviet Union wished, lesser numbers could be agreed to or, if the Soviet Government were not prepared to initiate the destruction of any TU-16s at this time, they might suggest other types of aircraft, or other armaments, with which they would prefer to begin. The simplicity of the procedures required to verify compliance with this measure of disarmament was emphasized, the essential element being the observation of the destruction of the aircraft (or other weapons) at designated national depots by representatives of the other side in the presence of additional representatives of non-aligned nations.

The Soviet Union's suggestion for the destruction of all bomber aircraft by all countries was modified to the point of recognition that the period in which this would take place would have to be extended over a series of stages and that, in the initial phase, only the aircraft of the major powers would be involved. The Soviet Union, nevertheless, held to its position that the destruction of all bomber

aircraft would have to be agreed to in principle by the Western side before practical details of its proposal could be negotiated.

The Canadian representative in the ENDC expressed the view that proposals for destruction of bomber aircraft, if they were to be of real value as a measure of disarmament, should be associated with a verified freeze on future production.

### **Reduction of Military Budgets**

The Russians continued to press for some action in this field. After having gone to considerable lengths at the earlier session in an unsuccessful attempt to get the Committee to concur in a multilateral agreement to reduce military expenditures by 10 to 15 per cent or, as second best, to agree to an immediate appeal to all states to reduce their military budgets by "mutual example", they indicated during the summer that even such a limited first step as a simple statement of intention would, in the circumstances, be an acceptable contribution to lessening international tension. The Western representatives\* made it clear that they regarded the latter suggestion as of little value, and more likely than not to create a misleadingly superficial impression that there was a possibility of further substantial reduction in military expenditures by the nuclear states and other members of the Committee in the foreseeable future. They pointed out, furthermore, that, because certain nations represented in the ENDC had declared that it was impossible for them to reduce their military expenditures at this time, it would be illogical to expect an appeal or statement by some members of the Committee to have the desired effect on nations outside the ENDC.

### **Comprehensive Ban on Nuclear Tests**

The possibility of extending the Moscow Treaty of 1963 banning nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water to cover the fourth environment was actively considered at the last few meetings of the Committee before adjournment.

A number of non-aligned countries urged a moratorium on underground nuclear-weapons tests over a certain seismic magnitude and exploration of the possibility of concluding an agreement on the cessation of underground tests by stages. In response to the Soviet claim that techniques had advanced sufficiently for agreement to be reached on a comprehensive test ban, it was suggested that an exchange of technical information on this subject between East and West should be undertaken. The United States representative stated that his country would be prepared to study and make available any information it had that would minimize the need for "on-site" inspection to verify the nature of seismic events. Finally, in a joint memorandum of September 14, the non-aligned members of the ENDC went on to urge the nuclear powers to take immediate steps to discontinue and ban all nuclear tests and noted that, in their view, these steps could be facilitated by the exchange of scientific and other information between the

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\*For Western views on the former proposals, see "External Affairs", May 1964.



nuclear powers or by the improvement of detection and identification techniques, if necessary.

The Canadian representative concurred in the view that an agreement to discontinue all nuclear-weapons tests could be furthered by exchange of scientific information between the nuclear powers.

### **Other Proposals**

The Soviet Union again made reference to proposals for a non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, the withdrawal or reduction of foreign troops in Europe and the establishment of denuclearized zones there. The Western delegations pointed out, in connection with these proposals, that, essentially, they involved political settlements rather than disarmament or arms-control measures and that the ENDC was, therefore, not the appropriate forum in which to examine them.

The Ethiopian resolution, referred to the ENDC by the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, calling for urgent study by the Committee of the question of convening a conference for the purpose of signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, was discussed. The Soviet side, supported by some of the non-aligned representatives, supported this proposal. The Western side, however, remained adamant against it, because, as had consistently been stated when the substance of the matter had been debated in the United Nations General Assembly, they believed that the only effective way to prevent the use of nuclear weapons was by disposing of them completely through an agreed-on system of disarmament. Several delegations on this occasion reiterated their concern that such a measure would upset the present equilibrium of deterrence on which international security was based and would, in itself, engender conditions conducive to a renewal of armed conflict on a major scale.

### **Conclusion**

The principal features of the second session of the ENDC were the serious efforts devoted on all sides to the clarification and elaboration of the many proposals under consideration, the retention of all these proposals for further study, and the degree to which the non-aligned countries, in particular, actively sought to encourage and assist the great powers in negotiating seriously on a variety of important measures. The scene of disarmament negotiations will now shift to the nineteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, where it is expected that a number of issues, such as the conception of a minimum balanced nuclear deterrent, the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, denuclearized zones and the cessation of nuclear tests will be debated in the First Committee. It is encouraging that the usefulness of the Geneva conference as a continuing body has been recognized by all the countries concerned and that it was readily agreed to reconvene the Committee as soon as possible following the completion of the disarmament discussions in New York.

## NATO Secretary-General Visits Canada

SIGNOR Manlio Brosio, Secretary-General of NATO, arrived in Ottawa for talks with the Canadian Government on September 30, 1964. Signor Brosio assumed office as Secretary-General on August 1, 1964, succeeding Mr. Dirk U. Stikker, and this was his first official visit to Canada. He had spent the previous two days in the United States, where he had conversations with President Johnson and with Secretaries Rusk and McNamara.

Manlio Brosio was born in Turin in 1897 and educated at the law school of the University of Turin. During the First World War he served in the famous *Alpini* Corps of the Italian Army and was awarded both the Silver Medal and the Italian *Croix de Guerre*. After the War he entered Italian political life, joining the "Liberal Revolution" movement, which represented an attempt to galvanize the Italian Liberal Party. Mussolini's police soon forbade Signor Brosio to engage in any political activity. But, though forcibly confined to the practice of law in Turin, he maintained contact with the anti-Fascist groups in Italy, most notably with those centered round Benedetto Croce and Luigi Einaudi. When the Fascist regime fell in 1943, Signor Brosio moved to Rome and again became active in the Liberal Party. He belonged to the Italian Resistance during the German occupation of Northern and Central Italy, and was a member of the Na-



Arrival of the NATO Secretary-General at Ottawa's Uplands Airport: left to right - Group Captain Gillespie, Commander, Royal Canadian Air Force base, Uplands; the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Lieutenant-General G. Walsh, Vice-Chief of the Defence Staff; Signor Manlio Brosio.

tional Liberation Committee. In 1944 he became Secretary-General of the Liberal Party and, when the Allies had entered Rome, Minister without Portfolio in the two Bonomi cabinets. He was also a member of the Parri and of the first De Gasperi cabinets.

When the late Signor De Gasperi formed the first cabinet of Republican Italy in 1946, Signor Brosio was offered and accepted the Italian Embassy in Moscow. Since 1952 Signor Brosio has served as Ambassador to Britain (1952-54), as Ambassador to the United States (1955-61), and as Ambassador to France.

In welcoming Signor Brosio, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, mentioned his distinguished record of service to his own country in the fight for the principles of freedom and democracy which are at the roots of the Western alliance. Mr. Martin commented:

We expect the Secretary-General of our alliance to ensure the efficient functioning of the machinery of NATO and to facilitate the development of our interrelations. . . . We admire the tact and flexibility you have shown in the discharge of your responsibilities.

In the fulfilment of your exacting task, you may have full confidence in the firm support of Canada.

On October 1, the Secretary-General had conversations with the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, Mr. Martin, the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Paul T. Hellyer, and the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Marcel Cadieux. After lunch with Governor-General Georges P. Vanier at Rideau Hall, he addressed a representative group of Senators and Members of Parliament in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings. In the evening, Signor Brosio was guest of honour at a government dinner at the Rideau Club. On October 2, he had further conversations with the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of National Defence, and held an informal conference with the Ottawa press corps. After a lunch given by the chairman of the Canadian NATO Parliamentarians Association, Signor Brosio left for New York *en route* to NATO headquarters in Paris.



# *Malta Becomes Independent*

**O**N SEPTEMBER 21, Malta became fully independent for the first time in its long and varied history. In so doing, it severed 165 years of attachment to Britain, though it intends to remain a constitutional monarchy within the Commonwealth. Queen Elizabeth II will be head of state, represented by a Governor General, at present Sir Maurice Dorman.

## **History**

For 2000 years Malta was the prize of successive waves of conquerors. Phoenicians, Persians, Carthaginians, Romans, Arabs, Normans, Germans, Frenchmen and Spaniards battled and occupied it in turn. In 1530 Spain gave the island to the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, a militant nursing brotherhood whose knights held it as a strongly fortified headquarters for 268 years.

After occupation by French revolutionary troops in 1798, Malta petitioned to come under British sovereignty and protection. The Treaty of Paris in 1814 confirmed the wishes of the population that "the island of Malta and its dependencies shall belong in full right and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty".

In the Napoleonic Wars, in the Crimean War, and in the First World War, Malta served as a bastion of British naval strength. In the Second World War it again played its role in vital allied strategy and proved an impregnable barrier to Axis success in the Mediterranean.

Maltese valour and indomitability received due recognition and honour in 1942, when Britain's highest civilian decoration, the George Cross, was awarded to all the people, the first and only mass award ever made.

## **Economy**

Malta's survival has depended on its strategic value. Because it has no natural resources, lakes, rivers or minerals, there has been little basis for Malta to develop an economy independent of imports.

While Malta enjoys one of the highest standards of living in the Mediterranean region, its economy has no particularly strong feature. Less than 50 per cent of its land can be cultivated, and it is the fifth most densely populated area in the world. Two-thirds of its food supplies and all its raw materials need to be imported. Its export gap amounts to some \$75 million a year. With yearly government revenue now running at about \$50.11 million, the reliance Malta must place on its financial settlement with Britain will be evident.

With the arrival of the jet age, the value of sea bases has decreased, but Malta was well aware of the prospect of losing the financial benefits from the British naval facilities, and knew that the bases themselves would need to be converted to civil use. In working out a constitution for independence, therefore, British economic assistance was an important factor.

The financial agreement that has been constituted provides for British aid, £50 million over a ten-year period from April 1964, with approximately a third of that amount to be available for the three years to March 1967. Over the five-year period of the second development plan that began in April 1964, the money will be devoted to water supply, port development, electricity, industrial development, tourism, agriculture, fisheries, and higher and technical education.

**Political Difficulties**

Chief among the difficulties Malta has yet to work out is the role of the church. Historically a predominantly Catholic country, Malta has two major and three minor political parties, which are at variance as to where the dividing line between church and state should be drawn. The failure of the political leaders to reach agreement on this fundamental issue was one of the chief reasons for the delay in Malta achieving its independence.

The present constitution makes Roman Catholicism the official state religion, but writes in safeguards for fundamental political and human rights and freedoms, and outlaws discrimination.

**Emigration to Canada**

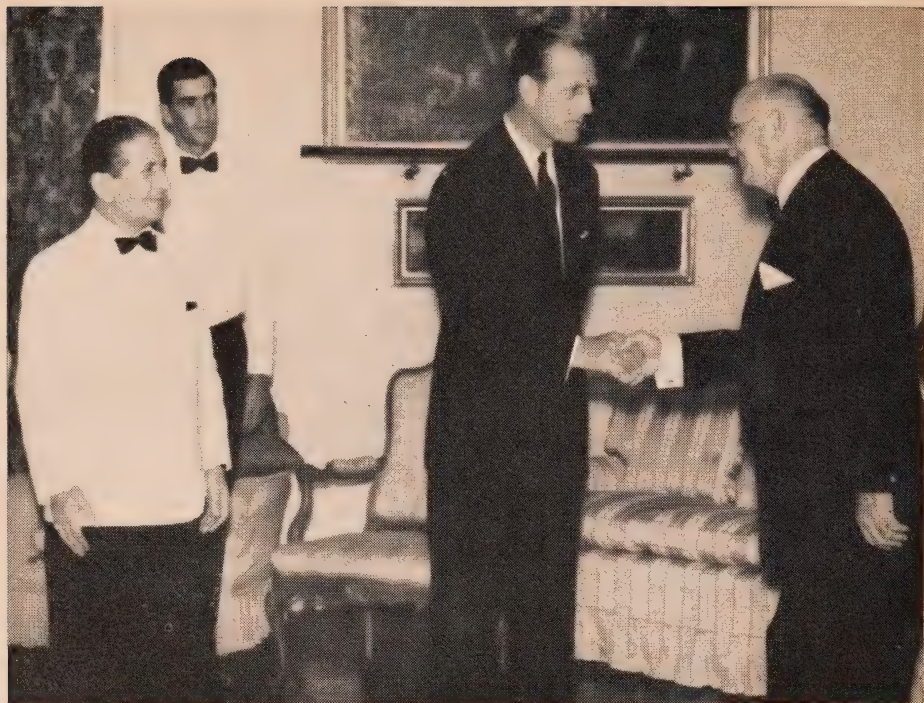
Canada receives a substantial number of immigrants each year from Malta, which now has an estimated population of 317,400. The following figures, for the past five years, indicate that Canada is becoming an ever more popular destination for Maltese emigrants:

Year	Immigration to Canada
1959	419
1960	468
1961	187
1962	362
1963	869
1964	749
	<hr/>
Total	3054

*Text of the message from Her Majesty the Queen to the people of Malta, read by the Duke of Edinburgh in Malta on the occasion of the island's independence, September 21, 1964:*

It is with great pleasure that I have entrusted my husband with the duty of acting as my personal representative at the celebrations to commemorate your independence.

I remember the happy days that we spent living among you when he was stationed in your island. Now my thoughts are again with you all on this historic



*Mr. A. J. P. Cameron, M.P., Canada's representative to Malta's independence celebrations (right), is received by the Duke of Edinburgh. On Prince Philip's right is Dr. Borg Olivier, Prime Minister of Malta.*

day, on which an independent Malta takes her place among the nations of the world.

I am very happy to welcome your country into the Commonwealth family of nations and hope that the mutual feelings of friendship and respect that exist between Britain and Malta will grow and flourish.

Malta has a proud and gallant history. The courage which enabled its people to withstand the great siege of 1565 was shown again during the blockade and air attacks of the Second World War. It was this national heroism which my father wished to recognize when he bestowed upon Malta the unique honour of the award of the George Cross. These qualities will, I am sure, stand Malta in good stead in the years to come.

I send you every good wish, and I pray that God may bless and guide your country to a happy and prosperous future.

*Mr. A. J. P. Cameron, M.P., represented the Canadian Government at the independence celebrations of Malta, from September 19 to 23. Mr. Cameron took with him a letter from the Prime Minister, which he delivered to Dr. Borg Olivier, Prime Minister of Malta. Its text is as follows:*



My dear Prime Minister:

I regret that it will not be possible for me to attend the important ceremonies taking place from September 19 to 23 in Valletta on the occasion when Malta joins the community of free and independent nations. However, in order to mark this occasion, Canada has accepted the gracious invitation to be present at your country's independence celebrations. Canada's representative will be my friend Mr. A. J. P. Cameron, Q.C., who has been a member of Parliament for many years. Mrs. Cameron will also attend. They will be accompanied by Mr. R. H. Jay, a member of the delegation of Canada to the North Atlantic Council.

As one of the older members of the Commonwealth, it gives me great pleasure to convey to the newest member not only Canada's desire to maintain and enhance the friendship and mutual understanding which exist between Malta and Canada, but also my congratulations together with my good wishes for the future welfare and prosperity of your country.

I know that my friend and colleague in the House of Commons, Mr. Cameron, will express to you Canada's sincere hope that an independent Malta and all its citizens will be blessed with peace and happiness in the years that are ahead.

I am, my dear Prime Minister, with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
L. B. Pearson.

# Atlantic Treaty Association

## TENTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY

THE Atlantic Treaty Association held its tenth annual Assembly in Ottawa from September 14 to 18, after which most of its 140 delegates visited Montreal, where they were entertained by civic and business organizations, including the Montreal World's Fair Corporation. The programme for the Assembly was arranged by the Canadian Atlantic Co-ordinating Committee, which is the Canadian branch of the Association, but, once in session, the Assembly was presided over by the international officers of the ATA and its chairman, Lord Gladwyn. The theme of the conference was "North America and the Atlantic alliance".

The Atlantic Treaty Association is an international non-governmental organization devoted to increasing public understanding of and support for NATO through its national and international activities in the field of public information, seminars, conferences and exchanges. It is associated in this work with two other established non-governmental organizations supporting NATO, the annual NATO



*The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin (left), Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson of Canada (centre) and Lord Gladwyn (Chairman) at the tenth annual Atlantic Treaty Assembly.*

Parliamentarians conferences and the Atlantic Institute, representatives of which attended the Assembly. While there is naturally some overlapping in the membership of these three organizations, each is designed to appeal to different groups of private persons interested in NATO. The Atlantic Treaty Association is intended to appeal to the public at large, while the NATO Parliamentarians organization and the Atlantic Institute draw their support from parliamentary and academic circles respectively. Each of these organizations maintains liaison with NATO and its member governments. In the case of the ATA Assembly in Ottawa, the Prime Minister of Canada and the Secretary of State for External Affairs agreed to give their patronage to the conference and to address the delegates.

### **Delegations at the Conference**

Under the rules of the Atlantic Treaty Association, each national branch in member countries is entitled to appoint several delegates and observers to the annual Assemblies that constitute one of the major international activities of the organization. In the case of the 1964 Assembly, some 120 delegates attended from outside Canada.

The largest visiting delegations came from Germany, France, the United States and Britain. These and the other delegations included several prominent members of parliament, journalists and businessmen. Among the best known individual delegates from abroad were Dr. Richard Jaeger (Germany), Admiral Sala (France), the Honourable Livingston Merchant (United States), Lord Gladwyn and Lord Boothby (Britain).

The Canadian delegation consisted of some 20 delegates and observers, again drawn from parliamentary, business, academic and journalistic circles. It was headed by Mr. R. S. Ritchie of Toronto, and included Mr. J. W. Holmes, President of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Mr. M. Gelber, M.P., the Honourable Paul Martineau, M.P., Mr. Andrew Brewin, M.P., Mr. Willson Woodside, and Mr. Blair Fraser.

### **Programme and Main Speeches**

The Prime Minister of Canada and the Secretary of State for External Affairs addressed the delegates during the first sessions of the conference. In his speech to the opening session, the Prime Minister emphasized the need for continuing "consultative partnership" in NATO in approaching problems within the alliance and with the Communist bloc and with respect to assisting the developing countries as effectively as possible. In his speech the following day, the Secretary of State for External Affairs dealt with substantive problems of present and future Canadian policy within the alliance, as well as with general questions facing the alliance as a whole. In particular, Mr. Martin commented on the effect of the recovery of Europe within the alliance, possible means of greater sharing in the military direction of the alliance among member countries, and the need for better co-ordination of defence and foreign policies. He also outlined the Canadian point



of view on the present state of East-West relations, the need for the most effective methods for assisting the developing countries, and the importance of peace keeping in Canadian policy towards the United Nations and NATO.

The first two delegates to address the conference were Mr. J. W. Holmes of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and Dr. R. J. Sutherland of the Defence Research Board. On September 15, Mr. Holmes spoke on "The Atlantic Community — Unity and Reality". He emphasized the value of flexibility and diversity within the alliance both among its members and in its relations to the Atlantic Community as a whole. In particular, he spoke against any regional approach to an Atlantic Community between Europe and North America that would be based on independent "continentalism" on either side and would limit the flexibility of the middle and smaller members of NATO.

Speaking on September 16 on "North American Air Defence", Dr. Sutherland outlined the background to the establishment of the North American air-defence organization and emphasized its complementary nature to NATO defence co-operation in Europe. His speech was followed by a tour on the same day of the NORAD establishment at North Bay for approximately 80 conference delegates.

The other main speakers at the conference were Ambassador Livingston Merchant of the United States, who spoke on "North America and the Atlantic Community", and Lord Boothby, whose subject was "Defence Problems of the Alliance". Ambassador Merchant's speech dealt first with American thinking on the multilateral nuclear force and secondly with his personal support for eventual Atlantic political union. As regards the latter, he expressed the opinion that co-operation and consultation could only go so far in meeting the main problem of the alliance, namely the disparity of power between the United States and its allies. He encouraged the Atlantic Treaty Association to support initiatives now towards Atlantic political union and to work for the abandonment of the unanimity rule in the councils of the alliance.

In his speech, Lord Boothby dealt first with long-standing, unsolved problems of the alliance and suggested that the price for the reunification of Germany would be agreement with the Soviet Union on the eastern frontiers and renunciation of nuclear weapons by any reunified or federal Germany, which would also "cease to be a military member of NATO". From this might come the necessary broad political settlement between Eastern and Western Europe. Turning to the future, he proposed that the basic stability of Western Europe should be provided by an Anglo-French *entente*, which would not, in his view, replace the European Economic Community but, rather, would eventually lead to Britain and other non-member countries associating with it to form a Western European political community as the first step towards the creation of an Atlantic Community.

As chairman, Lord Gladwyn spoke on several occasions in support of his belief that Europe must develop as an equal and independent partner (or "pole of authority") to the United States if the alliance was to continue successfully. It was this regional approach to an Atlantic Community that Mr. Holmes had opposed as divisive to the alliance and too rigid for countries such as Canada.

## **Discussion and Resolutions**

In addition to the differences of view already noted as to the future structure of the alliance, some delegates asked for further information on the political value and the military practicability of the multilateral force, generally, however, without expressing opposition to it. Lord Boothby's comments on the role of Germany in NATO and in Europe were criticized by several German delegates as being contrary to both the spirit and the announced policy of the alliance since the accession of West Germany.

At the conclusion of its Ottawa discussions, the Assembly passed a series of resolutions calling for continued evolution of NATO and other Atlantic organizations towards an Atlantic Community. The Assembly also supported that portion of the NATO ministerial communiqué of May 14, 1964, that reaffirmed the alliance's support for the reunification of Germany and the maintenance of the Western presence in Berlin. Finally, the Assembly undertook to initiate now a study of possible improvements to the North Atlantic Treaty and its organization, in preparation for the coming into force in 1969 of Article 13 of the Treaty, under which any member country can withdraw from NATO on the completion of certain formalities.

## **Visit to Montreal**

On September 18, delegates to the Assembly journeyed to Montreal, where they attended a presentation by the Montreal World's Fair organization and a dinner given jointly by the City of Montreal and Imperial Oil of Canada Limited. On the following day, delegates toured Montreal and attended a final luncheon and closing ceremonies given by the Canadian Atlantic Co-ordinating Committee.

## *Columbia River Treaty Ratified*

**T**HE COLUMBIA River Treaty, under which Canada and the United States will jointly develop the waters of the Columbia River to provide large new supplies of low-cost hydro-electric power and important flood-control benefits for both countries, was ratified on September 16, 1964.

The instruments of ratification were exchanged at Ottawa between the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and His Excellency Walton W. Butterworth, the United States Ambassador to Canada. The ratification ceremony was attended by members of the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, which had conducted an intensive examination of the Treaty earlier in the year, and by members of the Senate who participated in the subsequent debate on the Treaty.

### **New York Ceremony**

The ratification ceremony in Ottawa was synchronized with a ceremony in New York City relating to the 30-year sale of Canada's share of the extra power that would be generated on the United States section of the Columbia as a result of the Treaty. In New York, Mr. A. B. Hockin, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance, received from a group of United States utilities, represented by the Columbia Storage Power Exchange, a cheque for \$253,929,534.25 in U.S. funds in payment for the power which CSPE had purchased. The two ceremonies were carried out simultaneously, Mr. Hockin and representatives of the purchasers being in communication by telephone with Mr. Martin and Mr. Butterworth.

On the same day, the Canadian equivalent of the funds received from the CSPE — \$273,291,661.24 — was transferred by the Government of Canada to the Government of British Columbia.

The transfer took place in Vancouver following a ceremony, participated in by Mr. Pearson and President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States, at the International Peace Arch on the border between British Columbia and the State of Washington. This was preceded by an aerial tour by the Prime Minister and President of sections of the Columbia River basin.

### **Aerial Tour of Dam Sites**

Meeting at Great Falls, Montana, on the morning of September 16, the two heads of government flew in the Prime Minister's aircraft over the sites of several of the projects that will come into being as a result of the Treaty. These included the site of the Libby Dam, on the Kootenai River in Montana, and two of the three major dam sites to be developed in Canada under the Treaty — those at the outlet of the Lower Arrow Lake, near Castlegar, and on the Duncan River, a northern tributary to Kootenay Lake. They also viewed the headwaters of the Columbia at Canal Flats.



The occasion marked President Johnson's first visit to Canada. Following a brief reception at Vancouver airport, on the conclusion of the inspection tour, the Prime Minister and President drove to the Peace Arch to address a gathering of some 10,000 people from both countries. Others participating in the ceremony were the Honourable W. A. C. Bennett, Premier of British Columbia, the Honourable Albert D. Rosellini, Governor of the State of Washington, and the Honourable Arthur Laing, Canada's Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Also present were senior ministers and legislators from both countries, the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie, and a number of technical and other officials, all of whom had played a part in bringing the joint enterprise to a successful conclusion.

The coming into effect of the Columbia River Treaty sets in motion the construction schedule agreed on. This calls for the completion of the Duncan Lake dam by April 1968, the Arrow Lakes dam by April 1969, and the Mica dam, 100 miles north of Revelstoke near the Big Bend of the Columbia, by April 1973.

"The Treaty is a notable step by our two countries in the co-operative development of the resources of the North American continent. . . . Projects constructed under this Treaty and the benefits which flow therefrom will be lasting monuments to the efforts of both countries to take advantage of the geography we share. Our two countries working together will achieve results superior to those attainable by independent action. This is truly a case of common effort for common good."

Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State  
for External Affairs, at Columbia River Treaty  
ratification ceremony, Ottawa, September 16, 1964.

# *International Atomic Energy Agency*

EIGHTH GENERAL CONFERENCE, 1964

FROM SEPTEMBER 14 to 18, 1964, the eighth general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency was held in Vienna. The constructive and harmonious atmosphere of this gathering reflected the fact that the IAEA, one of the most recently-founded organs of the United Nations, had become firmly established in the UN family. The well-ordered conduct of the meetings was also, perhaps, a reflection of the extensive international co-operation that had accompanied the maturing of atomic science and technology.



*Miss B. M. Meagher*



## **A Comprehensive Programme**

The conference endorsed a comprehensive programme of co-operation for the coming year. The technical-assistance activities of the IAEA also received much attention. With respect to the latter, Canada made a contribution of \$57,400 to the operational budget of the Agency. Among the decisions taken at the conference was one to accept an invitation from the Government of Japan to hold the ninth general conference in Tokyo in September 1965.

The Canadian delegation was headed by Miss B. M. Meagher, who serves as Canadian member of the IAEA Board of Governors and acts, as well, as Canadian Ambassador to Austria. Alternate delegates were Mr. J. L. Gray, President of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, and an officer of the Department of External Affairs. The delegation also included other officers of AECL and of the Canadian Embassy in Austria.

## **Canada Takes the Chair**

As one of the five countries acknowledged as leaders in the field of atomic-energy technology, Canada is entitled, under the Statute of the IAEA, to a seat on the Board of Governors of the Agency. A new Board was chosen at the general conference. Immediately after the close of the conference, the Board met, on September 19, to elect a chairman and to conduct other business. By a vote of 22 to two, with one abstention, Canada was elected to provide the Board chairman for the next 12 months. Miss Meagher thus became the first woman to preside over the executive body of the IAEA.

Miss Meagher is a career diplomat who has been a member of the Department of External Affairs since 1942. She became Canada's first female ambassador when she was appointed to head the Canadian Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel, in October 1958. Miss Meagher became Canadian member of the IAEA Board of Governors in March 1962.



# North Pacific Fisheries Convention

THIRD MEETING OF PARTIES, 1964

THE THIRD MEETING of the parties to the International Convention for the High Seas Fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean convened in Ottawa on September 9, 1964, and ended on October 1. Three weeks of uninterrupted negotiations brought the parties — Japan, Canada and the United States — very close to agreement, but it was not possible to reconcile all the outstanding differences, and the delegations agreed to a recess in order to study and recommend to their respective governments other approaches to the unsolved problems.

The present Convention and modifications of it, which have been under discussion during the Ottawa meeting and two earlier meetings in Washington and in Tokyo, have the primary objective of promoting co-operation among the three parties in developing and applying effective conservation measures and procedures for North Pacific stocks of fish in which there is a common interest.



*Representatives of the three parties to the North Pacific Fisheries Convention at the recent third meeting in Ottawa: left to right - Dr. A. W. H. Needler, chairman of the Canadian delegation; the chief United States delegate, Ambassador Benjamin Smith; the Honourable Hédard Robichaud, Canadian Minister of Fisheries; the chairman of the Japanese delegation, Mr. M. Matsuoka.*

### **Origin of Abstention Principle**

The original convention was signed and ratified by the three countries and brought into force on June 21, 1953, for a minimum of ten years. The agreement provided for the establishment of the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission, consisting of four members from each of the parties, to promote and co-ordinate the necessary scientific studies and to recommend the required conservation measures in order to secure the maximum sustained productivity of fisheries of joint interest. Given the special situation of the fisheries Convention area, located on the high seas, an important aspect of the original Convention was the abstention principle it included. Under this principle, participating states agreed to prohibit their nationals from fishing for any stocks they had not exploited in the last 25 years, provided that such stocks were already being exploited to the full by other member states under conservation regulations based on continuing scientific research. In this context, Japan agreed to abstain from fishing for salmon, halibut and herring of North American origin, and Canada agreed to abstain from fishing for salmon in the eastern Bering Sea, where Canadians had not fished previously.

The Commission established by the Convention was requested to determine, after a five-year period and on the basis of scientific evidence, whether or not the stocks of fish continued to qualify for abstention. As a result, the Commission made recommendations to remove four stocks from the abstention principle. The stocks involved were herring off the coast of Alaska and off the coast of the mainland United States, halibut in the eastern Bering Sea and herring off the west coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

### **Problem of Nature of Treaty**

At the request of Japan, a meeting of the parties was held in Washington during June, 1963, to discuss the Convention. Although the three delegations seemed to agree that a treaty was still necessary for the protection of North Pacific fishing resources, it became apparent that there were differences concerning what kind of treaty would best provide this protection. The Canadian and United States delegations favoured retention of the existing Convention with appropriate clarifications and understandings but the Japanese delegation presented a new draft convention, in which the abstention principle was to be replaced by a principle whereby joint conservation measures would be established on a scientific and non-discriminatory basis and the fishery management conducted by Canada and the United States would be given due consideration in determining joint conservation measures. The delegations were unable to resolve their different views in Washington and again at a later meeting in Tokyo during September 1963, and a third meeting was consequently scheduled for Ottawa.

### **Japanese Draft Convention**

During the course of the Ottawa meeting, the Japanese delegation submitted a draft convention, including accompanying protocols, that incorporated various

modifications of the draft convention and some important suggestions presented by each delegation at the earlier meetings.

The delegations examined and discussed the new draft and presented constructive modifications for further consideration.

It was generally agreed that the form and content of the articles of the draft convention under consideration could be made acceptable to the three delegations by means of revisions which were mainly of a drafting nature. However, because of certain problems that could not be resolved at the time, it was not possible to reach full agreement on the salmon and halibut protocols, which form an integral part of the Convention. The greatest unsolved problem concerned conservation measures for those stocks of North American salmon that are fished on the high seas, especially sockeye of Alaskan origin.

The parties came close to an agreement on a formula which would be acceptable so far as the major halibut-producing areas are concerned. This would recognize the long history of research and regulation by the International Pacific Halibut Commission on behalf of the Governments of Canada and the United States and the resulting successful restoration and maintenance of the halibut fishery. However, similar protection for other areas where the stocks have been studied and regulated is to be a matter for further discussion.

#### **Fourth Meeting Recommended**

Throughout the third meeting, the delegations exchanged views in a frank manner and studied various concrete proposals to resolve the remaining differences, particularly with regard to the protocols. As a result of these constructive and conciliatory efforts, considerable progress was made, but it was finally decided that complete agreement could not immediately be reached. The delegations concluded that they should adjourn and recommend to their Governments that a fourth meeting be convened at some later date for the purpose of reaching final agreement. In this connection, the United States delegation expressed the hope of its Government that the next meeting might be held in the United States at a time and place to be determined by the three Governments.



# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **New British Political Leaders**

*On October 19, in reply to an inquiry in the House of Commons whether, in view of the forthcoming visit to Washington by the new British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Patrick Walker, for consultations with the United States Secretary of State, there had been any communication with the Foreign Secretary, and whether Mr. Walker would include Canada "in his itinerary", the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin said:*

. . . In the event that the arrangements made with the U.S. Secretary of State are firm, and notwithstanding the fact that I shall shortly have an opportunity at the United Nations to meet Mr. Walker in his new capacity, I have indicated that we would be very happy if he would come here, and in fact that we believe we would find such a meeting useful.

*A supplementary question whether, in view of the projected visit to Washington of the new British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, the Government would consider asking him to visit Ottawa "while he is on this continent", received from the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the following reply:*

. . . I have already sent a message to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom expressing hope for an early exchange of views, and I have had a telephone conversation with him as well. His reaction to this idea was a very positive one, and I think he will visit Ottawa on his next crossing of the Atlantic.

## **Commonwealth Relations**

*To an inquiry on October 20 whether, in consideration of Prime Minister Wilson's views on Commonwealth trade, the Government of Canada had any "specific proposals" to offer and whether it intended to "take any specific initiative in this regard in the near future", Prime Minister Pearson replied:*

. . . The views of the Government in respect of this matter are well known. We are anxious to do everything we can to increase trade within the Commonwealth, and we will be very anxious to discuss ways and means of doing this with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom as soon as we are able to meet with him.

*On October 22, the Honourable Mitchell Sharp, Minister of Trade and Commerce, was asked an expanded form of this question: "In the light of Prime Minister Wilson's proposals, and those of our own Prime Minister in 1962 . . .*

*on the question of Commonwealth trade, has the Canadian Government prepared any specific proposals . . . and does it intend to take any special initiative in regard to Commonwealth trade?" His answer was as follows:*

As the Prime Minister has said, we would be very happy to discuss with the new Government matters of Commonwealth trade. We are interested in the promotion of Commonwealth trade, and we believe also that the promotion of world trade in general will help the Commonwealth. I expect that we shall be receiving some proposals from the new Government, and these we shall look at most sympathetically.

*To a supplementary inquiry whether, since Mr. Wilson's views on the subject "have been known for quite some time", the Department of Trade and Commerce had "prepared any specific proposals relating to Commonwealth trade", Mr. Sharp replied:*

I should think that since the new Prime Minister of Britain has expressed these views publicly, he will probably be taking some initiative.

### **Food Shipments for India**

*To an inquiry on October 23 whether, because of the food shortage in India, "any special action" was being taken "under any of our food-aid programmes", Mr. Sharp replied:*

. . . The Government is well aware of the very critical situation facing India at the present time because of the shortage of food. We have made known to the Government of India our willingness to assist in the provision of wheat, in particular, and other foods if they are useful to them. We have had no request for aid.

*He answered as follows a further inquiry whether there had been "any communication between the Government and the administration of the World Food Programme of the FAO":*

Yes . . . we have been in continuing communication with the World Food Programme, and we have received no request from the FAO to provide assistance to the food-aid programme to India.

### **Peace-Keeping Conference**

*The following statement was made in the House of Commons on October 26 by Mr. Martin:*

I wish to make a statement to the House on the peace-keeping conference which will be held in Ottawa from November 2 to November 6. This meeting is the outcome of a suggestion made by the Prime Minister of Canada in his address

before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 19, 1963. At that time the Prime Minister stated that Canada would welcome an opportunity to share its experience with other countries which have participated in United Nations peace-keeping operations. To this end, he proposed that there should be an examination by interested governments of the problems and techniques of these operations.

One of the main tasks confronting the United Nations is to find ways of strengthening and improving the peace-keeping capacity of the organization, to learn from the experience gained in previous operations, and to seek more effective ways to perform this function in the future. The present meeting is a first step in that direction. As I explained to the Standing Committee on External Affairs on July 9, the aim is to review past experience of the United Nations peace-keeping operations and to exchange views on the practical and technical problems which have been encountered in the course of these operations. The meeting will provide an opportunity for informal discussions of these problems amongst the representatives of those countries which have made major contributions in men to United Nations peace-keeping operations, or have formed stand-by units for possible service with the United Nations or announced their intention to do so.

Given the nature of the meeting, it is intended that representation should be at the working level and be drawn from persons, mainly military experts, with practical knowledge of the problems. The exchange of views would be informal, confidential and without commitment. The points for discussion cover such questions affecting the work of United Nations peace-keeping forces as composition, command, control and liaison, training and operational problems, environmental operating information, logistic support, personnel administration, public relations, accounting procedures and legal problems.

Members will note that all these are practical and technical problems, the kind that must be faced whenever a United Nations peace-keeping force is organized. This is the first attempt to organize a meeting of this kind. Thus the meeting will be exploratory in nature, and the discussions will concentrate on the practical and technical problems involved in United Nations operations, with a view to strengthening the capability of the participating governments to serve and support the United Nations.

The wider political issues surrounding the authorization, control and financing of United Nations operations are to be discussed at the United Nations. This meeting will not deal with how future peace-keeping operations are established or how they are financed. Nor will it attempt to set up a permanent United Nations force or to form co-ordinated stand-by arrangements. This is the responsibility of the United Nations itself.

We believe that the exchange of views will be fruitful and should be of great value to the participating governments. No formal steps will be taken to draw conclusions, and it will be for participating governments to decide what use to make of the information gained at the meeting.



We have already had informal assurances from the following governments that they are prepared to participate: Brazil, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic. Formal invitations have been extended to these and other governments, and we are hopeful that a number of other countries will accept. The response thus far has been most encouraging.

I have instructed our Ambassador at the United Nations to transmit the text of this statement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations this afternoon.

---

### **FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee: Geneva, in recess, September 17.

Plenary Meeting of the UNGA Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, fifth session:  
New York, October 26 to November 6.

Opening of the UNESCO General Conference: Paris, October 20.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference: Kingston, Jamaica, November 3-23.

Colombo Plan Consultative Committee meeting: London, November 9-20.

Governing Body of ILO and its Committees, 160th session: Geneva, November 9-20.

United Nations General Assembly, nineteenth regular session: New York, November 10.

OECD Ministerial meeting: Paris, December 2-3.

NATO Ministerial Meeting: Paris, December 13-15.

United Nations Human Rights Commission: Geneva, March 22 to April 15, 1965.

## APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. A. S. Whiteley resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective July 23, 1964.
- Mr. S. A. Freifeld posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York. Left Ottawa August 27, 1964.
- Mr. D. P. Cole posted from the Canadian Embassy, Brasilia, to Ottawa. Left Brasilia August 29, 1964.
- Mr. E. R. Bellemare posted from the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, to Ottawa. Left Buenos Aires August 31, 1964.
- Mr. L. A. H. Smith posted from Ottawa to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris. Left Ottawa September 2, 1964.
- Mr. J. L. T. M. Ouellette posted from Ottawa to Canadian Consulate, Sao Paulo. Left Ottawa September 2, 1964.
- Mr. W. J. Bonthron posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels. Left Ottawa September 3, 1964.
- Mr. E. T. Galpin posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, to the National Defence College, Kingston. Left Dublin September 3, 1964.
- Mr. F. A. E. Ward posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo. Left Ottawa September 4, 1964.
- Mr. G. W. LaRocque posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico City. Left Ottawa September 8, 1964.
- Mr. L. P. Tardif posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra, to the Canadian Embassy, Brasilia. Left Canberra September 10, 1964.
- Mr. B. A. R. Hull resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective September 11, 1964.
- Mr. W. P. McLeod posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate, Detroit. Left Ottawa September 11, 1964.
- Mr. D. C. Arnould posted from the Canadian Embassy, Prague, to Ottawa. Left Prague September 13, 1964.
- Mr. W. H. Barton posted from the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York, to Ottawa. Left New York September 14, 1964.
- Mr. E. B. Rogers appointed Canadian Ambassador to Spain. Left London September 15, 1964.
- Mr. G. S. Murray posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London. Left Ottawa September 17, 1964.
- Miss D. Osborne posted from the Canadian Embassy, Paris, to the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon. Left Paris September 17, 1964.
- Mr. A. P. McLaine posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Havana. Left Ottawa September 18, 1964.
- Mr. A. F. Haggins posted from the Canadian Embassy, Moscow, to Ottawa. Left Moscow September 19, 1964.

- Mr. L. O. Bailey appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective September 21, 1964.
- Mr. G. E. Cox posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York. Left Ottawa September 21, 1964.
- Mr. M. I. Dolgin appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective September 21, 1964.
- Mr. P. F. Walker appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective September 21, 1964.
- Miss E. R. Laidman posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Moscow. Left Ottawa September 22, 1964.
- Mr. G. Grondin posted from the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, to Ottawa. Left Vientiane September 23, 1964.
- Mr. D. A. Anderson posted from Ottawa to the Office of the Trade Commissioner for Canada, Hong Kong. Left Ottawa September 28, 1964.
- Mr. A. Bernier appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective September 28, 1964.
- Miss P. O. Toombs appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Foreign Service Officer 1 effective October 1, 1964.
- Miss J. A. Horwood retired from the Public Service, effective October 2, 1964.
- Mr. T. H. W. Read posted from the Canadian Embassy, Athens, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Canberra. Left Athens October 2, 1964.
- Mr. D. B. Butler appointed to the Department of External Affairs as Junior Executive Officer effective October 5, 1964.
- Mr. A. D. Ross posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro. Left Ottawa October 5, 1964.
- Mr. J. Roberts posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris. Left Ottawa October 6, 1964.
- Mr. A. B. Roger posted from the Canadian Embassy, Copenhagen, to the Canadian Embassy, Helsinki. Left Copenhagen October 6, 1964.
- Mr. A. R. Wright posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Lagos. Left Ottawa October 10, 1964.
- Mr. R. M. Middleton, posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, to Ottawa. Left Rio de Janeiro October 12, 1964.
- Mr. A. K. Graham retired from the Public Service effective October 15, 1964.



## TREATY INFORMATION

### Current Action

#### Bilateral

##### Denmark

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Denmark providing for the mutual recognition of certificates of registry or other national documents denoting tonnage of merchant ships.

Ottawa, October 15, 1964.

##### Germany

Exchanges of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany concerning the exchange of information relating to defence science (with a memorandum of understanding).

Berlin, August 21 and 28, 1964.

Entered into force September 28, 1964.

##### Japan

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Japan providing for the entry into Japan of Canadian citizens and the entry into Canada of Japanese nationals either without visas for limited periods or with visas for extended periods and for designated purposes.

Tokyo, September 5, 1964.

Entered into force September 20, 1964.

##### United Kingdom

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of the United Kingdom concerning the status of Canadian forces in Bermuda.

London, September 11, 1964.

Entered into force September 11, 1964.

### Publication

*Canada Treaty Series 1963 No. 24.* Supplementary Agreement to the Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Republic of Italy concerning the sale in Italy of waste material and scrap belonging to the Royal Canadian Air Force, signed at Rome on December 18, 1961. Signed at Rome, September 18, 1963. Entered into force September 18, 1963.



# EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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## *Peace-Keeping Conference*

A MEETING of military experts to consider the technical aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations, convened in Ottawa from November 2 to 6 at the invitation of the Canadian Government, was attended by representatives of 22 nations. The countries represented were Brazil, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, Ghana, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Liberia, Malaysia, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. Major-General Indar Rikhye, Military Adviser to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, attended in the capacity of observer.

The Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, welcomed the delegates on November 2 and the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, spoke at a dinner in their honour on November 5.

A partial text of the communiqué issued at the end of the conference and full texts of the speeches by Mr. Pearson and Mr. Martin follow:



*Military experts of countries belonging to the United Nations in session in the hall of state of the West Block of the Parliament Buildings, known as Confederation Room.*

## Communiqué

... Three working groups were established. Group 1, under the chairmanship of General Kittani, Morocco (vice-chairman, Major-General Kaldager, Norway), studied the questions of composition, command, control and liaison, training and operational problems. Group 2, under the chairmanship of Major-General An-krah, Ghana (vice-chairman, Colonel Amati, Italy), studied questions relating to environmental operating information and logistic support. Group 3, under the chairmanship of Mr. B. C. Mishra, India (vice-chairman, Mr. O. Bierring, Denmark), studied personnel administration, public relations, accounting procedures, and legal problems.

The chairmen of the working groups reported to the delegates on the work of their groups at the final plenary session, following which there was discussion of some of the points made in the reports.

The meeting did not attempt to reach formal conclusions on the items discussed. However, delegates hoped that the exchange of views, both written and oral, would contribute to the effectiveness of such national forces as might be made available to the United Nations in the future and had, therefore, served the general purpose of strengthening the capacity of participating nations to support the United Nations to engage in peace-keeping operations.

The meeting expressed its gratitude to the Government of Canada for its invaluable assistance in the operation of the meeting.

### Speech by Mr. Pearson

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I am pleased to welcome you to Ottawa on behalf of the Government of Canada. I am doubly pleased because your meeting to consider the important aspects of United Nations peace-keeping operations is the result of a proposal which I put forward to the United Nations General Assembly last year. At that time, speaking for the Canadian Government, I said:

We would be happy to share our experience with others who have participated with us in UN peace-keeping operations in the past, as well as with those who might wish to do so in the future.

To this end, we propose that there should be an examination by interested governments of the problems and techniques of peace-keeping operations.

When I made this proposal I hoped that such an examination might lead to closer co-ordination of stand-by forces for UN service, as well as to better mutual understanding of the techniques of peace keeping. As long ago as 1957, it was my view that we should "pool our experience and our resources so that, the next time, we, the governments and peoples whom the United Nations represents, will be ready and prepared to act". This is still my view.



I realize, nevertheless, that in these matters we must advance with all deliberate speed. Dag Hammarskjöld once put it in these terms:

World organization is still a new adventure in human history. It needs perfecting in the crucible of experience and there is no substitute for time in that respect.

It is this "crucible of experience" which brings you together today. Your purpose is to exchange views on the basis of common experience in peace keeping, on the vital technical and military aspects of UN operations and, as a result, to put yourselves in a better position to respond to possible future demands for action under the blue flag of the United Nations.

Needless to say, no government commits itself to respond to such possible future demands by the United Nations just because it has participated in this meeting. That is a decision for governments to make in the light of all the circumstances at the time. But a government which does so respond will have benefited, I know, from the presence of its representatives in Ottawa this week. So, too, will the United Nations have benefited, and I am glad to note, in this respect, the presence here today of a distinguished representative of the Secretary-General.

Too often, in the past, we have been unprepared to meet peace-keeping emergencies. Nor is it reasonable to believe that such emergencies will not happen again — perhaps without warning. The United Nations itself may be prevented by circumstances from taking action to prepare for such emergencies. We all know the difficulties that lie in the way of such United Nations action. But member governments can, indeed must, do a great deal on their own initiative. And who is more aware of this need than those of us who have made major contributions to peace keeping in the past, or who have made it clear we are prepared to be of assistance in the future?

May I say in conclusion that Canadians take pride in the fact of your meeting here. Canadians have participated in every United Nations peace-keeping operation since 1948. Successive Canadian Governments have always sought to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to preserve the peace. I myself have been privileged to be associated with these efforts for many years.

We do not expect miracles. As Secretary-General U Thant pointed out in his address to the Canadian Parliament on May 26 last, what we can expect is "a sound and gradual development of thought and action at the national and international levels, if, in this matter of peace keeping, we are to profit from the lessons of the past and plan and act for a more stable and happier future". But that is also the least we should expect. I am confident that the meeting which begins today will carry us forward yet a little closer towards that goal.

### **Mr. Martin's Speech**

#### **Distinguished Delegates and Guests:**

May I say, first of all, that it has been a pleasure and a privilege for Canada to act as host country for your meeting this week.



\*\* We are very conscious of the honour paid to us by the presence here in Ottawa of so many persons with long and distinguished careers in the military and diplomatic services of your home countries. This is tangible evidence of the importance which our 23 governments attach to the peace-keeping concept and of our common desire to work towards the full realization of the peace-keeping potential of the United Nations.

We are also honoured by the presence of a representative of the Secretary-General. It has been a pleasure for us to have Major-General Rikhye at this meeting in the capacity of an observer.

In some respects this meeting is a landmark on the road we have travelled towards a co-operative approach to the problems of international peace and security within the focus of the United Nations.

A few years ago a meeting of this kind would not have been possible. It is of some significance that today the employment of military forces for peaceful purposes under the auspices of the United Nations is recognized as filling a practical need in the conduct of international affairs, and those of us who look upon these peace-keeping operations as something involving our responsibility as members of the world community are bound to take them into account in our national planning.

This development is truly revolutionary in its character. It has evolved over the years in such a pragmatic and gradual fashion that we have still to appreciate its full implications for thought and action on the international plane.

Yet much has already been done to give shape and substance to this new concept of peace keeping — “the adaptation of the military art to the task of maintaining the peace”.

I was interested to read a press report the other day that a point of view expressed in the corridors during the conference — certainly not on your agenda — was that United Nations peace-keeping operations may perhaps have been too successful, with temporary United Nations military solutions militating against permanent political solutions. If I may be permitted at this late stage to join an argument which perhaps never really took place, I submit that, as civilized human beings and servants of governments pledged to uphold the Charter, we can never accept the idea that a single death or the degradation and misery of a single family is not too high a price to pay for a so-called permanent political solution. We must not succumb to the temptation to assume that if you don't win, you lose; to see things in terms of black or white, or right or wrong, and to ignore the fact that there can be shades of grey. We must never lose sight of the fact that even if we fail to achieve all that we set out to do, and even if all we accomplish is perhaps to maintain an uneasy *status quo* or stabilize an uncertain demarcation line, this in itself can often be counted as a genuine contribution to the maintenance of peace.

The basic principles governing the use of United Nations peace-keeping forces

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\*\*Paragraph delivered in French.

were first developed under the guidance of Dag Hammarskjöld. They have been patiently and painstakingly refined under Secretary-General U Thant. Experience has shown that it is possible to inject an international armed force into situations of the greatest danger and difficulty provided the force is used for clearly defined and restricted purposes, is fully under control of the organization, acts impartially at all times, and maintains its primary posture of arms for defence.

For those of us who have shouldered responsibility in these operations, there has been the problem of how we can best render this service and how we can most effectively respond to United Nations requests for assistance in future peace-keeping operations.

This in essence has been the subject matter of your meeting, the first of its kind to be organized.

Our thought in arranging this conference was to provide an opportunity to pool and share the experience which each of our countries has gained in contributing to successive United Nations operations. Each of us, it was hoped, would have much to learn from the experience of others.

The agenda you have been discussing was prepared primarily with operations of the nature and scale of UNEF, ONUC and UNFICYP in mind. I believe, however, that a good deal of the subject matter of your deliberations will prove to be of value also in the conduct of smaller, but no less onerous and dangerous, extensions of the UN presence in trouble-spots around the world. The operational and logistic problems that have been faced by UNMOGIP, UNTSO and UNYOM, for example, have, in their own way, been every bit as difficult as for larger operations. I should like to pay tribute to the selfless service and devotion to duty of the soldiers and civilians who, over the years, have cheerfully accepted this thankless duty in the interest of peace.

I hope you will conclude your discussions tomorrow with the feeling that this series of informal meetings in an atmosphere that permits a frank and honest exchange of views has been worthwhile. Your agenda was a very heavy one. If this meeting has helped to stimulate and provoke thinking about these important practical problems it will have served its purpose.

The Secretary-General has pointed out that the United Nations must maintain and develop its active role in keeping the peace. There is, in his view, no acceptable alternative method of keeping peace in the world to the steady and sound development of the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations. To quote U Thant:

However improvised and fumbling the United Nations approach may be, we have to develop it to deal with the sudden antagonisms and dangers of our world, until we can evolve more permanent institutions. . . . The pioneering co-operative efforts made by the United Nations to keep the peace . . . constitute vital steps toward a more mature, more acceptable and more balanced world order. We must have the confidence and the means to sustain them and the determination to develop out of them a reliable and workable system for the future.

This meeting is a step in that direction. It has shown the value of consultation and co-operation among governments with a common interest in improving the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations.

This meeting has also shown that it is entirely possible to discuss the practical side of United Nations peace keeping without diverging into the field of political controversy.

It was held with the understanding that there would be no commitment as regards future developments. The reason for this was a simple and obvious one — it is not for a conference such as this to take decisions on matters which can only be definitively resolved within the strict constitutional framework of the United Nations.

But this meeting has, I am sure, created a more understanding climate for future discussions of these problems. What is important is that, after many years of improvisation, there is an opportunity to make some progress on the practical side. It is a door to a more rational and systematic method of organizing, supplying and directing these operations.

On balance, I trust you will feel that this meeting helped to identify the problems and to make some progress towards their solution.

Perhaps the vital point is that what is most important about this conference lies beyond the meetings which conclude tomorrow. If the conference leads to other things, to better preparedness on the part of each of our governments, to an appreciation of the other's difficulties, to further consultation and liaison, then surely no stronger case can be made for it. It is this point which is at the heart of my impressions of your conference.



# *United Nations General Assembly*

## PROSPECTS FOR THE NINETEENTH SESSION

ON DECEMBER 1, 1964, the 112 member states of the United Nations will meet for the nineteenth regular session of the General Assembly, under the temporary Presidency of Mr. Carlos Sosa-Rodriguez, Chairman of the Delegation of Venezuela and President of the eighteenth session. The Acting President will make a few remarks, ask the members of the Assembly to rise for a minute of silent prayer, and will then proceed to appoint the Credentials Committee.

Normally, at this point, the Assembly would proceed to the election of the President of the nineteenth session, but it is possible that the question of loss of voting privileges by those states more than two years in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the organization (Article 19 of the Charter) may be raised at this point. At the time of writing, the Soviet Union, the Byelorussian S.S.R., the Ukrainian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Hungary, Paraguay and Yemen are sufficiently in arrears to be subject to Article 19.

In the absence of the Article 19 situation, the Acting President would call for two leaders of delegations to act as tellers for an election of a new President. Candidatures for the position this year are Nathan Barnes of Liberia, Alexander Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, and Omar Adeel of the Sudan. Election is by secret ballot. The newly-elected President will then take his seat in the podium and call the nineteenth session to order.

The next step will be the election of the 17 vice-presidents and the constitution of the seven main committees, which, in turn, will elect their chairmen.

At its first Assembly, the United Nations recognized that it would be impossible to deal with the heavily-charged agenda in plenary meetings only. The seven main committees that have evolved are committees of the whole; they are:

First Committee and Special Political Committee (Political Questions);

Second Committee (Economic and Financial Questions);

Third Committee (Social, Cultural and Humanitarian Questions);

Fourth Committee (Colonial Questions);

Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary Questions);

Sixth Committee (Legal Questions).

Candidates for the seven committee chairmanships are Sir Senerat Gunewardene of Ceylon, German Zea of Colombia, and Karoly Csatorday of Hungary for the First Committee and Dr. Abdullah El-Erian of the United Arab Republic and Louis Ignacio-Pinto of Dahomey for the Sixth Committee. Shintaro Fukushima of Japan, Pierre Forthomme of Belgium, H. Lannung of Denmark, Majed Rahnema of Iran and Bechir Mhedhebi of Tunisia are unopposed candidates for the Special Political, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Committees respectively.

In addition to the five permanent members of the Security Council, the following are candidates for the vice-presidencies:

Africa-Asia	—	Central African Republic, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Thailand, Cambodia, Kuwait
Eastern Europe	—	Poland
Latin America	—	Paraguay
Western Europe and Others	—	New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Austria, Israel.

The 24 vice-presidents and committee chairmen, with the President of the General Assembly, form the General Committee, which functions as a steering body. It considers the provisional agenda, recommends the items to be discussed by the Assembly, and also recommends whether an item should be examined in plenary meetings or by a committee. The reports of the General Committee are then sent to plenary for final disposition.

After the Assembly has adopted the agenda, it holds a general debate lasting approximately three weeks. Heads of delegations, sometimes prime ministers or ministers of foreign affairs, deliver important policy statements. They explain the attitude of their respective governments on the subjects placed before the Assembly or emphasize those matters their countries consider to be of the greatest importance.

Toward the end of the second week of the Assembly, the seven main committees will meet to elect their vice-chairmen and rapporteurs. The vice-chairman's official function is to preside over the committee in the absence of the chairman. The rapporteur has the duty, with the help of the Secretariat, to report on the proceedings of the committee and to present these reports to the plenary meetings of the Assembly.

Once a committee has concluded its consideration of an item and disposed of it, either by recommending a resolution or some other course of action, it must report its action through the medium of the rapporteur's report to a plenary meeting. Plenary meetings are called from time to time to deal with the items assigned to it specifically or to consider the recommendations of the committees. In practice, very few committee decisions are reversed in plenary. However, this may happen when the membership is sharply divided on specific issues. A resolution in committee need have only a simple majority in its favour for adoption. The Charter requires a two-thirds majority in plenary meeting on all matters of importance.\*

Consideration of an item usually follows a set pattern. First, a general debate on all the facets of the problem under scrutiny is held, which may last, depending on the item, from a few hours to two or three weeks. During this debate, ideas crystallize and draft resolutions and amendments to these resolutions are tabled by various delegations. These texts are then debated not only as regards their

\*See Article 18 of the Charter.

form but also their intent and modalities and, finally, voted on. Basically there are three ways in which a resolution may be adopted. If the presiding officer is convinced that all the member states are in favour, he simply announces that, unless he hears an objection, the resolution will be considered as having been adopted unanimously. If this is not the case, however, delegations may signify their approval, rejection, or abstention by a show-of-hands vote whereby only the total number of votes in favour, against or abstaining are recorded, or by roll-call vote where each delegation is called on to cast its vote orally, the vote of each delegation being recorded in the records of proceedings. Sometimes voting periods give rise to procedural issues and the alert observer will wish to read beforehand the rules of procedure of the Assembly, as contained in Document A/520/Rev.7.

A great variety of United Nations documents is available during a session. Observers will be interested in reading some of these documents. The *Journal* is published every day and indicates in which conference room and at what time the various committees of the Assembly will meet. It also lists the items on the agenda of each committee as well as the documents concerning these items. A verbatim record of proceedings in plenary and in First Committee is available under the symbols A/PV and A/C.1/PV. A summary record of proceedings in all committees is available under the symbol A/C.—/SR. (The number following C indicates which Committee it concerns.) Studies on the subjects under discussion or rapporteurs' reports are published under the symbol A/—. These documents, as well as all others, can usually be obtained from the documents officer of the committee concerned.

In all likelihood, there will be nearly 100 items on the final agenda of the Assembly. It is not possible to give here a detailed background for each of them. The most important are mentioned and the reader should remember that many items have a long history, the complete understanding of which would require many hours of study. The final agenda for each committee will be available in document form when the General Assembly has taken action on the reports of the General Committee. In the meantime the provisional agenda is reproduced in Document A/5750/Rev. 1.

## **Probable Plenary Items**

### **Elections to Security Council**

The Security Council consists of five permanent members (Britain, China, France, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) and six non-permanent members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. Three members are elected each year by secret ballot, a two-thirds majority being needed for election. The candidates for office this year are Uruguay, the Netherlands, Jordan and Mali. Malaysia will be a candidate to replace Czechoslovakia on a split-term arrangement agreed upon last year.



### **Elections to Economic and Social Council**

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) consists of 18 members of the United Nations who serve for a three-year term; each year, a third of the membership is replaced in elections conducted by the General Assembly by secret balloting. The term of office of the following countries will be terminated at the end of 1964: the U.S.A., Australia, India, Colombia, Yugoslavia, and Senegal. There will be a number of candidates, including Canada, for these seats, and it is not yet possible to assess the chances of each candidate. It can be assumed that, in accordance with tradition, the United States, a permanent member of the Security Council, will be re-elected, and it seems likely, on the basis of promises of support received thus far, that the Canadian candidature will also be successful. The distribution of seats among geographical areas for election to both Security Council and ECOSOC was regulated by informal agreements among the member states in 1946. The large number of African and Asian countries that joined the organization after that date considered that their representation on these Councils was not sufficient and wished to remedy the situation. Consequently, at the eighteenth session, amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter were passed, which would increase the membership of the Security Council from 11 members to 15 and the Economic and Social Council from 18 members to 27. At the same time, it was agreed to amend the rules of procedure of the General Assembly to increase the number of vice-presidents from 13 to 17. It is expected that the amendments to the Charter, which require ratification by the governments of two-thirds of the members of the Assembly, will come into effect in 1965.

### **Report of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four on Colonialism**

The Special Committee of Twenty-Four has the task of supervising the implementation of the Colonial Declaration of December 1960, which proclaimed the necessity of bringing to a speedy end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The Committee meets almost continuously in the interval between Assembly sessions. This year the Assembly will consider recommendations emanating from the Special Committee on a variety of colonial territories, including Rhodesia, South West Africa, the high-commission territories, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, the African territories under Portuguese administration, and Aden and Fiji. These territories differ widely in their political and economic development and each presents special problems. The recommendations of the Special Committee, in the form of draft resolutions recommended for adoption by the Assembly, are generally dealt with in plenary. After a general debate on decolonization, the Assembly will consider one by one the resolutions dealing with individual colonial territories.

### **Chinese Representation**

The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations will be debated during the session. The substantive issue is whether the Communist Chinese or the

Nationalist Chinese should represent China in the United Nations. Some delegations, including the Soviet Union, argue that the credentials of the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be accepted and those of the representatives of China in Taiwan rejected. Others, including the United States, argue that the essential issue involved is the question of qualifications for United Nations membership and that Communist China lacks these qualifications. The attitudes of other member states vary between these two poles. In 1961 the General Assembly decided that the question of Chinese representation was an "important question", which means that any resolution on the substance of the issue requires a two-thirds majority to be adopted. However, the decision on the "important question" issue is considered to be procedural and, since procedural matters are settled by a simple majority, it is possible that the 1961 decision could be reversed.

### **International Co-operation Year**

As an aftermath of the successful International Geophysical Year, Canada, India, and certain other countries conceived the project of designating 1965, the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, as International Co-operation Year. The purposes will be to publicize and to initiate various projects on a national and an international basis. These aims stemmed from the conviction that the wider and more complete involvement of peoples in acts of international co-operation would be one effective way of reducing international tensions. Canada was a member of the preparatory committee which reported to the eighteenth session of the UN General Assembly and the report of this committee was accepted by the Assembly as a basis for plans for the International Co-operation Year. The Assembly, in its Resolution 1907 (XVIII), designated 1965 as International Co-operation Year and called on member states, non-governmental organizations and the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies to develop appropriate plans to implement the aims laid down for International Co-operation Year. Since that time a non-governmental organization, ICY (Canada), has been set up to co-ordinate the plans and activities of non-governmental organizations in Canada, and to develop and implement a programme of public attention to make Canadians more aware of the possibilities inherent in international co-operative activities. The Government has also laid down its own programmes for ICY. Canada is a member of the United Nations Committee on International Co-operation Year, which will present a report on this question, and consideration of this item will begin by an examination of this report.

## **Probable First Committee Items**

### **General and Complete Disarmament**

As at the eighteenth session, discussion of general and complete disarmament will be based on the report of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee. The de-

bate is unlikely to be concerned with details of proposed measures for inclusion in a treaty on general and complete disarmament. Nevertheless, it is to be expected that there will be increasing attention given to the nuclear aspects of the disarmament problem, including the fundamental difference in approach between the Soviet and Western sides to the reduction and elimination of nuclear-weapons carriers. A general resolution similar to the one adopted last year is to be anticipated. That resolution called on the Eighteen-Nation Committee to resume with energy and determination its negotiations on general and complete disarmament and to seek agreement on collateral measures to reduce tension, lessen the possibility of war and facilitate agreement on general and complete disarmament. A number of non-aligned states may introduce proposals for general or special international conferences in the disarmament field. The Canadian view is that the ENDC constitutes the most appropriate forum for the detailed consideration and negotiation of disarmament measures.

### **Suspension of Nuclear Tests**

A resolution on this item was adopted at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, which noted with approval the treaty banning nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, called on all states to become parties thereto (105 states, exclusive of France and Communist China, have subscribed), requested the Eighteen-Nation Committee to continue its negotiations aimed at the extension of the ban on testing to the fourth environment and asked the Committee to report its efforts to the nineteenth session. As no progress can be reported, it is probable that there will be non-aligned suggestions for a moratorium on underground tests (either complete or with regard to those of a certain magnitude). These suggestions are unlikely to be acceptable to the Western nuclear powers. Communist China's atmospheric test explosion of October 16 and that country's relation to the treaty (and general disarmament) will naturally be a matter of extensive comment.

### **Prohibition of Use of Nuclear Weapons**

Last year the General Assembly requested the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee to study urgently the question of convening a conference to sign a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and to report on its deliberations to the nineteenth session. The Committee's report indicates merely that the subject was discussed at several of its plenary meetings; no conclusion was agreed on at Geneva. A number of member states, including Canada, continue to be opposed to such a conference. It is the Canadian view that the only effective way to ensure that nuclear weapons will never be used is through agreement on a comprehensive and carefully verified system of disarmament, which, *inter alia*, would deal with all aspects of the problem of nuclear weapons. The debate in the First Committee could, on this occasion however, be regarded as more important than last year by some members in the light of the recent Communist



Chinese proposal for a world summit conference at which the first item of business would be the conclusion of an agreement not to use nuclear weapons.

### **Denuclearization of Africa**

Introduced at the request of all the African states, this item is based on a declaration adopted by a Conference of the Organization of African Unity last July. It may give rise to a debate on the matter not only of establishing nuclear-free zones in Africa and elsewhere but also on the conception of an agreement on the non-acquisition of nuclear weapons (which is, in fact, the subject of the declaration). The Canadian position with regard to nuclear-free zones is largely governed by three criteria: the proposal should be acceptable to the countries of the geographical area in which the zone would be located; it should include arrangement for verifying that the commitments undertaken would be carried out; and it should be consistent with the accepted principle that no disarmament measure should create a unilateral advantage for any state or group of states. So far as a non-acquisition agreement is concerned, Canada would advocate that the matter be directed to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee for detailed examination.

### **Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons**

India has requested the inclusion of this subject on the agenda of the nineteenth session. Non-proliferation or non-dissemination has not been discussed at New York as a separate item since the sixteenth session, at which time there was unanimous acceptance of the terms of the Irish resolution calling for the conclusion of an international agreement under which nuclear powers would refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and states not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire control of them. The Indians now appear to be seeking encouragement for the urgent formulation of an agreement specifically prohibiting the manufacture, acquisition, receipt or transfer of nuclear weapons. There will be considerable difficulty over the meaning to be attached to key notions such as acquisition, control, receipt, etc. The Russians and Eastern Europeans can be expected to argue that creation of a multilateral nuclear force runs counter to the principle of non-dissemination, and some non-aligned members may propose a moratorium on the establishment of the force. The Canadian view is that arrangements for the MLF are not inconsistent with the terms of the Irish resolution. A number of member nations may also, in the debate on this item if not earlier, urge consideration of the proposal, included in the declaration of the non-aligned conference (October 1964), for a treaty embodying both the idea of non-acquisition of nuclear weapons and considerations normally arising when a nuclear-free zone is contemplated.

### **Outer Space**

The 24-member United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was created in 1959 to:

- (a) review as appropriate the area of international co-operation and study practical and feasible means for giving effect to programmes in the peaceful uses of outer space that could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices;
- (b) study the nature of legal problems that might arise from the exploration of outer space, including the elaboration of basic principles to govern the activities of states in the field, liability for space accidents, and assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles.

Two sub-committees on which all Committee members are represented have since been set up to deal with these: a Legal Sub-Committee and a Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee.

The Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee met in Geneva in May and June of this year and, among other decisions, noted with satisfaction the declarations by the United States and the Soviet Union reporting preliminary agreement between scientists of the two countries to begin the joint preparation for the publication of a review of achievements and prospects for development of space biology and medicine and commended this joint effort, which should prove of broad interest to the scientific community. The Sub-Committee also gave final approval to a number of recommendations dealing with such questions as: (a) United Nations sponsorship for the rocket-launching facilities at Thumba, India, and the use of this station as a centre for international co-operation and training; and (b) the advisability of organizing in 1967, under United Nations auspices, an international conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space. It is expected that the parent Committee will endorse these recommendations and pass them on to the Assembly for approval.

The March session of the Legal Sub-Committee in Geneva gave hope of early agreement on the matter of assistance to and return of astronauts and space craft. Members of the Sub-Committee recently reconvened in New York (October 5) with this end in view. An attempt is also being made at this session to resolve difficulties remaining in the way of the preparation at an early stage of a draft international agreement on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space. The results of the meeting will be reported to the full Committee in time for the Assembly's consideration at its coming session.

## **Probable Special Political Committee Items**

### **Apartheid**

Because of African pressure, South Africa has withdrawn from the ILO and the WHO and has been threatened with expulsion from other Specialized Agencies or been prevented from attending their meetings. There may, therefore, be further attempts to exclude the South African delegation from the General Assembly or

to expel South Africa from the United Nations. The death sentences on three leaders of the African National Congress recently confirmed by higher courts in South Africa and the life sentences imposed at the Rivonia trial last June will probably be the subject of a separate resolution. Partial or total sanctions will also be advocated by the African group, which will be anxious to place increased pressure on the Security Council to take action on sanctions when it receives the report of the Special Committee it set up by its resolution of June 18, 1964.

The *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa are deplored and condemned by almost all members of the Assembly. There is, however, a wide divergence of views on the best means of bringing pressure to bear on South Africa to change its policies. Many members from Africa and Asia would like to impose economic and other sanctions against South Africa and expel that country from the organization if it continues not to comply with previous United Nations resolutions calling upon it to abandon its discriminatory policies.

### **United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)**

This agency was set up in 1950 to provide relief for, and facilitate the rehabilitation of, the Arab refugees who had lost their homes and means of livelihood during the hostilities that accompanied the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. More than one million refugees still receive rations or full services (including education) from UNRWA at a cost of some \$36 million annually. This work is supported by voluntary national and private donations and the principal contributors are the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Australia and New Zealand. The balance of UNRWA's revenue is derived from small contributions by some 40 other countries, by WHO, by UNESCO and by private contributors. The mandate of the Agency was renewed last year for the period July 1, 1963, to July 1, 1965. It will thus be up for renewal again at this session. Discussion of the work of the Agency will, as in the past, focus on the possibility of progress towards a permanent solution for the refugees, and the Arab states and Israel can be expected to reiterate their long-established positions on both the refugee problem and the whole Palestine question.

### **Effects of Atomic Radiation**

The United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) was established by the Assembly to collect, study and disseminate information on the effects of atomic radiation on man and his environment. The Committee submits yearly progress reports to the General Assembly; comprehensive reports were released in 1958 and 1962.

This year's report of UNSCEAR devotes particular attention to the problems of the contamination of the environment by nuclear explosions and the question of the possibility of quantitatively assessing the risk of induction of malignancies by radiation in man. Since UNSCEAR will enter its tenth year of life in December of this year, the Assembly may wish to commend its achievements during this period.



## **Probable Second Committee Items**

The Second Committee is the apex of the institutional structure through which the members of the United Nations reflect their joint interest in a wide variety of questions relating to trade and economic development. Each year the Committee considers reports on the work of the Economic and Social Council and the various bodies and agencies related to it. Last year the emphasis in the Second Committee was on trade questions, particularly as reflected in the preparation for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. It is expected that a similar trend will prevail this year.

### **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development**

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is likely to be the major item of discussion in the Second Committee. This Conference, which met in Geneva, Switzerland, from March 23 to June 16, 1964, was convened to consider how trade could make a fuller contribution to the economic progress of the less-developed countries of the world. It was generally recognized that, if the less-developed countries were to achieve and maintain a satisfactory rate of economic growth, they would have to increase their imports, particularly of capital goods. These increased imports would have to be financed either through external aid or through their own export earnings.

The recommendations of the Geneva Conference covered trade in primary commodities, manufactured goods and invisibles, as well as the establishment of new institutional arrangements to carry forward the work begun at Geneva. These recommendations were embodied in a final act that will now go before the Second Committee, together with the report on the Conference. It is expected that the Second Committee's discussions will centre on the recommendation in the final act to establish new institutional arrangements. These call for:

- (a) UN trade and development conferences (similar to the Geneva Conference) to meet at not more than three-year intervals.
- (b) a UN Trade and Development Board of 55 members, to meet normally twice a year. As a major trading nation, Canada is assured of a permanent seat on this Board.

At the Geneva Conference there was general agreement on this new machinery. However, the developed countries made their consent dependent on proper conciliation or voting procedures being agreed on so that a broad consensus of agreement might be reached on particular recommendations before voting took place. The developing countries had, at Geneva, sought to achieve their goals by voting on recommendations as a cohesive group, regardless, on many occasions, of the objections of the developed countries. The developed countries felt that the continued passage of recommendations by the developing countries, with their large majority, over the objections of the developed countries, which must generally take the action, could only create a less receptive atmosphere in

all countries towards the UNCTAD machinery. At the time of writing, a special committee appointed by the UN Secretary-General was meeting in New York to try to reach agreement on the conciliation procedures to be adopted.

### **Other Items**

In view of the great interest shown by member states in the UN Trade and Development Conference, a very limited time may remain to discuss the other agenda items. However, two of these other items require further action and relate directly to discussions at the Geneva Conference: (a) an agency for industrial development; and (b) a United Nations Capital Development Fund. Other items on the agenda relate to the implementation of the United Nations Development Decade by such means as technical assistance, industrial development and planning for economic development. In addition, there is the problem of closer co-operation and collaboration between the technical-assistance agencies, the most important among them being a proposal for the merger of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA) into a United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

## **Probable Third Committee Items**

The Third Committee considers questions primarily of a sociological nature. Much of its work is generated by four of the seven Functional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council (the Social Commission, the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs). Resolutions and recommendations from these Functional Commissions must first have the approval of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), to which they report. Having received such approval, the resolutions are passed on to the General Assembly, where they are considered in the Third Committee. The Committee also considers relevant parts of the report of ECOSOC, the reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

### **International Declarations and Conventions**

In past years, the Committee has considered and approved a number of international conventions. Among these are: the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage, and Registration of Marriages, which was opened for signature in 1962; the Convention on the Status of Refugees, completed in 1951; and the Supplementary Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, which was completed in 1956. At this session, the Committee will pursue consideration of a draft declaration and a draft convention on freedom of information. It will also consider the draft declaration on the right of asylum, which is likely to provide somewhat the same difficulty as it has in previous years. The declaration

provides for the right of an individual who is being politically persecuted in his country of origin to seek asylum in a country of his choice. This conception has produced a great deal of discussion in the Committee. Soviet-bloc countries tend to support the principle that asylum is the right of an individual to demand, while some Western countries, including Canada, consider asylum the right of a country to grant.

At the eighteenth session, the Committee adopted a Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and passed a resolution asking the Human Rights Commission to draw up a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and a similar declaration on religious intolerance. The Commission has completed a draft convention on racial discrimination but has not completed the draft declaration on religious intolerance. The Committee will, therefore, consider the former in detail, but will probably not have much time available to consider the latter legal instrument.

### **International Covenants on Human Rights**

Many of the items considered by the Third Committee tend to be of a continuing nature. One of the primary tasks for the Committee in past years has been consideration of the international covenants on human rights. These covenants, which contain articles on civil and political, economic, social, and cultural rights, have been considered by every session of the Committee since 1955. The Committee has had difficulty in finding a text for each article that would be supported by a majority of states. Each country considers the drafts presented in the light of its philosophy of jurisprudence, its existing laws, its constitutional and practical capabilities, its political problems and objectives, and many other relevant factors. For example, Soviet-bloc countries tend to view human rights as collective, while Western countries tend to put the emphasis on the rights of the individual.

As far as Canada is concerned, many of the articles of the covenants fall under the jurisdiction of the provinces, and no provision has been made to take into account the constitutional difficulties of federal states such as Canada. Canada has also refrained from supporting provisions in the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that prescribe "the right to work", "the right of everyone to social security", "an adequate standard of living", "adequate food, clothing and housing", and "the right to take part in cultural life". The notions expressed in such articles are difficult to implement by legislative means, particularly with the conception of the role of government in society which underlies the governmental system in a parliamentary democracy.

Despite the difficulties encountered by the Committee in relation to the Covenants, agreement has now been reached on the texts of most of the articles. When completed, the Covenants will be considered by the General Assembly, and if approved, will become legal documents ready for signature and ratification by UN member states.

This session, the Committee will continue to consider the implementing of articles. At the last session it became apparent that the newly-independent states



of Africa did not want to become involved at this stage in the subject of implementation, with its inherent limitations to national sovereignty, particularly in the case of the Political Covenant. The Soviet bloc indicated its preference for a single system of implementation for both covenants, based primarily on a reporting procedure, as is now the case with the draft Social Covenant. The Soviet bloc recommended, however, that the reporting procedure should be made more detailed, so that contracting states could give information about the specific implementation of their commitments. Most Western countries declared themselves ready to support the provisions of the articles set forth in both covenants, though several delegations, including the Canadian, questioned the advisability of giving the International Court of Justice the responsibility of electing members to the Human Rights Committee.

### **Other Items**

The Committee will also consider the following terms: the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; portions of the report of ECOSOC; consideration of measures to accelerate the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and consideration of measures designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples.

## **Probable Fourth Committee Items**

The Fourth Committee handles colonial questions. In the past few years the pressure for rapid advance to self-government and independence has been so great that a number of colonial items have been assigned to plenary. Thus it is possible to have a debate on, let us say, Rhodesia proceeding in the Fourth Committee while plenary is discussing Portuguese policies in Angola. However, the Fourth Committee remains the focal point of the anti-colonial movement in the United Nations.

Basically, the aim behind the work of the Fourth Committee is to encourage the speedy political development of the remaining colonial territories. Three classes of territory come under its scrutiny:

- (a) *Non-self governing territories* — There are some 50 of these, ranging from Angola and Mozambique to small island dependencies like Mauritius and St. Helena.
- (b) *Trust territories* — Only three territories remain under the trusteeship agreements negotiated after the Second World War — Nauru, Australian New Guinea and the U.S.-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.
- (c) *The Mandated Territory of South West Africa* — administered by the Republic of South Africa under a mandate granted by the League of Nations.

The hard-core colonial problems that will come before the Fourth Committee at this session can be narrowed to three: Rhodesia, the Portuguese territories in Africa and South West Africa. In these territories, power is held by a minority of European settlers and the Africans, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the population, are deprived of many basic political rights.

In the case of Rhodesia (until recently known as Southern Rhodesia), the Fourth Committee may be expected to renew its recommendation that the British Government take steps to give independence to Rhodesia under a majority government. Criticism may be expected of the referendum and tribal consultation which is to be held in Rhodesia in November, as being unrepresentative of the wishes of the Rhodesian population. The British Government may again be urged not to transfer sovereignty to a white minority government, and if there appears to be a danger that the Rhodesian Government will declare independence unilaterally, the British Government may be urged to take steps to prevent such action. If, as is conceivable, the Rhodesian Government does declare independence while the Assembly is in session, there will be an immediate demand for Security Council action, including sanctions.

The Fourth Committee is likely to adopt further recommendations seeking to persuade Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination and to co-operate with the United Nations in preparing the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, etc., for eventual independence. Because of the weakness of the rebel movements in both Angola and Mozambique and the relatively friendly tone of the conversations which took place between the Portuguese and African representatives at the last Assembly, there may be some hope of gaining acceptance for a United Nations mission to visit the Portuguese territories to investigate conditions. The Portuguese Government has indicated that it will demand an ILO commission of enquiry to investigate discrimination in employment.

In the case of South West Africa, the South African Government will no doubt again be censured for its continuing refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in carrying out numerous Assembly resolutions or permitting the establishment of an effective United Nations presence in South West Africa. It may be that any further efforts to obtain sanctions against South Africa with respect to South West Africa, similar to the oil sanctions proposed last year, will be held back until the International Court decision on South West Africa is handed down, as is expected, early in 1965.

### **Probable Fifth Committee Items**

The primary tasks of the Fifth Committee are to consider the financial implications of Assembly decisions and to arrange for the provision of adequate funds for four main types of United Nations expenditure. These four categories

of expenditure are listed below, together with a description of the methods which the organization has employed, with varying degrees of success, to finance them.

### **Administrative Services and Basic Programmes**

The first category consists of the costs of (a) the administrative services essential for the work of the organization and its organs, exclusive of administrative costs directly related to operational programmes, and (b) "basic" (non-operational) programmes. ("Basic" programmes are mainly programmes of general interest and importance to the organization as a whole, and include the *World Economic Survey*, the codification and development of international law, the control of narcotic drugs, and the substantive areas of the work of the Regional Economic Commissions.) Member states agree unanimously that costs in this first category are expenses of the organization within the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter and that failure to contribute towards these costs according to the accepted regular scale of assessments would result in loss of vote under the provisions of Article 19 when the amount of a member's arrears equalled or exceeded the amount of contributions due from the preceding two full years. To date, no member state has been more than two years in arrears in respect of these costs. The costs of these administrative services and basic programmes in 1964 constituted almost 81 per cent (\$80.9 million) of the so-called "regular" United Nations budget of \$101.3 million.

### **Costs of Economic and Refugee Programmes**

The second category of expenditure consists of the administrative and operational costs of economic-development and refugee programmes. The economic-development programmes are primarily for the direct benefit of developing countries and not for the membership as a whole. A relatively small proportion of the costs of these programmes is included in the regular budget and assessed under Articles 17 and 19. This provides token recognition of the principle that the promotion of higher standards of living in the less-developed areas of the world is a collective responsibility of all member states. The bulk of the funds for United Nations economic-development programmes comes from voluntary contributions by member states outside the regular budget (Expanded Programmes of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund).

In 1964, approximately 16.3 per cent (\$16.5 million) of the United Nations regular budget was devoted to administrative and operational costs of economic and refugee programmes and other "special expenses". The Soviet Union and its allies have always argued that the costs of economic and social development programmes should be financed by voluntary contributions rather than included in the regular budget. Until 1963, while disagreeing with the regular budget approach, they paid their share of these costs in convertible currency. However, in 1963, the Soviet group indicated their intention to pay their share of the costs of these programmes in national currencies, which could be used to provide Soviet-



bloc nationals and services. On several other items in this section (the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Korea, interest and amortization charges on the United Nations bonds) the Soviet Union and its allies have declined to pay their share. France is the only other member that has refused to pay its share of any of the costs included in this category (United Nations bond charges).

The Soviet Union's ruble payments for technical assistance have not been accepted by the United Nations Secretariat, since payment of regular budget contributions in non-convertible currency is contrary to the financial regulations. Both France and the Soviet group are accumulating arrears by virtue of their refusal to pay the cost of amortizing the United Nations bond issue.

### **Costs Exclusive of Armed Forces**

The third category of expenditure covers the costs of operations in the field of peace and security, exclusive of those operations, such as UNEF (United Nations Emergency Force) and ONUC (Organization of the United Nations in the Congo), which involve armed forces. Examples of this third category are the United Nations "Special Missions" in Lebanon, Korea, Palestine and Kashmir. A very large majority of member states has accepted the practice of financing these costs in the regular budget under Articles 17 and 19. (The costs of these special missions constituted about 3.9 per cent (\$3.93 million) of the 1964 regular budget.) The Soviet group has opposed this practice, and has, since 1963, withheld payment for such items. Certain non-committed member states tend to sympathize with the Soviet view; they do not default, however, and tend to abstain rather than vote against the relevant sections of the budget.

### **Costs Involving Armed Forces**

The fourth category of expenditure relates to peace and security operations involving armed forces. After the political decisions had been taken and the actions launched in the Middle East (UNEF) and the Congo (ONUC), the General Assembly arranged for the financing of these operations. The costs are not included in the regular budget. Owing to disagreements over the legality, establishment, direction and financing of these operations, the Soviet bloc and certain other members, including Belgium, France and South Africa, have refused to pay their share of the costs of one or both of these operations. In addition, a number of other members have indicated that, owing to their limited capacity to pay, they are unable to pay their share of these expenses. As a result of the failure of certain members to pay their assessments, UNEF arrears amounted to \$29.6 million and ONUC arrears to \$82.6 million as of September 30, 1964. ONUC came to an end on June 30, 1964, but UNEF is expected to continue at least through 1965.

As a temporary expedient to overcome the growing cash deficit, the Assembly in 1961 authorized the Secretary-General to issue \$200 million in United Nations bonds. As of September 15, 1964, over 60 governments (including Canada: \$6.24

million) had either pledged or purchased bonds to the amount of \$178,489,294. As a further step towards placing the organization's finances on a sound basis, the General Assembly established a working group of 15 in 1961 and a working group of 21 in 1962 to study methods of sharing equitably the costs of peace-keeping operations involving heavy expenditures. However, generally acceptable long-term financing arrangements have not yet been developed, and UNEF and ONUC continued to be financed on an *ad hoc* basis, under which, in recent years, the developing countries have had their assessments calculated at rates lower than those employed for the regular budget.

### **Other Tasks**

Besides arranging for the provision of adequate funds and approving the regular budget and the budgets for the UNEF and ONUC, the Fifth Committee also considers administrative questions and matters relating to the organization and staffing of the United Nations Secretariat.

### **Major Issues at the Nineteenth Session**

As a result of increasing arrears, now totalling \$115.7 million, the United Nations faces a serious financial crisis. The problem is essentially political; 98 per cent of the cash operating deficit represents unpaid assessments for the peace-keeping operations in the Middle East and the Congo and reflects the continuing dispute over the respective responsibilities of the Security Council and the General Assembly to maintain international peace and security. Also in dispute is the principle of collective financial responsibility for such operations.

As of October 26, 1964, nine states (including the Soviet Union and six of its allies) were sufficiently in arrears to be subject to Article 19 of the United Nations Charter, which provides that members of the General Assembly whose arrears exceed the previous two years' assessed contributions shall have no vote. The Article goes on to stipulate that the General Assembly can restore the vote if satisfied that failure to pay arises from circumstances beyond the member's control. The Soviet Union maintains that Article 19 is relevant only to expenditures under the regular budget (i.e. excludes the special peace-keeping accounts) and could in any event not be applied to UNEF and ONUC, which it regards as illegal operations undertaken in disregard of the Charter provisions on peace keeping. Canada, in company with the majority, regards the costs of the two operations as duly-authorized expenditures that members are obliged to pay and considers Article 19 to be wholly relevant to peace-keeping arrears.

The dispute over Article 19 and the larger question of how peace-keeping operations should be financed seem likely to overshadow all other issues in the field of United Nations financing. However, among other important subjects to be discussed are:

- (a) the sizable increase in the regular budget recommended by the Secretary-General (gross: \$104.7 million) and the supplementary estimates

- arising out of the continuation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, as recommended by the 1964 Conference;
- (b) the 1965 UNEF budget and the apportionment of UNEF costs (if the operation is continued in 1965);
  - (c) the geographical distribution of Secretariat posts;
  - (d) new proposals for building permanent quarters for the United Nations International School and the advisability of establishing an endowment fund to cover future contingencies;
  - (e) mechanical methods of voting, as part of a general attempt to improve the General Assembly's methods of work. (Electrical voting devices will have been installed on a selective and experimental basis for the nineteenth session.)

### **Probable Sixth Committee Items**

The Sixth Committee is concerned with items that are essentially (although not exclusively) legal in nature. This year its agenda includes:

- (a) The report of the International Law Commission (a body of legal experts, appointed in their personal capacity to codify and further develop international law) on the work of its last session.
- (b) The question of extended participation in general multilateral treaties concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations.
- (c) Consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (this item was examined by a United Nations Special Committee that met recently in Mexico City. The Committee's report to the Sixth Committee contains draft formulations of some of the principles involved as well as suggestions on the future handling of this item).
- (d) Consideration of steps to be taken for progressive development in the field of private international law with a particular view to promoting international trade.
- (e) The question of the renunciation by states of the use of force for the settlement of territorial disputes and questions concerning frontiers.
- (f) The question of observance by member states of the principles relating to the sovereignty of states, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities.
- (g) Election of five members of the International Court of Justice.



# *International Law in a Changing World: Value of the Old and the New*

*The following is the text of a speech by the Honourable Paul Martin, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the Toronto Branch of the International Law Association, on October 14, 1964:*

The topic I have chosen to speak on is wide enough to embrace all international law. The theme of my speech is change — not violent change, not revolutionary change, but change in its everyday aspect, what has come to be known as the process of peaceful change. But I do not propose to try to survey the entire span of international law, as it links East and West, newer countries and old, yesterday and tomorrow, the world of armaments and a world without arms, a world where the laws of war are as extensive as the laws of peace, and a world without violence and war. This would be far too ambitious a task for this brief address.

But what I can do is seek to share with you some of the insights which I have gained in my office of Secretary of State for External Affairs, about the meaning of international law for Canada, about how we see it in its strength and how we see it in its weaknesses, about when and how we strive for change so as to overcome the inadequacies of the existing rules and when and how we seek to conserve the achievements and values of the past.

In Canada, our experience is hardly unique. A settled country, an established land, Canada is not besieged by the problems of the newer states struggling to find themselves in the community of nations, seeking to determine their obligations and their rights, their privileges and their responsibilities. As an independent state, Canada has shared in the development of international law in its most crucial years, the two generations which have given rise to the beginnings of a new international order based on multilateral co-operation through world-wide institutions which have risen from the devastations of two World Wars.

## **A Western Heritage**

We in the West regard international law as our inheritance. It has largely sprung from the postulates of Western authors and the practice of Western states. We were thus mainly responsible for the corpus of present-day international law. In this body of doctrine and rules we find a great deal to our liking. We also find much which we do not like. But what of the attitude of the newer states? If you could share my experience in dealing with representatives of the newer countries, you would, I know, also share the striking and unmistakable impression that they place as great a value on the rules and principles of international law as we do in the West, if not a greater.

The newer countries show the highest interest in the progressive development

of international law. They have participated most actively in the General Assembly, in the International Law Commission and in diplomatic conferences and other bodies in the development of new international instruments. Theirs is a positive influence on the evolution of international law. They want change; they want to work for change; but most of them are wise enough "to make haste slowly" in their endeavours to shape international law and international institutions in accordance with the interests of all states including their own.

It is true that most of the newer countries have shown reluctance about resorting to compulsory arbitration. Very few have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court. There is a preference, a quite understandable preference, for regional organizations and methods, for negotiation rather than arbitration, for treating disputes as political, rather than as legal. We hope and we expect that this attitude will change as these states begin more and more to feel that they are having a say, and are participating fully, in the evolution of the international legal order.

### **Problems Both Political and Legal**

But we must not be impatient because the new countries show reluctance to submit their disputes to third-party settlement. Even in the West, we have not ourselves fully acquired the habit of thinking about international problems in respect of the rights and duties of the states concerned. Almost every political problem is also a legal one; almost every legal problem is a political one. Was the Suez problem legal or political? Is the Cyprus question legal or political? What about the problem of the recognition of Communist China? What about the Berlin problem? Are these legal or political?

The fact is that international relations do not give rise to political problems which have a legal aspect, any more than they give rise to legal problems which have a political aspect. In my view, the basic distinction between disputes that are legal and disputes that are political is the readiness of the states concerned to regard them as legal, to consider them in terms of international law. But reluctance to think about and articulate problems in legal terms is not necessarily due to lack of interest in or respect for international law. It may arise because the realities of the issue are obscured, not clarified, by defining them in legal terms. Or the reluctance to litigate may be due to a belief that the law, as it is, is unjust or inadequate and must be changed. Some states are bound to ask themselves the question whether, in a society where enforcement of international law is not universally or uniformly accepted, each state is justified in reserving to itself the right to that freedom of action which many other states assert and maintain.

At the same time as the newer countries have been seeking to develop and change international law, the attitude of the Soviet Union and its allies towards this subject has also been changing. At one time, the very existence of international law was doubted by Soviet writers. At other times they thought of international law as being of several different types, and partly as a temporary set of

rules governing relations between Communist and capitalist states in the period preceding the total victory of Communism. But in recent years we have begun to see, in international law as in other spheres, signs of a change in the Soviet Union, of a growing acceptance that there is only one international law which is of general validity for East and West. It is not surprising that the Soviet Union sees the content of this international law as containing principles favouring Soviet interests. The Soviet Union has borrowed heavily from traditional nineteenth century concepts in its role of a great power with far-flung and complex interests.

### **Soviet View of International Law**

For the U.S.S.R., international law would seem to perform a triple role in the modern world. The first role is to protect the interests of the Soviet Union as a state among states, as a state in its international dealings with other countries, as a state concerned about the protection of its borders. The second role of international law is to serve as an arch, upon which common interests of East and West can be built, a span between competing societies and ideologies, an instrument of so-called "peaceful co-existence". The third role of international law is to act as a wedge by which Soviet political and ideological aims are furthered at the expense of the Western powers. Falling in this category would be Soviet advocacy of the legality of "wars of liberation" against colonialism. This, of course, is a simplification of the Soviet attitude, as each function or role obviously overlaps with the others.

It is particularly in its first role, the protection of a great power's interests, that the Soviet Union seems in some respects to be heading towards a conservative approach — most recently in its attitude towards the rules relating to the conclusion, termination, suspension and revision of treaties. In the International Law Commission, we have accordingly seen members from both Communist and Western countries agree on rules which firmly uphold the sanctity of treaties. The Soviet Union has even supported a restrictive definition of the controversial doctrine of *clausula rebus sic stantibus*, and we have heard little in recent years about "unequal treaties". It is also in connection with international law in this first role that the Soviet Union is an ardent advocate of the doctrine of state sovereignty. I will be discussing this later in my statement. It remains to be seen whether the Soviet attitude towards international law as an instrument for protecting its national interests will influence, as I believe it has already begun to influence, the Soviet Union's attitude toward international law in its role as an instrument of what they call peaceful co-existence, and whether it will temper the Soviet Union in its efforts to use international law for revolutionary purposes.

What conclusion do I draw from this analysis? I believe that the nations of the world have arrived at a point where virtually all states see value in the concept of a general corpus of international law, valid for all states, Eastern and Western, Communist and capitalist, old and new. Although they have had little say in its formulation, the newer states see value in it in its role of protector of



the interests of smaller powers. The U.S.S.R. has come to see positive value in it as protector of its interests as a great power and as an instrument for peaceful co-existence. The Western states see international law as a framework for a developing international legal order and as an instrument for peace, for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for peaceful change.

It is, therefore, evident that all countries of the world have come to share a common interest in international law and in its development into a body of rules which satisfactorily regulate the various and often conflicting interests of states in a modern society.

For all of these states, struck by the impact of technological, scientific and economic change, a question which arises over and over again is: do the individual rules of international law adequately meet the requirements of a specific situation? To what extent should the older rules be preserved? To what extent should we reject the old and pursue the new? To what extent is change possible? To what extent is it desirable?

I should like to illustrate how such questions as these arise for a country like Canada and how we try to answer them. I shall do this by referring to three particular fields of international activity where the question of the value of the old and the new has recently arisen and where the Canadian Government has had to formulate important aspects of its foreign policy in the light of changing norms and principles of international law. These are, first, the Law of the Sea, second, the concept of state responsibility, and third, friendly relations among states.

### **Law of the Sea**

To take first of all the Law of the Sea — here is a field of international law where we have seen dramatic changes in the past generation. At The Hague Codification Conference in 1930, Canada, along with other Commonwealth members, was a staunch supporter of a three-mile limit for all purposes and not just for the territorial sea; we were strong advocates of the “sinuosities rule” for determining the starting-point of the territorial sea and we favoured a relatively narrow closing-line for bays. But under the effect of modern technological methods of fishing, Canadians from both the east and west coasts have become concerned about the need to protect our own fishing interests in our adjacent waters. Our coastline is surrounded by great bodies which in some cases thrust into our heartland. The law of the nineteenth century and the law of the greater part of the twentieth century was not adequate to protect our interests and our needs. Nor was it adequate to protect the interests of many other states. In the post-war period, we have seen startling changes. First, the acceptance of the straight-baseline system as a method for determining the starting point of the territorial sea. In a decision of historic importance, the International Court of Justice in 1951 shook the foundations of the Law of the Sea by recognizing the legitimacy of the straight-baseline system in certain types of cases. For Canada, this decision had particular significance because of the unusual features of our coastline — in particular its highly indented configuration.

The second development of historic importance is the growing acceptance of the fishing-zone concept in international law. Only a few years ago, there were some who denied the legitimacy of claiming fishing limits extending beyond the territorial sea to a distance of 12 miles. Today there are many countries, Canada among them, which have established exclusive fisheries jurisdictions. Since the last war, we have also seen the birth and acceptance of the doctrine of sovereignty over the resources of the continental shelf. We have seen the birth of new rules for determining the closing-lines for bays. We have also seen many countries depart from the three-mile limit for the territorial sea.

The international Law of the Sea has accordingly become transformed in a generation — not without struggle and not without creating uncertainties and areas of dispute. But, through the labours of a number of countries (with Canada, I may say, at the forefront), the rules of the sea have changed and are changing to respond not just to the interests of the great maritime powers but to the needs of all states, including many of the newer ones. Canada was the first country to propose the concept of a separate fisheries jurisdiction, in the form of a fishing zone beyond the territorial sea extending 12 miles from the baselines. We originated this proposal in the international field; we laboured for it for many years in the United Nations, in two international conferences and in more restricted meetings and discussions which we initiated. When these efforts to obtain international agreement failed, Canada, like other countries, established a 12-mile exclusive fishery zone unilaterally, and we are now negotiating with countries whose fishing is affected by this decision in order to work out a satisfactory adjustment of their interests.

Thus, the Law of the Sea is an area in which Canada found the existing rules inadequate and where we have, accordingly, strived to change them. Even in this field, however, we have found value in some of the existing concepts. Canada has retained a three-mile territorial sea because we believe that this classical or traditional rule adequately meets the interests of states in respect of their requirements for a territorial sea, while at the same time doing minimum damage to the doctrine of the freedom of the seas. But many states have not found this rule satisfactory, and, taken in isolation from new developments in the international Law of the Sea, we, too, would consider it inadequate. But the new rules about straight baselines, the new rules about bays and the exploration of the continental shelf, and the growing acceptance of the concept of a fishing-zone — all these developments help Canada to protect its interests in its adjacent shores without making it necessary for us to depart from the traditional concept of a three-mile territorial sea in which we continue to see value.

### **Rights of Aliens**

Another area of international law where there have been demands for change is the responsibility of states for harm caused to the rights of nationals of other states. This subject raises sensitive questions concerning nationalization of property and compensation for injury or damage to aliens.

In this field, the question of the adequacy of the rules of international law has arisen in acute form. Mr. Justice Harlan, in the celebrated *Sabbatino* case in March 1964, aptly described the demands and pressures for change:

There are few if any issues in international law today on which opinion seems to be so divided as the limitations on a state's power to expropriate the property of aliens. There is of course authority, in international judicial and arbitral decisions, in the expressions of national governments and among commentators, for the view that a taking is improper under international law if it is not for a public purpose, is discriminatory, or is without provision for prompt, adequate and effective compensation. However, Communist countries, although they have, in fact, provided a degree of compensation after diplomatic efforts, commonly recognize no obligation on the part of the taking country. Certain representatives of the newly independent and under-developed countries have questioned whether rules of state responsibility toward aliens can bind nations that have not consented to them and it is argued that the traditionally articulated standards governing expropriation of property reflect "imperialist" interests and are inappropriate to the circumstances of emergent states.

Thus, the subject of state responsibility presents analogies to the Law of the Sea. In both cases, a number of countries insisted and continue to insist that the existing or traditional rules are inadequate and must be changed. In both cases, numerous attempts have been made over the years to reach international agreement on the rules concerned. At the Hague Codification Conference in 1930, a major but unsuccessful effort was made to draw up an agreed set of rules or code of behaviour for states in respect of the rights of aliens within their territorial jurisdiction. The subject was discussed in other bodies of the League of Nations. More recently, the problem has been examined from varying standpoints, in the United Nations Sixth Committee and Second Committee. The latter body has struggled for years with the question of permanent sovereignty over natural resources.

The International Law Commission has also dealt with the matter in one form or another almost since its inception. There has been evidence of a strong desire on the part of Communist states to move the subject away from the traditional body of rules relating to damage to aliens to one involving the more general nature of state-responsibility — that is, the general principles underlying inter-state obligations, for example, to refrain from aggression. It remains to be seen to what extent the traditional rules relating to damage to aliens will find expression and be confirmed in the present work of the Commission.

At the present time, I believe that no clear consensus has emerged from these attempts at reformulation and progressive development. Whether these efforts will succeed, when they have failed in the past, remains to be seen. What I wish to underline, from the standpoint of my present inquiry, is that whatever does emerge in the future is bound to be based in large measure on fundamental principles which have not and should not be jettisoned. In this area, Canada, along with many other countries, sees considerable value in the older rules as providing a fair and just basis for adjusting the interests of the states concerned. Even the most recent practices of the Communist states, the principal denigrators of the concept of state responsibility for damage to aliens, and the principal protagonists



for change, reflect the resilience and continuing utility of some of the traditional concepts.

The Soviet-bloc countries have on numerous occasions been persuaded, in spite of their doctrinal protests, that it is in their own interest to agree to a reasonable settlement of property claims and disputes. They have, in fact, behaved on occasion very much as if they considered themselves governed by what they might otherwise describe as outmoded and capitalistic concepts of property rights.

Let me illustrate this last point by some reference to Communist practice. A little-known instance of the Soviet Union having granted what might be regarded in effect as compensation was the case of the Petsamo Nickel Mines. In this instance, the Soviet Union, as part of the peace-treaty settlement with Finland in 1944, agreed to pay to Canada \$20 million in compensation for nickel mines of Petsamo located on territory which was ceded to the U.S.S.R. under the peace treaty. These mines were owned by a subsidiary of the International Nickel Company of Canada.

Another case involving questions of state responsibility of an Eastern European state in the post-war period was the El-Al Israeli Airlines case arising out of the shooting down of an Israeli aircraft by the Bulgarian Air Force. An unsuccessful attempt was made by certain states to invoke the jurisdiction of the International Court at The Hague in order to adjudicate the claims of various nationals whose relatives had perished as a result of this irresponsible act of the Bulgarian Government. Even though it was not possible to reach a judicial settlement in the World Court, various countries concerned, including Canada, were able, through diplomatic negotiations, to obtain compensation on behalf of their nationals.

### **West-East Ad Hoc Settlements**

In the post-war period there have been some 50 agreements concluded between Western governments and Eastern European governments providing lump-sum settlements of claims for property nationalized or confiscated in Eastern Europe. These agreements provided only partial settlement, sometimes over 90 per cent, but in some cases less than 10 per cent, of the value of the claims outstanding. They were usually negotiated in a context where it was the prevailing state of relations between the two countries in economic and political matters which largely determined the outcome of the negotiations. The claimant state was responsible for distributing amongst its nationals as it saw fit the lump sum obtained from the East European government. It has been said that such agreements are as little indicative of the rules of international law as are compromise arrangements made by a defaulting debtor to avoid bankruptcy indicative of the extent of the debtor's legal liability under domestic law. We would agree with this up to a point. Although the Communist countries may not agree, it seems to us, first, that underlying these arrangements is an implicit recognition of some obligation to reach an accommodation and, second, that the accommodation in turn is consistent with the traditional principles of state responsibility.

Canada believes that these existing rules continue to be an adequate basis for regulating the interests of states. The Government announced a few months ago that Canada and Hungary had reached a preliminary agreement looking towards negotiations on a lump-sum settlement of nationalization claims of Canadian citizens outstanding against Hungary. The international law purist might view such lump-sum negotiations with some distaste. But, of necessity, Canada has had to take into account the realities of state practice and state attitudes.

I would agree that an impartial adjudication of such claims by an international tribunal — as was common during the pre-war years — might have been preferable, but, failing that, the Canadian Government cannot overlook the interests of individual Canadian claimants who are understandably anxious to achieve at least partial compensation for their losses. They are not unlike the creditors under domestic law who prefer to make a compromise arrangement with their defaulting debtor. In agreeing to resort to the technique of the lump-sum settlement, Canada is not waiving any rights under the traditional rules of state responsibility. During such negotiations we intend to press vigorously for a full recognition of the rights of individual Canadian claimants to just compensation for their losses at the hands of the nationalizing government. I do not consider that compromise settlements of this nature on the international plane affect the underlying principles of customary international law any more than a compromise settlement out-of-court affects rules of legal liability under domestic law.

It is, I think, encouraging to note the support for traditional rules which has been forthcoming from some of the developing countries. This is not a matter of abstract reference for old rules. It is a very practical matter of self-interest for countries in great need of foreign capital for development of their economies. There may be some differences of approach between the capital-exporting country and the capital-importing country, but there is an area of common ground. Each side is anxious to facilitate the orderly movement of capital investment across national borders to their mutual advantage. Traditional principles have been found to be highly relevant and useful in adjusting differences which arise.

I would not wish to give the impression that Canada regards the existing international rules of state responsibility as satisfactory in all respects. In negotiating a lump-sum payment with Hungary, it is necessary for Canada to follow the rule that claimants must be Canadian citizens both at the time the injury was suffered and the claim presented. The only exception to this rule of nationality concerns claims resting on specific treaty provisions. This may not be a fully satisfactory rule in all instances. It might cause hardship and even seem arbitrary. Unfortunately, in the present state of law and practice, there would be no possibility of states broadening the principles governing state responsibility. Given the sometimes cautious, sometimes doubtful, sometimes negative attitude of certain states to the principles of liability for damage to aliens, we must strive to conserve what we have in the existing rules and recognize that the possibilities for broadening them so as to place greater responsibility on states are very slender and remote.

To sum up Canadian experience in respect of the principles of state responsibility, I would say that we are not pessimistic. We see no cause for alarm in the apparent state of disarray on rules of state responsibility. We see no cause to believe that it will be necessary to abandon the existing rules and principles. We may be far from a universally-agreed code, but many of the traditional rules for respecting the interests of aliens are enjoying surprising vitality, consistent with the needs of a changing world.

### **UN Conference on Friendly Relations**

My third illustration of the problem of change in international law is of a more general character. Less than two weeks ago, the United Nations Special Committee on Friendly Relations and Peaceful Co-operation Among States concluded its work in Mexico City. The conference dealt with general principles of international law relating to the maintenance of peace, order and security, with a view to providing guidelines for the work of the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly. At this meeting, 27 representatives of the Western, Communist and non-aligned countries endeavoured to achieve a common outlook and a common understanding on such topics as the threat or use of force, the peaceful settlement of disputes, the principle of non-intervention, and the sovereign equality of states. Although, not unexpectedly, a consensus could not be reached on most subjects, it is clear that the Mexico City conference showed signs of change or a moving away from three extreme conceptions of international law: that of some of the newer countries, demanding a change in the existing Charter provisions through the adopting of broad and generally political rather than strictly legal interpretations; that of the Soviet Union, pursuing an approach to international law more in keeping with the third rather than the first two roles I mentioned earlier, that is, using international law as an instrument of Soviet international revolutionary objectives; and, finally, that of some Western powers, advocating the development of Charter machinery but on the whole resisting the development of Charter principles.

Typical of the first approach was the view expressed by some developing countries that provisions of international law or treaties considered no longer to correspond to current requirements could not be invoked to restrict a nation's right to dispose of its natural wealth. Another example was the view that the concept of sovereign equality had come to encompass the concept of economic equality.

Such positions were, however, the exception. Even when put forward, they were usually complemented and tempered by a trust in the political and other organs of the United Nations and in the Specialized Agencies as the source of orderly change through international co-operation. In seeking change in the Charter system, these countries are equally anxious that they should not weaken the external structure, the United Nations system itself. They are showing an increased realization that institutions draw their strength from the principles under which they operate and that wholesale and arbitrary calling into question of the validity of these principles can only weaken the structure for maintaining the peace.



### **Soviet View May be Changing**

The Mexico City meeting also provided evidence that the Soviet Union may be moving toward acceptance, in some respects at least, of a unitary system of international law. For the Soviet Union, the meeting was, in part, a testing ground for the proposal, broached by Chairman Khrushchov in a letter of December 31, 1963, to heads of state and government, concerning border disputes and the means of settling them. This item, as you may know, is now on the provisional agenda for the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. Need I stress the "conservative" aspects of a proposal which aims at freezing existing borders? Is the Soviet Union at the point of groping toward a system of international law which may tend towards stability and not exclusively towards revolutionary change? To what extent will the former inhibit the latter?

In presenting the proposal on border disputes as a practical step towards disarmament, Soviet legal writers sharply reject any implication of supranational authority. Theirs is an inconsistent position because, while constantly advocating the need for change, especially radical change outside their own borders, they cling to the most conservative notion of modern international law, sovereignty in as absolute a form as it is possible to advocate at the present day. They proclaim this principle in the disarmament field and in connection with the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Their preoccupation with sovereignty is reflected in their emphasis on negotiations as the fundamental means of solving international disputes. Other modes of settlement are regarded as encroachments upon the sovereignty of states. This conservative doctrinal trend was also seen in the Soviet Union's proposal for the establishment of a list of illegal acts of intervention of a state in the affairs of another.

I could give other examples. It will, however, be clear from this account of Soviet attitudes at the Mexico City meeting that they may have reached a point where, increasingly, they have to choose between continuing to advocate an ideology of revolutionary change and a system of international law whose underlying philosophy is the achievement of stability and peaceful change.

Discussion of the topic of friendly relations is to be continued by the Sixth Committee at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. While the Mexico City meeting did not, in most cases, reach the stage of formulation because of basic differences in approach, it would appear that certain ground rules are evolving for the development of Charter principles. These represent a compromise between the more extreme positions of East and West and non-aligned countries which I mentioned earlier.

### **Ground Rules for Charter Development**

I shall name four of these ground rules. First, notwithstanding the fact that the International Law Commission is the arm of the General Assembly charged with codification of international law, it is a proper task for the Sixth Committee to try to spell out what is the meaning of the Charter provisions or of what is im-

plied in them. This is a proper sphere of *lex lata*. Second, by way of *lex ferenda*, the Sixth Committee might seek to recommend to governments additional legal rules supported by state practice in the interval since the Charter was written and which are consistent with the Charter. Third, there may be desirable principles of international conduct which are not necessarily ready for inclusion in the international legal system. These principles may as yet be norms of international morality which have not yet crystallized into legal obligations. Finally, in a world of sovereign states, resolutions adopted by United Nations bodies or general conferences represent an important element in the process of evolving international law. Such resolutions may not always be a reliable guide to international custom, but they actively indicate the way in which custom is evolving.

The present attempt to codify international law in bodies other than the International Law Commission may perhaps be indicative of a certain impatience and haste on the part of the Communists and some of the new countries in approaching the problem of change. Nevertheless there are portents to be drawn from the Mexico City meeting which suggest that recent attempts to alter significantly the course of development of international law may be subsiding into a more reasonable and critical approach.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that, from this general account of problems with which Canada has to deal, I have been able to provide some insight into Canadian attitudes and the Canadian approach. I should like to add only this. In my office and in my Department, we are, first of all, students of international law. We try to understand what are the applicable rules and what are the practices of states. Second, we are practitioners seeking to find solutions to international problems through applying the existing rules and precedents. Third, we are our own advocates. We argue our own cases in various informal ways. Fourth, we are often our own judges. We examine the rules to find to what extent they are equitable and fair and to what extent, in our view, there is a need for change and progressive development. We examine the other side's case and we may accept or reject it. Fifth, we are legislators in the various bodies of the United Nations, raising our voice and casting our votes in favour of rules which we believe to be just.

In short, as Secretary of State for External Affairs, I see international law in many perspectives and from many standpoints. I live with it every day. Of Sir Frederick Pollock it was once said that the law was his mistress. Of myself it would be sufficient to say, international law is my constant companion.

# *The Republic of Zambia*

ON OCTOBER 24, 1964, Northern Rhodesia, the former African dependency of Britain, achieved independence as the Republic of Zambia. As President-elect, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda chose October 24 for independence, to coincide with United Nations Day in homage to Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations Secretary-General, who died in a plane crash in Northern Rhodesia in 1961.

At a midnight ceremony in the capital, Lusaka, the country's new orange, black, red and green flag was unfurled to mark the birth of Zambia — bringing to an end 73 years of British administration. Later in the day, Dr. Kaunda was sworn in as the first President of Africa's newest state. Zambia thus becomes the thirty-sixth independent African state and the twentieth independent member of the Commonwealth.

Canada was represented at the ceremonies by the Honourable Yvon Dupuis, Minister without Portfolio, who presented President Kaunda with a letter of greetings from Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and an independence gift of \$5000 for the purchase of books.

## **History**

The early history of Zambia is fragmentary, the only source being tribal accounts passed down from generation to generation. Written records go back little more than a century, and most of the investigation and interpretation of the country's past has, therefore, been left to the archeologist. At Kalambo Falls, on Zambia's border with Tanzania, is a remarkable site, dated to more than 36,000 years ago, where there has been found a number of camping places of a prehistoric population known as the "Handaxe Culture" people. Beautifully-made stone tools lie in profusion on the floor, just as they were discarded. From the same site some early wooden tools (digging sticks, throwing clubs and a wooden knife) have been recovered — the first of such antiquity to be found in Africa.

Situated across one of the main migration routes from north to south, the country has been continually subject to invasion; the great majority of the present population, though of Bantu origin, are descended from stocks that have invaded the country since the beginning of the seventeenth century. The result is an unusual diversity of language and tribes.

## **Explorations of Livingstone**

Until about 100 years ago, Zambia was a vast unexplored territory called, vaguely, "North of the Zambezi", "Zambezia" or simply "Central Africa". It was not until 1851, when David Livingstone made his great missionary and exploratory journeys to the upper Zambezi (after which the new nation is named) and reached Victoria Falls in 1855, that the world had its first authentic information about the



land that is now Zambia. Later explorers told of the wealth of game and the spectacle of Victoria Falls, but it was Livingstone's travels that first aroused interest in Central Africa. Indeed, Zambia, more than any other state in Africa, is the land of Livingstone, and it is one of the African countries that have benefited most from his missionary and exploratory zeal.

Enormous changes have been wrought in Africa since Livingstone's day, but he was the first of the new forces for change and progress. As one of his biographers has said, Livingstone always believed in the immense promise of Africa for the future. He was, for example, decades ahead of his time in taking a positive view of the rightful urge of the African people to seek to build themselves into modern nations.

In 1873, after travelling tirelessly through the land for 20 years, Livingstone died at Chitambo, in the heart of the region occupied by the Bemba, Zambia's largest tribe.

### **Contribution of Rhodes**

Another name inextricably linked with Zambia's past is that of Cecil Rhodes. It is said, however, that Rhodes never set foot in the area later named Northern Rhodesia. His contribution was, nevertheless, considerable, for he played a major part in financing the opening up of the Rhodesias. It was his British South Africa Company that laid the foundation of the orderly administration of the country at the end of the nineteenth century, put an end to the ravages of the slave trade and assisted in the development of the copper mines that have become the backbone of the economy. In 1889 the company was granted a Royal Charter to promote, under the supervision of the British High Commissioner for South Africa, trade, commerce and good government in the area later to become Northern and Southern Rhodesia. It was in 1911 that the two provinces of Northeastern and North-western Rhodesia were amalgamated under the name of Northern Rhodesia. Administration by the British South Africa Company continued until 1924, when this responsibility was assumed by the Crown. In that year the first Governor was appointed and an Executive Council and Legislative Council were established.

### **Political Development**

Northern Rhodesia followed the classical evolution of a British dependency towards responsible government. During the period following the Second World War, the Executive Council progressed towards a ministerial system of government from one under which the Governor was responsible for all decisions of policy. A ministerial system of government was brought closer when the principle of collective responsibility was recognized after the elections of 1954.

Similarly, the Legislative Council developed to accommodate the political advance taking place. In 1948 the Council was made more representative; a Speaker was appointed for the first time, and the Governor ceased to be a member of the Council.

In both 1959 and 1962, new constitutions were introduced, marking further political progress. They resulted in a new franchise, direct elections and encouraged party politics to cut across racial allegiances. The 1962 constitution also provided for a Bill of Rights, to safeguard individual freedom and the rights of minorities.

It should be noted here that, between 1953 and 1963, Northern Rhodesia was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, though the Northern Rhodesia Government retained full responsibility for political advancement. However, following the British Government's decision to permit Nyasaland to secede, the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council passed a motion calling for immediate secession and a new constitution. This was accepted by the British Government in April 1963, and any territory which so wished was allowed to secede from the Federation. The Federation was subsequently dissolved on December 31, 1963.

A revised constitution providing for internal self-government was announced by the British Government in November 1963. Under its terms, the Governor retained responsibility for defence and external affairs and the power of reservation. He was also responsible for public order and control of the police force, but could delegate these powers if he thought fit. The Executive Council was replaced by a Cabinet headed by a Prime Minister, and the legislature was renamed the Legislative Assembly.

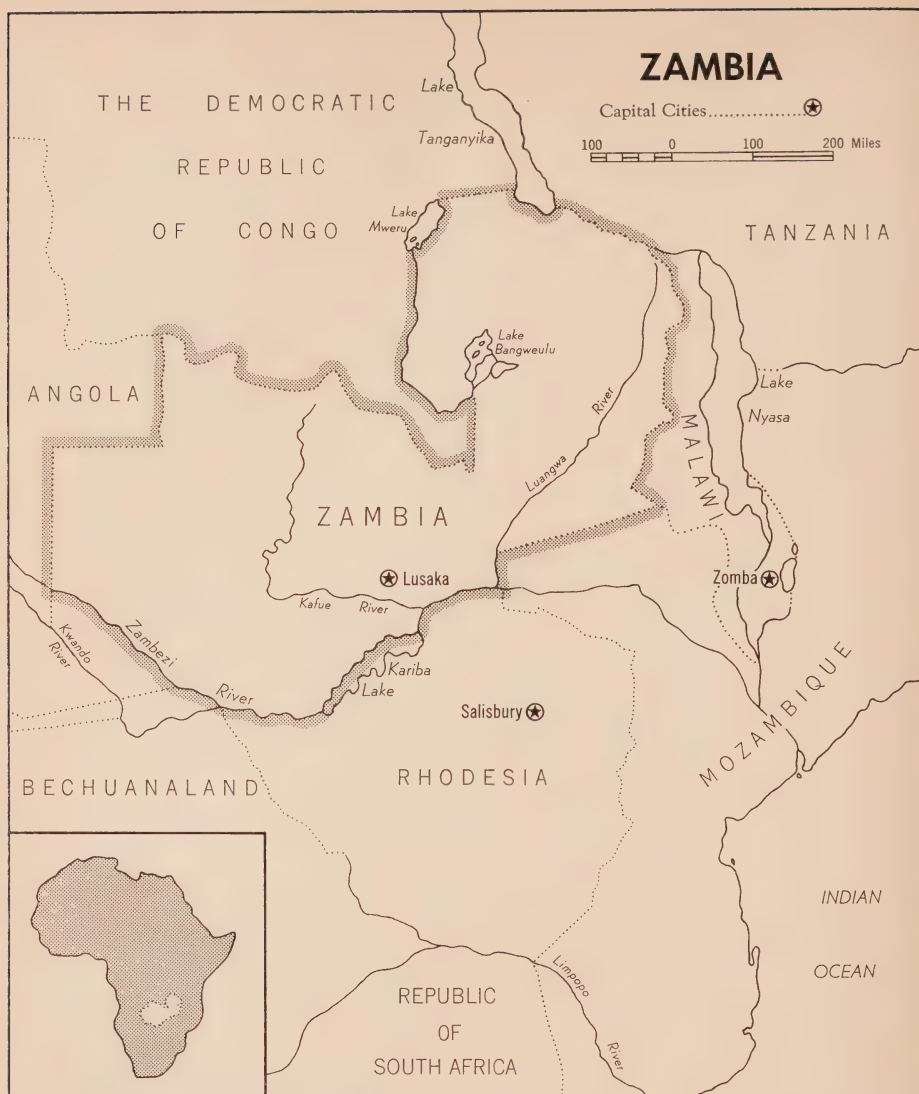
Full internal self-government under the new constitution was brought into being at the beginning of 1964, when elections by universal adult suffrage resulted in a victory for the United National Independence Party, which won 55 of the 75 seats in the Assembly. Its leader, Dr. Kaunda, became the country's first Prime Minister. The African National Congress and the National Progress Party each won ten of the remaining seats.

In May 1964, an independence conference was held in London and a republican form of government was agreed upon. It was decided that the independence constitution should follow the lines of the existing self-government constitution, with adaptations appropriate to the establishment of an independent republic with a president as head of state. The new constitution is unique in Commonwealth history, since it is the first to be drawn up with a provision that a British territory become a republic directly on attaining independence.

Special provision was made before independence for the election of the first President of Zambia by a secret ballot of members of the Legislative Assembly, and Dr. Kaunda was unanimously elected President-designate in August. In future, the President will be elected at the same time as the members of the National Assembly (the new name for the legislature).

The President is the executive head of Government and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and he is advised by the Cabinet, of which he is chairman, composed of a Vice-President and not more than 14 ministers.

The legislative powers of the Republic are vested in a Parliament consisting of the President and the National Assembly of 75 elected members. The Cabinet is



responsible to Parliament, and its members must themselves be elected Members of Parliament. Although he is not a member of the National Assembly, the President has the power to address it at any time. All legislation requires presidential assent. The normal life of a Parliament will be five years, but Parliament will have the power to vary this term in special circumstances, such as war or an emergency. The President may summon the National Assembly to meet at any time.

### Geography

Zambia is a high, rolling plateau country, broken by mountain ridges and river valleys such as those of the Zambezi, Luangwa and Kafue. It is more than half



covered by forest. It has an area of 290,587 square miles. Entirely landlocked. Zambia has common boundaries with Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Within the country's northern borders are the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, part of Lake Meru and the shallow Lake Bangwelu. In the west, on the borders of the Congo Republic, lies the Copperbelt, highly industrialized, heavily populated and productive of much of Zambia's wealth. In the south, Zambia shares with Rhodesia the man-made lake at Kariba created to produce vital hydro-electric power. Victoria Falls, also in the south, is another feature shared by Zambia and Rhodesia.

Although it is close to the equator, Zambia enjoys a cooler mean temperature than many parts of tropical Africa because of the general height of the plateau. Lusaka, the capital, is at an altitude of 4,198 feet and most of the country is over 3,000 feet.

Livingstone, the capital until 1935, is the oldest municipality in Zambia. It has one of the principal airports in Southern Africa. The other main centres of population are Ndola, Nkana-Kitwe, Mufulira, Luanshya and Broken Hill.

## **People**

In early 1964, Zambia's population was estimated at well over 3,500,000. The great majority of the people are, of course, African. The European minority numbers 75,000 and Asians 11,000.

Most of the country is sparsely populated, the average population density for the whole country being about eight persons to the square mile, compared to 17 in Rhodesia and 81 in Malawi. The high concentration of population in urban areas, particularly in the Copperbelt, is directly linked with industrialization.

There is no lingua franca, and some 30 different dialects are spoken, though many of them vary only slightly. Nyanja is used as the official language of the police and the army, and there is widespread use of English in urban areas.

## **Economy**

Zambia is one of the more fortunate countries of the African continent, in that it starts out with an economy that is fully viable. Copper is the basis of the economy and the history of Zambia's economic development is largely concerned with the rapid growth of the copper-mining industry. The Copperbelt contains the second richest copper deposit in the world and, with a fifth of the Western world's copper reserves, the country is the third largest producer, after the U.S.A. and Chile. Copper exports in 1963 brought in some \$350 million, roughly 90 per cent of total export income. The copper industry is a manufacturing as well as a mining industry, and there are smelters and electrolytic refineries at several mine centres. Zambia is also one of the world's major producers of cobalt, which is produced in association with copper in certain locations.

However, though the mining sector generates about half Zambia's gross domestic product, it provides direct employment for only a sixth of the working population. The great majority are engaged in the cultivation of food crops for their own consumption. This, and the fact that Zambia has yet to produce enough food for its relatively sparse population, is why the Government is seeking ways to raise the level of farm incomes and expand the agricultural base of the economy. Certainly, the means are available. There are 30 million acres of good cultivable land now virtually unoccupied. The annual rainfall is nowhere less than 24 inches, and the river system discharges, in an average year, some 60 million acre feet of unused water, a potential reserve of both power and irrigation. The difficulties are the large extent of the country's agricultural areas and the sparseness of the population, which present a great variety of problems in the extension of services, research and marketing. Efforts to put the agricultural sector on a firm base are being channelled through improved farming schemes, research and the training of staff for the Department of Agriculture.

The development of manufacturing and processing industries is assisted by the government-controlled Industrial Development Corporation, working as a development bank in co-operation with private enterprise. Besides some \$670 million privately invested in the copper mines, large amounts of private capital have been, and continue to be, invested in manufacturing industries. The important Chilanga Cement Works was established in 1951 by the Commonwealth Development Corporation in co-operation with the Government and private companies. Finance Minister A. N. L. Wina has explained that planning and the vigorous encouragement of private enterprise are, and will continue to be, the basic elements in Zambia's economic policy.

Since the end of the Second World War, a series of development plans has been put into effect. The current 1961-1965 development plan originally called for expenditures of over \$90 million but, since its inception, a \$30-million extension has been superimposed on it. Major portions of these funds are being devoted to rural projects designed to assist the development of a cash economy, urban housing, health services and education. Steps to prepare for the next development plan, expected to run from 1966 to the end of the decade, are already under way.

### **Communications**

The economy of Zambia is heavily dependent on its transport system, since centres of population are scattered and outlets to the sea on the west and east coasts of the continent are over 1,000 miles away.

The development of the present road and rail system was from the south. The railroad crossed the Zambezi in 1904, reaching the Congo border in 1909; today it forms an essential part of the transport system. The Rhodesia Railways System, owned equally by the Governments of Zambia and Rhodesia, is linked by the South African Railway System to Capetown, with the Mozambique System

to the port of Beira, and with the Congo and Angola Systems to the ports of Lobito and Matadi. Zambia's copper is exported in the main through the port of Beira, as are the bulk of its exports. The total length of permanent way within the country is 655 miles.

From Lusaka radiate the main road arteries to the major provincial towns — south to Livingstone and Victoria Falls, north to the Copperbelt and east to Fort Jameson and Malawi. There are some 17,500 miles of roads in Zambia, of which there are over 800 miles of permanent and 3,000 miles of improved roads.

Daily air services connect the main towns, and there are also flights to the more remote areas. There are three main airports at Lusaka, Livingstone and Ndola and airfields at several other centres. Livingstone and Ndola are served regularly by the "Viscounts" and DC-3 aircraft of Central African Airways and Zambia Airways. From Lusaka, BOAC operates a VC-10 service to London, and British United Airways fly *via* Ndola to London.

### **Education**

Like many of its neighbours, Zambia is severely lacking in trained manpower. That the country's leaders are keenly aware of this can be seen in the impetus given to education and training schemes by unprecedented expenditures on the nation's human resources.

An ambitious five-year educational plan is now being embarked on for 1965-70, including capital expenditures of about \$60 million and an average annual recurrent expenditure of close to \$20 million.

The scope of higher, technical and adult education will be considerably expanded, and already under way is the project to found Zambia University, the first in the country. The search for key personnel and funds has commenced and it is expected that the first courses will begin in 1966.

Canadian educational aid to Zambia under the Special Commonwealth Africa Aid Programme has been concerned entirely with the provision of training in Canada for students from that country. There are four Zambian students at present in Canada on SCAAP training awards. It is expected that the Canadian programme in Zambia will be expanded now that independence has been attained.



# *The Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy*\*

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, 1964

THE THIRD United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held at Geneva in September 1964. Compared with the first two conferences, held in 1955 and 1958, the scale of the third was compressed, and expenditure by the United Nations was considerably restricted. In accordance with the invitation, the agenda emphasized the technology of nuclear electric power; only a small number of specially-invited reviews were presented on the now widespread uses of radioactive isotopes, the fringe topics of nuclear physics and chemistry, and attempts to find a controlled process for duplicating the nuclear-energy release in the sun and the hydrogen bomb. The accompanying exhibits were limited to government-sponsored scientific displays illustrating the papers presented. Exhibits were mounted by 18 countries.

Despite the contraction, those present were probably impressed by the size and range of the conference. Many of the 3800 participants and observers achieved detailed technical exchanges that will find no record in the 750 papers and discussions at the 43 formal sessions that will make up the official "proceedings".

A feature of the conference was the cheerful and confident claims that economic nuclear electric power would result from reactor designs now committed for construction. Canada told of the two 500,000-kilowatt reactors of the CANDU type approved in August by Ontario Hydro and judged to be competitive with such others as the widely-publicized Oyster Creek plant in New Jersey, which was planned to develop up to 640,000 kilowatts of electric power from a boiling-water reactor. Only three types of reactor have reached this stage of development for commercial competition. The third is the natural-uranium gas-cooled type designed in Britain and in France.

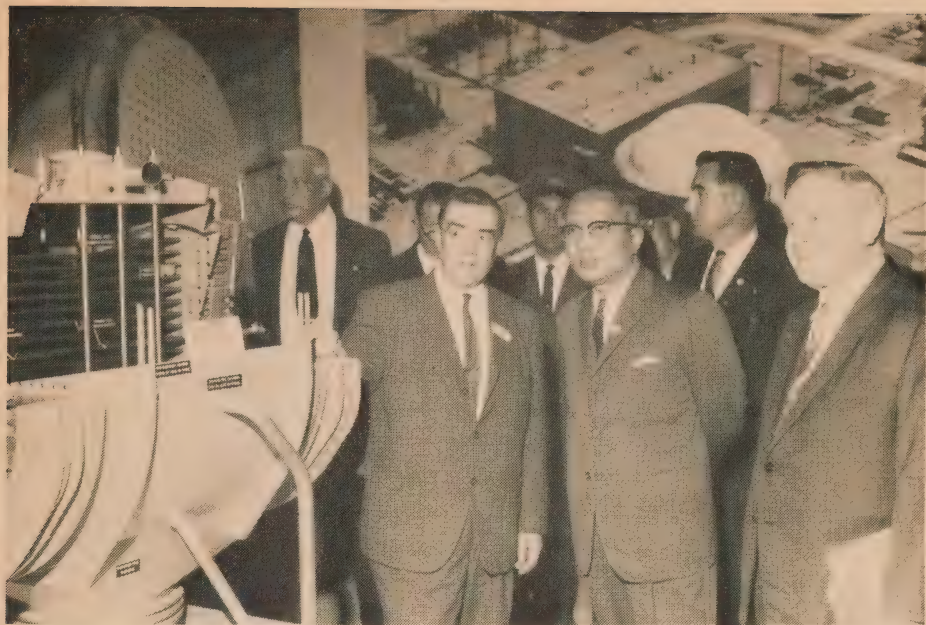
## **Lower-Price Factor**

For all types of reactor the cost of power a kilowatt-hour falls the higher the total output of the generating station rises. No longer need consumers of power face an increasing price the more power they put to use. In Canada and other countries where power costs have risen as it has become necessary to develop more distant and more difficult hydro sites, or to extract coal from thinner veins in deeper mines, this reversal of the price trend is expected to stimulate industrial and other uses for electricity.

In as little as 30 years, still within the lifetime of the first economic nuclear plants, the world demand for nuclear power will become so great that the ques-

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\*By Dr. W. B. Lewis, Senior Vice-President of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, and head of the Canadian delegation to the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy



*During the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Geneva, the Canadian exhibit is inspected by the head of the Canadian delegation, Dr. W. B. Lewis (left), His Excellency U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and Professor Vasily S. Emelyanov of the U.S.S.R., president of the conference (right).*

tion naturally arises whether adequate supplies of uranium will be available notwithstanding the present oversupply and lack of markets. It is not generally appreciated, however, how little uranium is needed to deliver quite large amounts of power. Typically, the Canadian reactors would deliver 10 million kilowatts, operating 300 days a year, from only 1000 tons of uranium and, at the present price of \$5.00 a pound for uranium oxide, the contribution to the cost of power is less than 0.2 mills a kilowatt hour (one mill equals one-tenth of one cent). The United States made the forecast that the price of uranium from its domestic ores could rise to \$30.00 a pound for uranium oxide in 35 to 45 years, and this would either contribute one mill a kilowatt hour to the cost of electric power or force a more efficient utilization of the uranium. Canada showed that, without introducing breeder reactors, the power yield from uranium could be increased at least five times by using the thorium fuel cycle. Britain disclosed a process by which enormous amounts of uranium could be extracted from the sea for perhaps less than \$20 a pound for uranium oxide. It was indicated by Canada, moreover, that only a relatively limited amount of prospecting had resulted in the present large Canadian reserves valued at \$3 billion of low cost — that is, richer-grade — ore and that, when demand increased, prospecting would be stimulated, resulting in more discoveries.

It was noted that Canada had developed a reactor type that would remain competitive even if the cost of uranium rose to four or five times the present market price. The United States, Britain, France, and some other countries, as well as Euratom, were expecting to develop breeder reactors to reduce the total demand for uranium and so hold down the price, but no estimates of competitive breeder-reactor designs were presented at Geneva.

### **Special Value of CANDU Reactors**

At the first two conferences, evening lectures summarizing the results of the sessions were given by Sir John Cockroft. This time Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, was invited to give the summary. His presentation included a number of references to Canada's contribution and also to the question of breeder reactors and "advanced converters". In the United States terminology, CANDU-type reactors, unlike the other economically-competitive reactors, are classed as "advanced converters". The boiling-water reactors and pressurized-water reactors of the United States are poor converters in that they produce only small amounts of plutonium and, even if the spent-fuel elements are reprocessed to extract the plutonium for use as fuel, the total energy yield from uranium would be so little that the reserves of low-cost ores would be expected to last for only a few decades. The natural-uranium gas-cooled reactors of Britain and France are good converters but, since they require high uranium inventories and excessive reprocessing, they are not classed as "advanced converters". The British "advanced gas-cooled reactor" is not an advanced converter and is unsuitable for using plutonium. It is because their power-reactor programmes include these "poor" converters that the United States and Britain are seeking "fast-neutron" reactors to derive a great deal of power from the burning of plutonium and even, possibly, to breed plutonium — that is, to produce more of this element than is consumed. If successful, the long-term demand for uranium could thus be kept very low but the short-term demand would be high because such "fast" reactors would require large expensive inventories of plutonium or uranium-235. It is generally accepted that the economic prospects for the breeder-reactor remain doubtful, but there is no such doubt about the advanced converters, such as the CANDU type, since these need only small inventories of the expensive fissile elements plutonium and uranium-235. In the words of Dr. Seaborg:

The uncertainties still associated with the long-term economic outlook of breeder reactors would seem to provide a strong rationale for the concurrent and more immediate development of improved converters for many countries. Conversely, there are some delegates that feel that no appreciable effort should be expended on breeders at this time since the present reactor types and improved converters could provide abundant power for many decades to come. . . . While opinions may differ on the paths to pursue for the future, there is substantial agreement that we must develop improved converters to obtain these greater efficiencies (in economics and fuel utilization). In looking toward ultimate future needs, there is almost general agreement as to the need to develop breeder reactors, although some nations, such as Canada, support the opinion that breeder reactors may not be required for many years in the future, if at all.



It is significant that the availability of uranium was thus recognized as the determining factor in the long-term economics of nuclear power.

It also appeared that Canada's position and forecast of the future for nuclear power was both understood and acknowledged at Geneva.

In his summary, Dr. Seaborg noted:

. . . Extensive nuclear safety research development and test programmes are conducted in all countries supporting reactor development programmes. I believe we can be quite confident that these investigations . . . will continue to contribute to nuclear energy's generally excellent safety record and will keep pace with the requirements of the industry as it develops. . . . As indicated in reports by France and the U.S., the strict management and disposal of radioactive waste at nuclear power stations are not limiting . . . widespread nuclear power generation. . . .

Canada's achievements in the fields of reactor safety and radioactive waste management were recognized by the appointments of Dr. G. C. Laurence and Dr. C. A. Mawson as chairmen of the technical sessions on their respective topics.

### **Statement of Secretary-General**

U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his remarks at the opening of the conference, said:

The main theme of the present conference is nuclear power, and this is a key issue for the long-term development of over half the world. If *per capita* consumption of electricity in the developing areas is to compare with that now found in the major industrialized nations, the amount of additional power required will be so vast as to dwarf even the earth's immense reserves of fossil fuels and hydroelectric power.

Dr. Seaborg concluded:

By the turn of the century, our conference suggests, more than half of the world's electricity will be generated by nuclear energy. Nuclear energy is, therefore, the hope of the peoples of the world for a good life. If the major future energy base of the world continues to evolve in an environment of international development and law, nuclear energy can be an important unifying force in a world of peace, security, and human well-being.

Those sharing these visions do not dismiss the possible advantages of further atomic-energy conferences under the aegis of the United Nations. The exploitation of nuclear energy on a large scale, if it were not subject to international law, is a prospect too horrible to contemplate. The materials for peaceful uses and for military threats are much the same; there is no atomic secret that can be withheld for long in a world of nuclear plenty.

Dr. Seaborg also observed:

The degree of international co-operation in the development of this coming major energy resource in the last decade is surely unusual, and perhaps unique in world history. . . . The conference has demonstrated many reasons why international co-operation must be continued and strengthened.

The encroachment of commercial secrecy both within and between the nations of the West threatens, however, to provoke government-imposed restrictions in various countries. The boastful voice of industry tends to drown the true humility of the scientist before the vast unknown complexities of nature. It may be necessary to rid any future United Nations conference of the trade-fair element. This year it was still possible to recognize two sides to the question. Professor V. S.

Emelyanov of the U.S.S.R., the president of the conference, in his closing remarks observed:

The conference has been attended by many representatives of industry. This is a very good thing. If the representatives of industry show interest in scientific research, that means that industry scents the savour of a hot meal. This is an unerring testimony to the practical value of the questions that have been discussed at the conference.

By the time of the next conference, such reassuring testimony for nuclear power should be superfluous, and the true function of the conference should be to open channels for the exchange of technical information in fields where international co-operation is beneficial even to the giant nations, particularly in the task they face in fostering technological progress in the developing countries. The scientific conferences and panel discussions organized by the International Atomic Energy Agency receive general support and may be expected to continue. The broader conferences under the auspices of United Nations General Assembly should aim to extend international co-operation beyond the confines approved for the IAEA. The science of materials is one aspect that comes to mind and there are other atomic-energy fields governments will probably recognize in the course of time as likely to yield benefits from such international co-operation.

## *Visit of Norwegian Foreign Minister*

THE FOREIGN Minister of Norway, Mr. Halvard Lange, accompanied by his wife and by the head of the Political Division of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Einar Ansteensen, visited Ottawa from November 5 to 8, 1964, for talks with Mr. Paul Martin, the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The visit, originally scheduled to take place before the opening of the nineteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, enabled the two ministers to exchange views on matters of mutual interest. The main subjects they discussed were: the effect on the future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of recent developments in the project for a multilateral nuclear force and within the European Community; Article 19 and other matters concerning the UN; the recent changes within the Government of the U.S.S.R.; and the question of the recognition of Communist China. At a press conference, Mr. Lange stressed the mutual interest of Canada and Norway in maintaining NATO's transatlantic links as the basis for an eventual Atlantic Community.

Mr. and Mrs. Lange spent Sunday, November 8, with Prime Minister and Mrs. Pearson.



*Mr. Halvard Lange, the Norwegian Foreign Minister (right), starts his talks in Ottawa with the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin.*



# *Friendly Relations: A Study of Principles of International Law*

AT THE invitation of the Mexican Government, a United Nations Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States met in Mexico City from August 27 to October 2. Canada was one of the 27 countries nominated by the President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly to serve on this body, which was set up at that session on the recommendation of the Sixth (Legal) Committee for the purpose of studying certain principles of international law.

The desirability of such study had been outlined at the seventeenth session (1962) in Resolution 1815, adopted by the Sixth Committee as a compromise among three projects submitted respectively by Canada, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The preamble to the resolution stressed the need for “the progressive development of international law” in the light of “the great political, economic, social and scientific changes that have occurred in the world since the adoption of the Charter” which “give increased importance to the role of international law in relations among nations”. In the operative part of the resolution, the following seven topics were given priority for study and development in accordance with the Charter, as being basic “principles of international law concerning friendly relations and co-operation among states”:

- (a) the prohibition of the threat or use of force;
- (b) peaceful settlement of disputes;
- (c) non-intervention in domestic affairs;
- (d) the duty of states to co-operate with one another;
- (e) equal rights and self-determination;
- (f) the sovereign equality of states;
- (g) the duty to fulfil international obligations.

## **Debate in UN Legal Committee**

The first three topics were debated by the Sixth Committee at the eighteenth session, together with the question of the legal aspects of the sovereign equality of states, which was moved up the list as the basic notion underlying the Charter system (mainly Article 2). The Canadian Government, with a good many others, submitted written comments on these points at the request of the United Nations Secretary-General.\*

By Resolution 1966 (XVIII), the Special Committee was set up to meet before the nineteenth session and draw up a report “containing the conclusions of its study and its recommendations” on the first four topics, after reviewing, in particular:

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\*Reproduced in UN Document A/5470 of August 7, 1963.

- (1) the practice of the United Nations and of states in the application of the principles established in the Charter of the United Nations;
- (2) the comments of governments;
- (3) the views and suggestions advanced by the representatives of member states during the seventeenth and eighteenth sessions.

The Committee's task was facilitated by various research papers produced by the office of the United Nations Legal Counsel, including a selected background documentation (Document A/C.6/L.537/Rev.1) drawing on the wealth of writings devoted to these subjects in academic and legal circles over the last years. On the eve of its meeting, the Conference of the International Law Association in Tokyo set up a committee charged with pursuing a legal study of principles of international security and co-operation.\* In Canada, such principles had formed the theme of a First Conference on Law and World Affairs, organized by the University of Toronto at the beginning of 1964 and, earlier in the summer, of a symposium organized by the Department of External Affairs in co-operation with the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO for professors of international law from Canadian universities.

### **Work Plan for Special Committee**

The Special Committee was able to organize its work in a businesslike fashion, devoting roughly one week to a review of each topic. It conceived as the *terminus a quo* of its work a process of legal analysis to determine the degree of consensus existing among member states as to the scope and contents of Charter principles and, as its *terminus ad quem*, a draft formulation on appropriate points of legal rules of international behaviour. It set about its task in full appreciation of the intrinsic difficulties of methodology that had beset previous studies by both the League of Nations and the United Nations in neighbouring fields. Indicative of these are the following questions, which were repeatedly evoked during the discussions:

- (1) To what extent can rules of international relations be spelt out, as implied in the broad terms of the Charter, without distorting these?
- (2) How detailed can a particular formulation become without infringing on other parts of the Charter, which is an organic whole?
- (3) Should concepts that, in the past, have resisted all efforts to reduce them to legal terms having the same meaning for everybody (such as the notion of "aggression") be rejected out-of-hand from any formulation?

As it felt its way among these difficulties, the Special Committee evolved a number of ground rules, which, if they meet later with the approval of the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly, might constitute important elements of a proper methodological framework. They were mentioned by the Secretary of State for External Affairs in his speech entitled "International Law in a Changing

\*See "External Affairs", October 1964, P. 495.

World" on October 14 to the Toronto Branch of the International Law Association.\*

### Examination of Principles

On the substance, the Special Committee reached different stages on each of the principles, namely the final stage of formulation on the principle of sovereign equality and the penultimate stage in formulating the principle of non-use of force. But it could not go beyond putting in place the rough elements to be considered in elaborating the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes or achieve agreement on the criteria for developing the principle of non-intervention. In the time at its disposal, it gave the fullest examination to the implications of the Charter prohibition of the use or threat of force. Thus the following points were examined from the point of view of their admissibility or non-admissibility within the scope of the general prohibition: the indirect inter-state uses of force: the notion of war of aggression; economic coercion; border disputes (a special case raised by the Soviet delegate); armed reprisals; disarmament; and (as exceptions to the general prohibition) the inherent right of self-defence, the so-called wars of liberation, United Nations collective measures and actions by regional agencies.

Once a consensus had been found for including any point, there remained many shades of opinion that governed the manner in which the relevant rule could be expressed. For instance, some ten draft formulations of the rule governing the right of self-defence were advanced, corresponding to different views on whether this right should be exercised in broad, strict or more or less strict conformity with the Charter.

Apart from this main study, the Special Committee had among its agenda a study of methods of fact finding, entrusted to it by Resolution 1967 (XVIII). Prompted by a Netherlands proposal, this resolution considers that an important contribution could be made to the peaceful settlement of disputes through developing the procedures for investigating the facts of a dispute or other contentious international situation. An important facet of the study consists in determining whether present arrangements should be systematized or whether there should not be established a permanent fact-finding organ of the United Nations. To this study the United Nations Secretariat contributed (in Document A/5694 of May 1, 1964) a thorough review of the history of fact-finding systems, starting from international inquiry as envisaged in the Hague Conventions for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of 1899 and 1907 and ending with the *ad hoc* fact-finding missions of the United Nations. In this connection, the Special Committee has recommended that more time be allowed for the receipt of written comments from governments.

The conclusions and recommendations of the Special Committee have been assembled in a substantial report for consideration by the Sixth Committee during the session of the General Assembly opening in December.

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\*See Pages 586-596 of this issue.



# *NATO Parliamentarians*

## TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, PARIS

A DELEGATION of 15 Senators and Members of Parliament, headed by Mr. Jean-Eudes Dubé, left Ottawa on November 9 to tour Canadian military bases in Europe before attending the tenth annual Conference of NATO Parliamentarians in Paris from November 13 to 22.

The delegation, chosen from the Canadian NATO Parliamentarians Association, consisted of the following: Mr. Jean-Eudes Dubé, M.P. (head of delegation); Mr. Albert Bechard, M.P.; Mr. Lloyd R. Crouse, M.P.; Senator Harold Connolly; Mr. R. Elmer Forbes, M.P.; Senator Sarto Fournier; Mr. Charles-Arthur Gauthier, M.P.; Captain David W. Groos, RCN (ret'd), M.P.; Mr. Gerald Laniel, M.P.; Dr. Guy Marcoux, M.P.; Mr. Murdo W. Martin, M.P.; Dr. Joseph B. Slogan, M.P.; Mr. Richard R. Southam, M.P.; Mr. Robert Temple, M.P.; Senator David J. Walker.

During the course of their tour of Canadian bases in Europe, the delegates visited 4 Canadian Infantry Brigade Group at Soest and 3 RCAF Fighter Wing at Zweibrücken, at which time they were briefed by the commanding officers and shown the facilities at the bases, including married quarters, schools, and auxiliary services. Briefings were also arranged at the headquarters of the NATO Northern Army Group.



*Plenary session of the tenth annual NATO Parliamentarians' Conference at NATO headquarters in Paris.*



*Canadian delegates to the tenth annual NATO Parliamentarians' Conference (front row, left to right): Mr. Jean-Eudes Dubé, M.P., head of delegation; Mr. Lloyd R. Crouse, M.P.; Senator David J. Walker.*

### **Meeting in Paris**

The Canadian delegation then travelled to Paris, where they took an active part in the annual NATO Parliamentarians' Conference. As in previous years, the conference was addressed by the Secretary-General of NATO and by the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, concerning the current work of the alliance in both the civil and military fields, after which the Parliamentarians began their week of debates in plenary and in committee sessions. Following the deliberations of its committees on political, military, economic, scientific, and information and cultural affairs, the conference debated and passed a series of resolutions that will now be referred to member governments for their information. Since the debates and resolutions of these conferences do not commit member governments, delegates are able to discuss in public ideas and resolutions covering the entire range of NATO's present and possible future activities.

This year, the conference discussed at length the future of the alliance, including the political and military problems involved in greater participation by



member countries in NATO nuclear strategy and in the proposals for a multilateral nuclear force. At the end of the debates, the conference recommended that governments study carefully all approaches to this problem "among which the multilateral force is the only current proposal". In the course of this discussion, several Canadian delegates supported the need to study all approaches to the problem, while, at the same time, stressing the need for unity of purpose and mutual confidence among member governments in examining alternative proposals and positions.

The conference closed on November 21, after which the Canadian delegates paid a short visit to West Berlin at the invitation of the German authorities before returning to Ottawa on November 24.



## *Senator Connolly Visits Chile and Peru*

**A** PRESIDENTIAL election was held in Chile on September 4, 1964. At the elections, which are held every six years, the out-going president is not allowed to seek re-election.

Senator Eduardo Frei Montalva won the election, receiving 1,418,101 votes or 55 per cent of the total. His nearest opponent, Senator Salvador Allende, candidate of the Frente de Accion Popular, polled 982,122 votes or 38.5 per cent. The third candidate, Senator Duran of the Radical Party, received 125,112 votes or 6.5 per cent. The Christian Democratic Party is generally considered moderately left of centre; the FRAP is a Socialist-Communist grouping, and the Radicals have a more right-wing point of view.

President Frei was inaugurated on November 3 in Santiago. The Honourable Senator John J. Connolly, Minister without Portfolio and Government Leader in the Senate, represented Canada as Special Ambassador at the inauguration. The Canadian special mission also included members of the Canadian Embassy in Santiago. Senator Connolly conveyed to President Frei the good wishes of the Canadian Government and people on the occasion of his accession to power. Vari-



*Senator John J. Connolly, Special Ambassador of Canada at the inauguration of the new President of Chile (right), is greeted by President Eduardo Frei (left).*

ous ceremonies in connection with the inauguration were held in Santiago from November 1 to 5.

### **Visit to Lima**

At the conclusion of the inauguration activities, Senator Connolly flew to Lima, Peru, where he represented the Prime Minister at the Fifth Inter-American Conference of Business Executives. This conference is a biennial meeting of senior executives in which Canada participates through the Canadian Council of Management Associations (CCMA). It promotes the cause of private enterprise in the broadest sense. Its objective is to further internationally the principles and methods of scientific management in order to improve living standards by the better use of human and material resources. The subjects under discussion in Lima included the problems of development in Latin America and the implications of regional economic integration.

Senator Connolly addressed the conference on Canadian relations with Latin America. He spoke of the similarities and differences between Canadians and Latin Americans, and of the desire of Canada to expand and strengthen its contacts and relations with all Latin American countries. Speaking of the Organization of American States, Senator Connolly said that the fact that Canada was not a member of the OAS did not militate against closer ties of an economic, political and cultural character; Canadian membership in the Organization would probably come in time, and when Canadian public opinion was more conscious of conditions in Latin America and of Canadian interests there.





*Canada's new High Commissioner in India, the Honourable Roland Michener, is shown presenting his Letter of Commission to the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, on September 7, 1964. Mr. Michener, a former Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, replaced Mr. Chester A. Ronning, who retired from the Department of External Affairs earlier this year.*



# *External Affairs in Parliament*

## **Internal Problems of NATO**

*Addressing the House of Commons on November 19 during the debate on supply, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honourable Paul Martin, said:*

. . . I have been extremely concerned in the past few weeks that some of our major allies appear to be embarked on a collision course which could have incalculable consequences for the Western alliance. Two or three weeks ago it looked as though in this context the storm clouds were gathering over Western Europe. In Paris, on November 2, the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Couve de Murville, with his usual incisiveness, described the storm warnings as he saw them: the danger of deteriorating Franco-German relations, the danger to the European Common Market because of the failure of The Six to agree on cereal prices, and the danger for NATO if Germany and the United States were to push ahead with their plan for a multilateral force of mixed manned ships carrying "Polaris" missiles jointly owned, controlled and financed by the participating nations.

I may say now, reflecting on the events of these past few weeks, that, thanks to the efforts which have been made on both sides of the Atlantic by a number of countries, there are indications that, given a little more time (and I think this will be forthcoming), accommodations can be reached with regard to some, if not all, of these major issues. Nevertheless, it would be misleading for me to pretend that everything in the Atlantic world is satisfactory, just as it would be improper to reveal in detail what we know of the elements of other peoples' problems based upon the consultations and discussions we have had in Canada and which our heads of missions in other capitals have had with representatives of friendly governments. We wish not only to keep ourselves informed but to bring whatever influence we can to bear on these problems, in the hope that conciliation may be encouraged and co-operation strengthened among all our allies on both sides of the Atlantic so as to maintain and develop the essential transatlantic nature of the NATO community, which is, of course, of such vital importance to Canada.

In the course of the past week, consultations took place in Ottawa with the Foreign Ministers of Belgium and Norway, and we have had discussions, as I indicated a moment ago, with the representatives of other countries here in our capital, as well as through our missions abroad. We are, by the very nature of our situation, obliged to recognize how much we in Canada depend, as do other NATO countries, on collective security. We live in a world in which the members of the NATO group must proceed with balanced forces to provide for their de-

fence on a purely national basis and through collective effort. We in Canada are, therefore, by the very nature of the situation, committed to the doctrine of achieving a balanced defence by making our forces, and therefore our policies, interdependent with those of other members of the Atlantic alliance.

Some of our allies, as we all know, would prefer to see their forces organized on a purely European basis but not on an Atlantic basis, if that means yielding to the United States the final right of decision on matters vitally affecting national security. At the same time we know, on no less an authority than that of the French Prime Minister, Monsieur Pompidou, that a purely European defence — that is, a defence of Europe without the assistance in the final analysis of the United States — is considered a quite untenable hypothesis. In other words, there is a large measure of agreement on the basic aims and assumptions of the alliance even in this highly controversial field of how to work out the modalities of military planning and how control is to be exercised and whether the accent should be European or Atlantic.

It goes without saying that we are particularly interested in the evolution of French foreign policy, as is every member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is quite normal that this should be so. An important part of our population is of French culture, and it is a well-established policy of this and of previous Governments to develop satisfactory relations with France. For these reasons we in Canada believe that we have some obligation to try to fully understand the bases and aims of French policy. This is not with any intention of playing an intermediary or mediating role, although this we would not shirk. We believe, however, that on certain occasions we could usefully encourage some of our allies to adopt a more sympathetic attitude toward French preoccupations. In particular, we understand and support the French view that no hasty decisions should be taken when crash programmes are not really required. We also agree with the head of the Government of France that it is important that there be a fair balance between the European and North American contributions to the Atlantic alliance.

So, if by waiting a little now, as is recommended, the right balance can be established between the contributions which North America and Europe can make to Atlantic defence, we believe that a delay, which in any case is required for the consideration of new British proposals, would be justified. On the other hand, we hope the Government of France will acknowledge the importance which we attach to the ties which bind us to Europe and display appreciation of the advantages both for Europe and for France of a vigorous and deepening Atlantic partnership.

From our point of view there can be no doubt as to where we stand. We have upheld the transatlantic links with our mother countries in Europe. This is indeed so much a part of our heritage that we can trace the same thread from the time of our reactions to the American Revolution through our part in two World Wars to our role in the evolution of the Commonwealth idea and the conception and development of NATO. The Government of Canada is, therefore,

bound to be concerned that every possible effort be made to avoid any cracks or cleavages within the alliance and to arrest the development of continentalism, whether of the European or North American variety, since such concepts would tend to isolate us and weaken the effective influence which Canada can exert internationally. The serious potential consequences for our defence and for our economic prosperity, and, in the long term, for our political independence, must be recognized.

. . . We in Canada believe that NATO has served a very useful purpose, not only for the defence of its members but for the peace of the world. One of the consequences of the so-called disarray which exists is the fact that it has been a successful defensive alliance providing defence for its members and serving to contribute substantially to the peace in the world.

There are differences as to the nature of the military organization of NATO, one group taking the position that only by an integration of forces can we hope to pursue the effective development of the Organization, and the other taking the position that the alliance should be based on the contribution made by individual national military bodies co-operating together for the purpose of common defence. NATO is an organization made up of freedom-loving nations, and, because they are free nations, they suffer the disability of the consequences of that very freedom. There is not the same dissentient expression in bodies that are not made up of free nations.

We are thus the inheritors of some disadvantages which arise out of the very strength that gives meaning to the concept of freedom which each of the 15 nations in the NATO alliance enjoys. I think nothing is to be gained by failing to recognize that there are differences of view as to the kind of military organization that should be pursued in NATO. There is public discussion of this, and there have been discussions at the ministerial meetings of the Council itself. These discussions have reflected efforts to see if some compromise arrangement could not be arrived at.

As I said in answer to a question . . . a few days ago, it would be a matter of the greatest regret if, as a result of these differences in the concept of organization, there was to be any slackening in the unity or the integrity of NATO itself. This, I think, can be avoided, but it is only correct to emphasize that some feel that, in order to avoid a confrontation of a serious nature, we should seek to arrive at some *modus vivendi* among the various partners. The new British Government has informed its allies that it is engaged in a thorough review of British defence policy, including an examination of the proposals for a multilateral force. As this review progresses, I have no doubt it will be discussed by the British Government with its NATO allies. We, for our part, will look forward to the visit to Ottawa on December 9 of the British Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary. We believe this will provide the opportunity for the two Commonwealth members of the Western alliance to have a direct bilateral exchange of views on the range of problems covered by the British review.



Shortly thereafter, the Minister of National Defence and I will go to the NATO ministerial meeting in Paris. There we will have the opportunity for further conversations with the French Government, continuing the series of Franco-Canadian ministerial meetings which began over a year ago. It is my expectation that the whole subject of how to ensure a greater sharing in the direction of the Alliance will be thoroughly aired at the NATO ministerial meeting and at consultations which will take place at that time.

Any development that could create a special group within the Western alliance to the detriment of a broadly based transatlantic NATO alliance is bound to be of concern, I wish to re-emphasize, to this country. By the same token, any development that could start an irreversible trend toward the break-up of our alliance or to an Alliance based on continentalism of either a North American or European variety will be contrary and prejudicial to our national interests.

The smaller countries of the alliance, because they must depend on collective security for their defence, have special cause to seek a way out, and this was emphasized to us in the talks that we had with Mr. Spaak and Mr. Lange here last week. The extremely useful discussions that we had gave us an opportunity of emphasizing the large area of agreement that does exist on the basic aims of the alliance, even though, in this highly controversial field, there are divisions of view as to how we should conduct the strategic planning of the Organization. These discussions reinforced my view that special efforts would have to be made to convince our allies that a fresh examination is essential if the alliance is to avoid a perilous division over certain aspects of its policy.

We have asked our allies who have supported proposals for a multilateral force whether the present form of the proposals is necessarily the only way to deal with what all of us recognize to be necessary, a means of giving the European members of the alliance a greater degree of participation in the strategic arrangements of NATO. There is always a danger that a formula appropriate to one period can harden into policies which are too rigid to another.

We should ask those who do not like the multilateral force and the proposals based on it, and who suggest that our alliance does not correspond to the realities of 1964, what is suggested as an alternative. I am sure there is no member of the alliance that would not welcome constructive counter-proposals. Since all members of NATO recognize — and this was fully apparent at the last NATO ministerial meeting at The Hague — that the need for the alliance remains undiminished, it follows that we can neither afford to split the alliance in two nor plunge it into a course against the will of a major member.

It is to the avoidance of these extremes that the Canadian Government is devoting its most careful attention at this time in the discussions we are having. It is traditional for Canada to look for a compromise when friends disagree. As I suggested a few weeks ago, we believe there may be an alternative course that has not yet been sufficiently explored. We have wondered whether we could not make use of the existing machinery within the alliance to bring about a greater sharing in the military direction of NATO.

In the next few weeks, when all NATO countries will be preparing for the December ministerial meeting, we shall be exploring — indeed, we have already begun to do so — with our friends general lines of approach designed to meet the situation that has developed and which has been developing for some time, in the hope that we can strengthen NATO. The usefulness and the necessity of NATO in this nuclear, interdependent period continues to be so obvious, I am sure, to anyone who fully appreciates the difficulties in the world situation.

## The World Situation

*Turning, in the same statement, to other issues, Mr. Martin continued:*

The world situation has featured a number of important developments within the past few weeks. The changes in the top direction of the Government of the Soviet Union have naturally evoked conjectures. We have been given the assurance, both here in Ottawa and by the Government of the Soviet Union in Moscow, that these changes do not involve any change in foreign policy, nor do they mean a reversion to the Stalinization of an earlier period.

In addition, we have been faced with the critical but notable fact that the Chinese People's Republic has successfully detonated an atomic bomb. While this was anticipated and to a great extent discounted, particularly in the Western world, no one can be oblivious of the fact that it has produced a very important reaction in the continent of Asia itself. This additional factor is one which will be noted not only by NATO members but must be noted by nations all over the world. We in Canada are of the view, as we were of the view before this event took place, that in the 18-nation group meeting in Geneva which is discussing the problems of nuclear and conventional disarmament, there was an opportunity for all countries, particularly the major countries, which obviously have such influence on the state of international tension, to join in conclusions and ultimately in the discussions which have taken place.

*In reply to a question as to "who invited Mainland China to become a signatory to the test-ban agreement", Mr. Martin said:*

There was no invitation. Most of the nations which signed the pact urged China to join. In this House, when we announced that we had signed the pact, I expressed the view, as I express it again, that, since China had announced its intention to build up a nuclear capacity, it should join the partial nuclear test ban group before it undertook to add to the contamination of the air by nuclear detonation.

China has said that she does not propose to join the nuclear test ban arrangement. She has called upon the nuclear powers to hold a world conference for the purpose of entering into an agreement for the prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. We believe that this is one phase of disarmament that ought

to be discussed in the context of the wider agenda before the conference that has been under consideration in Geneva.

*Mr. Martin's general statement concluded as follows:*

Finally, I think we should now recognize that we have to go one step further than the efforts which were made at the United Nations and elsewhere to try to achieve non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Canada was one of the countries which subscribed to the limited but important resolution introduced by Ireland at the General Assembly in 1961. Canada is one of the countries that from the beginning has had a nuclear capacity. Canada, however, committed herself completely in 1946 to the use of this new-found energy for peaceful purposes only.

There are some 20 countries in the world which have, in varying degrees, a nuclear capacity but are not now manufacturing nuclear weapons. It might be that it would be useful to suggest, as a contribution to the non-proliferation of such weapons, that these countries, including Canada, should give further meaning to and strengthen the formula provided for in the Irish resolution. This is a matter that likewise is now being given consideration in some of the consultations we have had.

. . . All these important matters, and they are vital, affect us and every other country in the world now, as perhaps they have not affected us for a long time. They arise at a time when we are concerned about the future of the United Nations itself. We have had questions asked from time to time on orders of the day about the financial situation of the United Nations. Canadian foreign policy is predicated upon support for the United Nations and for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We take into account in the formulation of our policy our relations with the United States and our membership in the Commonwealth. It must be obvious to everyone that, while there is not, at the moment, a critical world situation, in the sense of one overwhelming issue which threatens the peace of the world by itself, there are a number of problems which have arisen, and I referred to one of them — the situation in NATO — which have caused great concern on the part of those who look forward to the establishment of conditions which will provide some guarantee for a more steady and certain peace.

One of these is the financial situation of the United Nations. The General Assembly will open on December 1 next, at which time we will be confronted with the fact that a number of countries, including the Soviet Union, are indebted to the organization in amounts greater than the assessments on those countries for the two previous years. This means that, under Article 19 of the Charter, that country and other countries in a similar position could lose the right to vote.

The Soviet Union has said that it will not pay any money toward past peace-keeping operations. The United States, for one, takes the position that the Soviet Union must pay up the moneys that it owes or lose the right to vote, and has intimated that it proposes to call upon member states of the organization to take steps to give meaning to Article 19.



It is obvious that every country in the United Nations has an obligation to pay, in accordance with established assessments, its portion of money required to maintain the organization. We hope in Canada that the seemingly inflexible position taken by the Soviet Union will be recognized as deserving of a change in attitude in order to enable that country to play the role which, as an important power in the world, it must be expected to play. It will be a matter of the greatest regret if this problem is not resolved, and the Canadian Government, while it shares the same interpretation as the United States and as the Government of Britain, with regard to the default consequences under Article 19, hopes that the discussions at the United Nations will enable a compromise to ensue. Nothing would be more disastrous for the world than if the United Nations were to founder or become ineffective — yes, if it were to disappear — because of the refusal of a group of countries to accept the responsibility which, in the judgment of the International Court of Justice, is applicable to all countries. . . .

Canada is one of the middle powers of the world. By that, of course, I do not mean that we are unaligned or neutral, because we are not neutral and we are aligned. We are aligned with the nations of the West, with which we have bound ourselves together in a common defensive alliance, not for the purpose of waging aggressive war but for the purpose of being strong enough to resist aggression. By the very acceptance of the organization itself, we have undertaken to do what experience has shown the organization can and has been able to do — that is, maintain the peace in this very troubled time.

### **Canadians in the Congo**

*Later the same day, Mr. Martin replied as follows to various questions about the fate of foreign hostages in rebel hands in the Congo:*

We are faced, as other governments are faced, with a serious situation in Stanleyville, where about 800 people are held as hostages. It would not be possible for anyone to say with any measure of certainty what is going to happen there.

Among that number are some 37 or 38 Canadians, some of them missionaries. We have tried to resort to every means within our power to obtain, along with other countries, the release of these hostages. In addition to the Hon. Member for Red Deer (Mr. Robert Thompson), one of our own officials, Mr. Gauvin, who likewise has had contact with some of the personalities involved in Stanleyville, is there now and was there with the Hon. Member for Red Deer, associated with him in an attempt to bring whatever influence they could to bear, through acquaintances in Africa, on those authorities in the Congo and in the Organization of African States for the release of these hostages. . . .

In mid-October, the Government of Canada — and we have no representative in Kenya, nor in Stanleyville — appealed on behalf of our people in the

Congo to the governments represented on the Conciliation Commission of the Organization of African Unity, and notably to its chairman, Mr. Kenyatta, the Prime Minister of Kenya. This appeal was based on the four conventions signed in Geneva in 1949 with regard to the treatment of civilian populations. I regret that this appeal and the appeal of other governments has not proven to be effective.

As I first informed the House on November 5, the Hon. Member for Red Deer knows Africa and has spent a lot of time there. . . . He has, to paraphrase the statement made by United States authorities, rendered valuable service in circumstances which are causing concern to the Government of the United States, as well as to Canada. He was asked to make an appeal to a number of friendly governments and certain African leaders he knows. More specifically, because of the fact that he had acted in a governmental capacity in Ethiopia for over 18 years, serving the Emperor, and because the Emperor was the first president of the Organization of African Unity, we asked the Hon. Member for Red Deer, with whatever authority and support he could receive from the Emperor, to deliver a message to Mr. Kenyatta as chairman of the OAU Conciliation Commission, expressing the concern of the Canadian Government for its nationals who are in the Stanleyville area and of whom we have not had any direct information since midsummer.

Mr. Kenyatta assured the Hon. Member for Red Deer that, in response to the appeal of Canada and other countries, he had taken what immediate action he could to request all authorities in the Congo to respect the human rights of civilians and also to facilitate the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross. He indicated that the Stanleyville authorities had assured him that the foreign civilians in Stanleyville were not in danger. I hope that continues to be the situation, although the news that we have now is anything but encouraging.

Like Mr. Kenyatta, the Emperor of Ethiopia, largely through the efforts of the Hon. Member for Red Deer, made known his grave concern over the safety of the Canadians and other foreigners in the affected area. The Hon. Member for Red Deer was in constant touch, in the course of the four or five days during which he travelled back and forth between Addis Ababa and Nairobi, with certain diplomats and officials in both capitals. He consulted with the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the Kenyan Minister of State, Mr. Murumbi, and also was in touch with the director of the organization most concerned in this matter, Mr. Diallo Telli, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

*From November 19 to the end of the month, additional details were given to the House by the Minister concerning the Canadian citizens rescued as a result of the United States-Belgian intervention at Stanleyville.*

## **India-Canada Atomic Reactor**

*On November 2, in reply to an inquiry whether he could say if there was any substance to "some recent statements in the press as to the possibility of India using the reactor, which was contributed by Canada through the Colombo Plan, for the production of a nuclear bomb", Mr. Martin said:*

. . . As regards the policy of the Indian Government in this matter, I think the record is clear. Prior to the Chinese explosion, and subsequently in the face of this event, the Prime Minister of India stated that India is maintaining its policy of not manufacturing atomic weapons. I regard this declaration as a positive contribution to world peace.

In so far as the Canada-India Reactor is concerned, under an agreement concluded with India in April 1956 and tabled in this House on May 9, 1956, the Government of India gave an unconditional undertaking to use it for peaceful purposes only. The relevant article of the agreement reads as follows:

The Government of India will ensure that the Reactor and any products resulting from its use will be employed for peaceful purposes only.

## **Aid to Proposed West Indies Federation**

*A question was asked on November 3 whether, in view of reports that "a new West Indies federation has been agreed upon by seven . . . British colonies", it was the Government's intention "to offer special aid to the fledgling nation once it achieves federation". Mr. Martin replied as follows:*

Canada has noted with great interest the formation of this federation and has already expressed in a message its best wishes and congratulations. I would call . . . attention . . . to the increase in Canada's external aid programme, which is designed to provide greater assistance to the Caribbean area.

## **Trade Talks With British Prime Minister**

*Asked on November 25 whether the Government was "preparing specific proposals relating to Commonwealth trade to present to Prime Minister Wilson and his colleagues at the time of their visit to Ottawa next month", Mr. Mitchell Sharp, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, replied:*

I understand that Mr. Wilson will be here for a very short time only. I expect that during this time we shall have an opportunity of talking about many matters relating to Commonwealth trade. I am satisfied Mr. Wilson will raise with us certain complaints which the British Government has against the treatment of British exports to Canada. We, in turn, will raise with the British Government the



question of the duration and application of the 15 percent tax. I have no doubt that we shall also be talking about the whole problem of stimulating Commonwealth trade. But, in the short time available, I do not think there will be an opportunity to open up any broad issues for lengthy examination.

### **Observers in British Guiana Elections**

*On November 27, Mr. Martin, asked the names of two Canadians who were reported to have been named by the British Colonial Office as observers for the forthcoming elections in British Guiana, replied:*

. . . A number of Commonwealth countries, including Canada, were asked by the Colonial Office to name two observers for the elections that will be taking place shortly in British Guiana. I recommended Mr. John Holmes, President of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, and Mr. William Parker, of Windsor, who has had considerable experience in elections.

## **FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES**

- Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee: Geneva, in recess, September 17.
- United Nations General Assembly, nineteenth regular session: New York, December 1.
- OECD Ministerial Meeting: Paris, December 2-3.
- NATO Ministerial Meeting: Paris, December 15-17.
- Governing Body of ILO and its Committees, 161st session: Geneva, February 15 - March 15, 1965.
- United Nations Human Rights Commission: Geneva, March 22 - April 15, 1965.
- International Labour Conference, 49th session: Geneva, June 2-24, 1965.
- Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH), eighth general assembly: Guatemala, June 25 - July 10, 1965.
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## **APPOINTMENTS, TRANSFERS AND RESIGNATIONS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE**

- Mr. B. I. Rankin appointed Canadian Ambassador to Venezuela. Left New York August 14, 1964.
- Mr. A. E. Blanchette posted from the Canadian Embassy, Lisbon, to the Canadian Embassy, Athens. Left Lisbon September 29, 1964.
- Mr. V. G. Turner posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Mission of Canada to the United Nations, New York. Left Ottawa October 26, 1964.
- Miss L. Gauthier posted from the Canadian Embassy, Helsinki, to Ottawa. Left Helsinki October 27, 1964.
- Mr. G. V. Beaudry posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York. Left Ottawa October 27, 1964.
- Mr. R. B. Edmonds posted from Ottawa to the Delegation of Canada to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos. Left Ottawa October 29, 1964.
- Mr. W. A. Irwin retired from the Public Service effective October 31, 1964.
- Mr. J. E. Brossard resigned from the Department of External Affairs effective November 2, 1964.
- Mr. C. F. W. Hooper posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, Dar-es-Salaam. Left Ottawa November 6, 1964.
- Mr. J. E. Thibault posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires. Left Ottawa November 10, 1964.

## **TREATY INFORMATION**

### **Current Action**

#### **Bilateral**

##### **Denmark**

Exchange of Notes between the Government of Canada and the Government of Denmark providing for the mutual recognition of certificates of registry or other national documents denoting tonnage of Merchant Ships.

Signed at Ottawa, October 15, 1964.

Entered into force December 14, 1964.

Supplementary Convention modifying the Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Government of the Kingdom of Denmark for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to Taxes on Income signed at Ottawa on September 30, 1955.

Signed at Ottawa November 27, 1964.

##### **Inter-American Development Bank**

Agreement between the Government of Canada and the Inter-American Development Bank to provide for the administration by the Bank of certain funds to be made available by the Government of Canada for Economic, Technical and Educational assistance to Latin American countries which are members of the Bank.

Signed at New York December 4, 1964.

Entered into force December 4, 1964.

#### **Multilateral**

International Labour Organization Convention No 111 concerning discrimination in respect of employment and occupation adopted by the ILO at its forty-second session.

Done at Geneva June 25, 1958.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited November 26, 1964.

United Nations Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961.

Done at New York March 30, 1961.

Signed by Canada March 30, 1961.

Canada's Instrument of Ratification deposited October 11, 1961.

Entered into force December 13, 1964.



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